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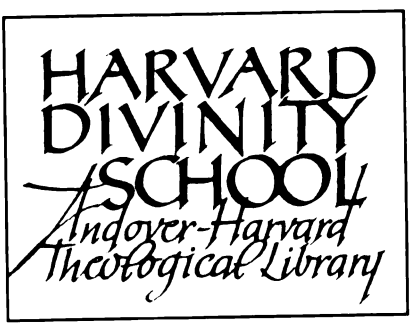
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CHRISTIAN

BOOK OF CONCORD,

OR

SYMBOLICAL BOOKS

OF

THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH;

COMPRISING THE THREE CHIEF SYMBOLS, THE UNALTERED AUGSBURG CONFESSION, THE APOLOGY, THE ARTICLES OF SMALCALD, LUTHER'S SMALLER AND LARGER CATECHISMS, THE FORM OF CONCORD, AN APPENDIX, AND ARTICLES OF VISITATION.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

LUTHERAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY GETTYSBURG, PA.

NEWMARKET:
PUBLISHED BY SOLOMON D. HENKEL AND BRS.

1851.

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PREFACE.

The Book of Concord, comprising the Symbols of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, has as yet enjoyed but a limited circulation in the United States. Wrapped in the obscurities of its original dialects,—the Latin and German languages,—that venerable relic of the Reformation has been left to slumber almost entirely in silence and neglect. Numerous causes have contributed to prolong this neglect. The descendants of German emigrants in America, have never cultivated the language and literature of their fathers with due interest; many of them are unable to read German; while many, able to read, and occupying exalted stations, have never manifested a laudable zeal for the doctrines of the church. The most obvious cause, however, seems to be, that the larger portion of Lutherans in America, are accustomed to read the English language only, and consequently have never had an opportunity to appreciate the value of their Symbols.

Yet we cherish the anticipation of a brighter day in the Lutheran church. In a land of freedom, of science and art, where the generous spirit of political wisdom encourages the exercise of reason, and guards the decisions of conscience; where industry, energy, and enterprise, though daily attaining fresh prospects of future improvement, are continually unburying the sacred treasures of the past; we believe that the doctrines of our church will ultimately be reclaimed, and that men of our western clime will enter into the investigation of these doctrines with all the avidity natural to a love for the truth. That these doctrines and these principles of immutable truth, are congenial with the tastes and feelings of the American mind, we may fearlessly deduce from recent facts. Within the last few years, the Book of Concord and Luther's House-Sermons have been reprinted in this country; and several of Luther's works have lately been translated into the English language, and circulated extensively.

It was, therefore, reasonable to presume, that a faithful translation of the Book of Concord into the English language, was loudly demanded by the necessities of the times, and would effectually cooperate with these laudable exertions. Partial translations indeed

of the Augsburg Confession had been made at different times; but it had never been fully rendered into English until 1831, when a translation was completed by the Rev. CHARLES HENKEL, assisted by professor SMITH, of Columbus Seminary, Ohio; and several small fragments from the Book of Concord, were subsequently translated by others.

At the urgent solicitation of many zealous members of the church, we announced, Oct. 9, 1845, our resolution to procure a correct English version of the entire work, and publish it as soon as practicable. Since that period no time or labor has been spared to fulfil our promise.

We have had to engage the talents not only of men familiar with the Lutheran doctrine, as well as with the German and English languages, but, in consequence of the obsolete style in which the German copy of this work was originally written, we have constantly had recourse to men who were able to consult the Latin copy whenever it was requisite. And here we feel bound in justice to the industry and valuable abilities of those who contributed their friendly aid, to specify the several portions furnished by each.

The Augsburg Confession, the Apology, the Articles of Smalcald, the Appendix, and the Articles of Visitation, in a version purely literal, were furnished by the Rev. AMBROSE and SOCRATES HENKEL. The Larger Catechism was translated, in the same manner, by the Rev. J. STIREWALT; the Epitome by the Rev. H. WETZEL; and the Declaration by the Rev. J. R. MOSER. The Smaller Catechism was copied mainly from the translation by the Rev. DAVID HENKEL, published in 1827. Much assistance in reviewing the proof-sheets throughout the publication of the work, was rendered by JOSEPH SALYARDS, principal of the New Market Academy, who has long cultivated the study of science and general literature; and he likewise furnished translations of all the prefaces, from the Latin, and of the Historical Introduction, from the German.

All these translations when collected, were carefully compared with the original by the Rev. AMBROSE HENKEL, and afterwards, with the exception of the Historical Introduction and the prefaces, were revised, transcribed, and prepared for the press by the Rev. SOCRATES HENKEL. We have derived considerable assistance, too, in the progress of the work, from the Rev. L. EICHELBERGER.

The principal translations were made from the German edition of 1790, published at Leipsic; and, being favored by the Rev. C. P. KRAUTH, with a copy of the original German Dresden edition of 1580, we were enabled to compare them with that also. The Latin

copy, to which uniform reference was made in comparing the translations, was that published by HASE in 1846; and from this the prefaces were all translated. Whenever the German copy presented insuperable obscurities, recourse was also had to this edition in numerous passages. The Appendix was taken from the German and Latin edition published by MÜLLER, printed at Stuttgard, 1848, from which the Historical Introduction was also translated.

Deeming it most compatible with the nature of the work,—the subjects being chiefly of a didactic and doctrinal character,—we have endeavored throughout to preserve as just and uniform a medium as possible, between a translation purely literal, and one which admits all the freedom and elegance of English composition. We have labored to be faithful, and yet not to offend the fastidious ear. We have been anxious to preserve the serious tone and spirit of the pious original. But, as imperfection is the fate of all human efforts, the candid reader will no doubt discover many inaccuracies. Any friendly suggestion, therefore, pointing out such defects, will be received with gratitude, and enable us to render a second edition more worthy of an intelligent public.

May our labors be the instrument, in the hands of Providence, for promoting an acquaintance with the Book of Concord, the *norm* of all genuine Lutherans since 1580, and for extending the doctrines taught by the illustrious Reformer!

THE PUBLISHERS.

NEWMARKET, *Shenandoah, Va.*,
July 4th, 1851.

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HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

PART I.

Of Symbols and Symbolic Writings in general.

The Term,—its Origin,—the object of Symbols,—their necessity, and their relation to the Holy Scriptures,—their Authority,—their Binding Force.

We find the appellation "Symbols," or "Symbolic Writings," very anciently employed in the Christian church, in the ordinary sense of Confession of Faith. The Apostolic Confession of Faith especially was so denominated. In the commencement of his "Exposition of the Apostolic Symbols," Ruffinus gives the following illustrations: "Historians relate that this custom prevailed also in civil wars. As the nature of their arms, the sound of their voice, as well as the rules and usages of warfare, were all the same, to guard against surprise, every prudent general gave to his soldiers certain *symbols*,—which in Latin are called either *signa* or *indicia*,—so that, if any one approached, of whom some suspicion was entertained, on being questioned, he might give a *Symbol*, showing whether he were a friend or a foe." And this too is the sense of the term in the Greek language. For συμβολον is derived from συμβαλλειν in the sense of measuring or comparing one thing with another; and then to utter or repeat it in reference to something, it becomes a sign significant according to original agreement, from which we may infer or understand something,—a signal, a token; and then also it may represent a Formulary in the mysteries, a pass-word between two parties. And though no direct authority can be referred to, showing that Christian antiquity applied this term according to that general signification, yet we find the word employed among them in a variety of senses; and the idea which we now connect with the words "Symbols" and "Symbolic Writings," entirely depends upon the original signification of the word συμβολον, as well as upon its derivation. Ruffinus says in another place, that it is a sign by which to know who preaches Christ truly according to apostolic principles. Ambrose calls it the signet of the heart and the consecration of our warfare; and P. Chrysologus adopts the latter signification, where he says: "We are taught even by human custom, to name that compact or agreement, which contains the hopes of approaching or future gain, a Symbol;" but Maximus Taurinensis prefers the former sense,—that a Symbol is a token or sign by which we discriminate between the faithful and the treacherous. (1)

Augustine (2) gives us this explanation: "A Symbol is a brief but comprehensive rule of faith,—brief in the number of words, but comprehensive in the weight of sentiments." Among the moderns, Pel. King (3) has referred to the Pagan mysteries for an explanation of this term; for to these mysteries only those were admitted who possessed a determinate sign by which they were recognized; and after assigning this illustration, he says: "I supposed it preferable to derive the

(1) See Bingham Origines IV. page 62 sq.

(2) Serm. tom. V. p. 491.

(3) History of Apostolic Symbols.

signification of this word from the Pagan rites, in which certain tokens or signs were committed to those who were admitted to the more secret ceremonies, which were unintelligible to the greater part of the superstitious populace; and these signs they called *Symbols*, which they mutually recognized, and which being exhibited, they were admitted without scruple to the recesses and the secret rites of that god, whose Symbols they had received." Ruffinus, however, claims for the word a still wider application, and he says, (from the love of the saying that the Apostolic Symbol was composed entirely by the contributions of the Apostles,) that Symbol is a Greek word, and may signify a collection or composition, that is the result of many efforts. We shall only add here, that this explanation depends entirely upon a grammatical confusion between the words συμβολον and συμβολε. The term *Symbolus* has been employed also by Plautus, in the sense of an image impressed in wax; and it occurs also in this form, in the first book (1) of the Celestial and the Happy, written against Elipandus, concerning the Apostolic Symbol, where the Symbol of Constantinople is characterized falsely as the *Symbolus* of Ephesian faith.

The time when the word Symbol came into general use, in the sense of Confession of Faith, and especially of Apostolic faith, John Benedict Carpzay (2) will not place earlier than the council of Nice; and indeed, before that time, we find the word very seldom employed by the Fathers of the church, while in the course of another century, the appellation, *Canon*, *rule* of the church, of faith, of truth,—the gospel of the holy apostolic faith,—the exposition or definition of faith,—the science, the treatise, the inscription,—a brief repetition of the chief principles of faith,—the treasure of life,—the ecclesiastical confession,—the tower of faith, were quite usual; and here it must be very carefully observed, that this appellation applies no less to the explanation of the Confession of Faith,—that body of instruction which it became the duty of catechumen to inculcate. On the contrary, John Vossius (3) discovers proof of an earlier use of the word, as Ruffinus employs it in the title of his work,—the Exposition of the Apostolic Symbols,—selected and derived from his predecessors: "They desire to call this a Symbol for many and very adequate reasons." It is known besides, that this term was employed by Cyprian, (4) about the middle of the third century, and from that time was always applied as an expression for the confession of faith by the church, generally at first and at last exclusively.

This term was introduced into the evangelical church by doctor Luther in his writings: "The three *Symbols*, or Confession of the faith in Christ, unanimously employed in the church." We likewise find it used by Melanchthon in his "System of Doctrine;" even earlier indeed in that treatise dedicated to the Doctors of Divinity by the new statutes of the university of Wittemburg. The preface to his *Corpus Julium* characterizes the Augsburg Confession by this name. "The articles of which Confession serve at this time as a correct, beautiful, pure, and invincible *Symbol* of the reformed churches." And the preface to the Book of Concord not only denominates the same writings as "the old, acknowledged Symbols," as well as "the Symbols of Faith," but the Form of Concord, in the Epitome, page 465, and the Declaration, page 504, distinguishes it by a similar expression; and we learn here especially, page 505, what idea the evangelical church connected with that term. For it is here expressed with distinctness, that these

(1) Bibl. Patrum, London, tom. XIII. p. 363.

(2) Isagoge &c. p. 2.

(3) Dissertation concerning the Three Symbols, 320, p. 507.

(4) Ep. 76 ad magnum.

Symbols are no private writings, but that they are books, approved and received, which, in the name of the church, serve to explain her doctrine and religion; just as in page 507, after an enumeration of the chief subjects of the Book of Concord,—the Augsburg Confession, the Apology, the Articles of Smalcald, and the two Catechisms of Luther,—they are denominated "public and approved writings which, together with the old, acknowledged Symbols, contribute to their enlargement and extension." Now here the general custom is manifest,—the Confession of Faith is distinguished by the term *Symbol*, a shorter expression than "Form of Confession," with the expression Symbolic Writings or Book, rather than a full explanation, establishment, and decision of the system of doctrine in the church.

2. Symbols have arisen simultaneously with the church. The Lord, indeed, has not established his church upon Symbols, but upon his own Word. But the church leans her confessions upon these, as evidences how she understands and explains the Divine word. From the iniquity of man it could not fail, that contradictory opinions should arise, and proceed from external controversy to internal disquietude, because the church, in her temporal condition, had false Christians and hypocrites in her midst; she was soon obliged, therefore, to establish Symbols for the purpose of giving evidence of her faith, of refuting false accusations, and of rejecting pernicious errors, and in accommodation to the progress of time, to institute new Symbols, without rejecting the old, not for the purpose of establishing new doctrines, but for the purpose of acknowledging anew the old Symbols, those truths derived from the Fathers, and of providing them with new defences against rising errors. This origin of the Symbols of the church will fully manifest itself from what follows. A simple form of baptism extended at the same time with the church in the Apostolic Symbol to a confession of baptism; from this, by no less a step, to a form more comprehensive,—the Nicene, and then, as the necessities of the times increased the articles of belief, to the Athanasian, more fully defined and more securely fortified. From that time the church found no external occasion for a new vindication of her faith, a circumstance which contributed, however, still more to the diminution of her internal harmony. But when she wished to purify herself again of these evils, she discovered that human innovations in the church were the real sources of her difficulties (1); and recovering herself from these, she began to purify and re-establish herself. She saw that it was her first and most important duty to acknowledge her faith and her doctrine publicly; where the principles of belief were to be amplified according to the demands of the time to extend more widely her principles of faith, which in every instance referred to the first Symbols, from which as they were taken, they entirely depended upon them; but part of the structure was referred for its authority to the word of God. Thus every Symbol took the impressions of the time, and of the historic circumstances out of which it grew, and each affords not only a general, but even a specific account of the reasons for its establishment.

3. But in the next place, let us determine the Design also of Symbols and Symbolic Writings. According to 1 Pet. 3, 15, every member of the church of mature age, whatever may be his condition, is bound to testify his faith, and to answer every man; so that this command of the Apostle may advance the church, as a community of the faithful, to a still higher sphere. And indeed every Christian has to fulfil this duty externally as well as internally. Externally the power of the Holy Ghost through the confessions of the church, chastizes the unbelief and the errors of the world; but internally the members of the church are instructed, secured, and advanced. This is rendered evident, by the Form of Concord itself, page 510, claiming a double design for church Symbols, "That they not only

(1) Augsburg Confession, Art. 26, &c.

promote a pure and salutary doctrine, but subject all who teach a different doctrine, to their due chastisement;" and afterwards again this double design in a single Symbol is referred to, page 485 and page 504. But one of these designs without the other cannot appear in every instance; the purity of Faith cannot be proved and secured, without at the same time referring to erroneous opinions, by which the human mind is always misled, if a man believe that he possesses in his own bosom the light and the fountain of confession, or attempt to explain the word of God according to his own conceptions. For, indeed, the Symbols would accomplish their principal design, "The proof and the explanation of faith,"—page 466 of the Book of Concord, page 647 of the Catalogue of Testimonies,—if they would serve none the less thereby for the preservation of faith, and transmit it pure and unadulterated down to posterity. (Augs. Conf. page 29: "This is about the substance of the doctrine,' &c.) But purity of faith without doctrine cannot subsist; the church then must naturally reject all science from her Symbols, and make it her first important duty, to continue true and upright in her doctrine. The primary duty of self-preservation requires this. For if a society consist of individuals, who, betrayed by an unwarrantable fondness for human learning, and resting their whole authority upon the exercise of it, would permit themselves to study, in compliance with popular opinion, the learned disputations also prevailing in the church, that society would be yielding its whole might, in laboring for its own destruction. A necessary solicitude for the salvation of her adherents must therefore preserve the church from this. She must, however, be convinced, that she may preserve the pure doctrines of the word of God, by her acknowledged and established Symbols. Without this conviction she cannot maintain them a moment. But by virtue of this conviction, she need not suffer any thing publicly to be studied in her midst, injurious to her religious tenets, rendering them dubious, and attacking and subverting the very foundation of her faith, when she will see the salvation of her members endangered. This, however, we shall more fully expose hereafter.

4. From their Design, naturally result the Necessity of Symbols and symbolic writings drawn up in form, and their relation to the holy Scriptures. The church has sufficiently justified herself in this, in the preface to the Book of Concord, where she not only testifies, page 8, "that it was never her design, by this formula of reconciliation, to molest and endanger the pious, who are already suffering tyranny and persecution," but she also declares, page 9: "For it seemed most indispensably necessary, that a pious exposition and arrangement of all those controverted points, deduced from the word of God, should appear in the midst of so many rising errors in our times as well as so many offences, contentions and eternal broils, in order that according to its principles, the pure doctrine might be distinguished and separated from the false.

"This design will moreover effect this result, that turbulent and contentious men will not be free in proportion to their inclination, to excite controversies inseparable from offence, nor, as they do not suffer themselves to be attached to any formula of purer doctrine, to propose and propagate enormous errors.

"For from these opinions it will at last follow, that the purer doctrine will be obscured and lost, and nothing be transmitted to posterity but opinions and academical restrictions.

"To this may be added what we know to be due from us in this way to our subjects, in consequence of the duty which God has enjoined upon us, that we carefully regard what may relate to purposes of this life and of that which is to come, and labor to provide with great zeal, as far indeed as it can be done, what may contribute to the extension of the name and glory of God, to the propagation of his word, from which alone salvation may be expected, to the peace and tranquillity

of churches and schools, and to the general composure and consolation of agitated minds."

The necessity of Symbols is not so much absolute and unconditional, as it is subject to conditional circumstances. The revealed word of God alone is absolutely necessary for the preservation of the church, and for the salvation of souls. This is the only rule and principle (Book of Concord, page 465) according to which all knowledge and all doctrine at the same time must be regulated and decided. All other writings, whether ancient or modern, whatever be their reputation, must not be compared at all to the holy Scriptures, but they must all yield at once to the word of God, and never be received in any other light than as evidences. (Book of Concord, page 466.) And who may say that no condition of the church can be thought of, in which it may enjoy a happy perpetuity, not indeed without evidences and confessions, but without symbolic writings in the sense in which we use the term? But one circumstance renders it indispensable that Symbols be provided, not for the internal, but for the external prosperity of the church, not for her existence, but for her position in reference to time. They are always necessary, and their preservation is enjoined upon us by the fact, that the church can never remain unassailed in the possession of divine truth (1 Cor. 11, 18; Gal. 1, 6; 1 Tim. 4, 1), but she must be continually on her guard, that no erroneous doctrine under the guise of truth be introduced. For the teachers of error refer also to the Scripture, and seek their arguments out of it, in order to justify their opinions; and hence it becomes necessary for the church to prove the system of pure doctrine from the Scripture, to expose that which is no system indeed, and will never produce any, sustaining herself firm and upright in the public confession of her faith. This she must do, in order to exhibit the conformity of her peculiar doctrines with the Scriptures, to direct her members to a correct interpretation of the word of God, and to provide them a shelter against erroneous opinions.

But we must think of another argument which loudly pleads the necessity of Symbols. This argument must naturally have relation to the minister of the church. Whoever feels a holy solicitude to discharge the indispensable duties of his ministry, must surely experience a secret joy on reflecting, that the church has committed to him, the normal rules of instruction, according to which he can regulate the performance of his duties. He is bound in all respects, and in preference to every thing else, to observe the precepts of the word of God, as to what he should preach. He must not be so presumptuous as to suppose that his own character will be ample authority, and, therefore, that he is under no necessity of becoming versed in the Scriptures. For, on the one hand, he must always be conscious of his own fallibility, and consequently, that he has great reason to distrust his own penetration; while on the other hand, he must know, that he labors in the service of the church, through which the Lord has given him a charge, "to enlarge the household of God"—that he is not a lord over the faith of his followers, but "a fellow-laborer and a servant." Consequently he can then only discharge the functions of his office with inward joy, when he possesses a commission from the church, together with her determinate and acknowledged system of doctrines, from which he can be assured, that his own peculiar views of the doctrines of the holy Scripture, will be found to coincide with the Confession of the church. Hence it will always follow, that he will find himself in the right then only, when he can assume, in his discourses, with good reason, the authority of the church, instead of the dubious sanction of his office. For just as we can render the Symbols of the church efficient, only because their doctrines conform with those in the word of God, so the minister can succeed in the exercise of his office, only so long and so far as the congregation put confidence in him, because they perceive that he himself relies on the Confession of the church, just as his church, on

the other hand, needs him in return as a shield against every unreasonable demand, to preserve her purity of doctrine amidst the fluctuations of opinion, which have found some conformity with his doctrines.

5. After this it still remains for us to determine how we are to estimate the Authority of church Symbols. There is an intimate relation between their authority and their necessity. We might well permit this to speak for itself, while we, however, may refer to the discussion in section 4, in reference to their relation to the holy Scriptures, merely adding the following remark.* At page 504, the Augsburg Confession is called "A pure Christian Symbol," by which, we may be enabled to distinguish the upright Christian of the present day, according to the word of God; and at page 507, "A complete, enduring Symbol." General public writings, which always have been held in the churches and schools as the sum and substance of all doctrine—"in mode and in manner"—as doctor Luther himself has completed a necessary and Christian reformation, and has expressly pointed out this distinction, that the word of God alone should ever remain, the only guide and rule in all doctrine, to which no human writings should be regarded as equal, and should be held in subserviency to it.

This authority which Symbols of the church assume for themselves, results from no unconditional excellence, but depends entirely on conditional circumstances. It rests upon the authority of the word of God, and upon their conformity with the Scriptures. It by no means pretends to elevate itself above the holy Scriptures, or to remove them from their supreme control; but in all simplicity it arranges itself under the Scriptures, looks up to them for every supply, as the glass does to the fountain from which it is filled. Independent of, or in opposition to, the word of God, it is nothing. But this only the church desires, that the conformity of her Symbols of doctrine with the purity of Scripture, be acknowledged by those, who wish to be connected with her, and to share the advantages of her society.

Not that she would by the force of Symbols, impair the freedom of faith and conscience among her members, but she wishes to guard that freedom in the proper manner. For she forces no one to subscribe to her doctrines, against his own internal convictions, and she can never have a considerate adherent, who is unable to make her Confession his own. With this view, however, the church cannot construct her Symbols on so broad a basis, that in consequence of the definitions of her belief being as little confined by limits as possible, there might be full room and playground for every one; but she must speak out with precision, what she believes, and what she does not believe; what doctrine she adopts as founded upon the word of God, and what doctrine she rejects, from the same authority. Were she to act otherwise, she would make herself the rendezvous of all heretics, and be guilty of her own destruction, (Book of Concord, page 510.)

But a very important question is this: Are the doctrines of the Scripture contained in the Symbols; is the Confession itself the true expression of divine, revealed Truth, or not? With this question they must stand or fall; and just as she herself desires an acknowledgment of her conformity with the Scriptures, so she must likewise give satisfaction to her opponents, setting aside all frivolous phrases about systems of Symbols, changes of Symbols, compunction of conscience, spiritual fetters, paper popery, &c., and requiring only a proof of their contradictions. "Our Symbols have been drawn from the venerable Apostolic Symbols, with care and precision,—especially the Epitome, the invaluable Form of Concord,—drawn indeed from the Scriptures themselves, founded as to their fundamental principles in immutable truth, and shall a mere error in opinion, then, be referred to and pointed out?" We have examined with all possible diligence for something of this kind, but we have found nothing, and we are emboldened to challenge any opponent, who charges our Symbols with being independent authorities of faith, wishing to exalt

themselves even above the holy Scriptures, to furnish only a single reference in proof of his charge. We assume for our Symbols no claim of divine inspiration,—as they do not term themselves "divine writings,"—we claim no divine authority, but merely an ecclesiastical authority, and we give them no preference above other Christian writings, except as expressing the authority of the church. We vaunt ourselves not in the vain boast that there may not be found here and there some historical, literary, or other error in the formalities of expression, but this can never prove injurious to their authority, for that authority depends not upon these secondary, but upon far more important, considerations, and more especially upon those considerations which relate to a soul-saving faith;—"Our Symbolical Books are chargeable with no essential errors, and they continually agree with the doctrines of the holy Scriptures."

A further objection has been urged against the authority of church Symbols, that the free exercise of opinion, and consequently the church itself, or the efficiency of the Holy Ghost in the church, is limited by them, as by an infallible rule of doctrine. But who can be so ignorant as to mean, that the operative power of the Holy Ghost can be diminished or impaired by the feeble institutions of men? For it belongs to the Lord only to reveal a new path to salvation, and to erect his church on a foundation different from that upon which it has hitherto been standing; and who would then dare to warn him, and say, "So far shalt thou go and no farther?" But now, we are well assured that the foundation upon which the church stands, is impregnable and eternal; that we are living in the latter times, when we are not to expect a new revelation. (Eph. 2, 20; 1 Cor. 3, 10; Gal. 1, 8; Luke 16, 29; John 14, 6.) Indeed those who pronounce the authority of Symbols an obstacle to a free development of doctrine, expect another revelation, not from the Spirit of God, but from their own spirit; for this they demand the liberty to frame a religion which may adapt itself to all the temporary fluctuations of their natural convictions. Not only the Symbols do they treat in this manner; still more do they act in opposition to the word of God. They do not wish to expand their own comprehension, and explain the divine manifestation of doctrine, but to set up a new, self-conceived doctrine in its stead; and thus it would come to pass, that, though they might be in the right, soon there would no more be found one undivided system of faith, but as many systems as there are individuals.

But in this way the church itself would soon cease to exist. She must therefore secure a necessary union by the establishment of Symbols. She does not depend, however, upon these, but upon the eternal power alone of the word of God. Hence delivering her Confession to the Diet at Augsburg, "An evidence of her faith and of her doctrines," she says, "And if any one should be found who has an objection to them, we are ready to give him further information, with reasons from holy Writ," page 511. In the Form of Concord she confesses again, page 506: "We embrace also that original and unaltered Confession; and we do this, not because it was written by our theologians, but because it is drawn from the word of God, ... as the Symbol of our day;" likewise also in the preface, page 3: "As an evidence and expression of the faith of those who were living at the time, how they understood and explained the Scriptures, and how they refuted the doctrines opposed to them." And Luther himself says in reference to the Augsburg Confession: "We shall hold on to it, until the Lord shall give us a better one." The church then does wish to claim for her Symbols an immutable power; she yields whenever any one shall point out an obvious defect; she finds it merely a temporary expression of her faith; she reserves to herself expressly the privilege to improve them, to complete, or to extend, as occasional necessity may require. But she would not here be understood as speaking in reference to the doctrines they contain, or in reference to the principles, but merely of the form and phrase-

ology under which those doctrines are brought before the public eye. But she does not encourage the opinion that a time will or may come, when the *faith* which she professes, must be abandoned, as false, or as insufficient for salvation. On the whole, she now avows her resolution to hold fast this faith, and therefore, through divine permission, she will resolutely maintain the divine truth once acknowledged and delivered at Augsburg, 1530.

Every step of progress upon the foundation of this faith, every thing that can contribute to a better explanation and defence of it, to a clearer manifestation of its truth, to a more effectual opposition to the errors arrayed against it, is entitled to all gratitude as a rich acquisition, as an evidence of the lasting operation of the Holy Ghost in the congregation of Christ; but an explanation of doctrine, by which the doctrine itself would be changed or abolished, the church utterly denounces. To an enlargement of the structure, by which the very basis of truth would be removed, even indeed undermined, she extends not her hand. Her system is prepared; it rests upon an immovable foundation; and now whoever wishes to dwell with her in this building, and wishes to contribute something in his own way, to its security, its utility, or its beauty, that man is welcome.

But this objection also will be made against the lasting effect of church Symbols: Will not deplorable divisions among Christians be as it were perpetuated, and that union so earnestly desired of the separate denominations, especially the Lutheran and Reformed churches, be ultimately prevented? Wasserschleben is altogether right in the assertion, that the Symbolical books hitherto existing, are totally incompatible with any such union; for excommunications and condemnations must necessarily lose their significancy, if the separate divisions unite themselves again; and when, in opposition to doctor Ribbeck, he says: "How can the objector maintain, that there will be no longer a Lutheran or a Reformed member, and still hold fast to the principles of both, to the separate Symbolical books of both? Have these lost their peculiarity, their exclusive character distinguishing them from other denominations, presenting doctrinal distinctions entirely unessential? Then indeed there can be no obstacle to a union internal and durable." We confess that any one bears the Christian name unmerited, who does not from the bottom of his heart desire this durable internal union of the separate denominations; indeed we are convinced, from John 10, 16, that the Lord in due time will bring about this desirable union. But he only can effect it. If men form a union; if especially the civil authorities take this object in hand, evil results must necessarily follow, as we may readily learn by examining the institutions of our time; that such a union as does not satisfactorily reconcile existing contradictions, but only covers them over, will really be no union at all in spirit, and therefore can possess no durability, but will only create mischievous schisms. This is the primary evil of all recent attempts at union;—that men will repose, with religious indifference, more or less, on the strength of their alliances, without which the effort would never come to a conclusion; that in view of historic truth, from which they might always derive invaluable benefits, they shut their eyes and say, no differences exist; they anticipate the natural course of things, and only cause commotions; they draw the church out of the path pointed out by the Lord, and introduce her into one constructed by men, which therefore can never lead her to her proper destiny. What benefit is it to say, "there is no contradiction any longer," if contradictions still exist? to say "they are subdued," when they are prevailing all around? Let us observe these differences closely, and learn to interpret their meaning; let us pay due attention to history, and form a correct estimate of every confession; for by union-making no advantage can be gained, but each denomination must lose. But there should be a proper reference not only to the incongruities of confessions, but their correspondence also. Whoever regards

both sides in the right spirit of wisdom,—love and truth,—will most effectually contribute to hasten and promote an endless union in spirit and in truth.

6. The Authority of church Symbols gives them also their Binding Force, especially in relation to those who perform the official duties of the church. The church must indeed make their conformity with her ideas of doctrine laid down in her Symbols a condition, under which alone they can be received into her communion, and so she must naturally desire this conformity more definitely still of those who wish to become her servants. In section third we have alluded to the reasons for this desire. We here enforce this necessity by the additional consideration of the obligation imposed by church Symbols.

We maintain that the church will generally be in the right, if she requires her ministers to acknowledge the authority of her Symbols, and declare themselves unequivocal supporters of the Symbols. This is to be done by formal oath, by the union of hands, by a written article, or by verbal stipulation; for the church has full power to prescribe to those, who wish to become her servants, as the ministers of truth, in express terms the manner they have to act. Now the form of explanation, indeed, may seem irrelevant, yet this is not the case with the sense, for it should be definitely and clearly expressed, upon what the church is founded,—the acknowledgment of the conformity of her Symbols with the Scriptures, in every thing relating to opinion; and this expression, *because* also,—not indeed *so far as* they wish to acknowledge this conformity, but *because* they wish to regulate themselves in the church by her directions. This requisition can be assented to only by such a one as feels internally convinced that the church Symbols are adequate expressions of the doctrines of the Scripture, that they have grown out of the word of God, and conform in all essential points with it. If these convictions exist, the obligation imposed by the Symbols is neither a fetter to the spirit, nor a burden to the conscience; if they do not exist, he naturally cannot become a minister of the church, not in consequence of the obligation, but from the impossibility of admission to the office. For the church has not only the right, but also the duty, to investigate the religious convictions of every member, who wishes to become her servant. She must, so far as it is possible, probe his conscience, as to determine whether he will be for her, or against her; whether he will gather with her, or scatter abroad. It is indeed more than natural, to desire an office in the church and, at the same time, freedom and privilege, not only to desire a different doctrine from that which the church professes, to preach under its authority and power, but also to dare, for this is a necessary consequence, to war against the doctrines of the church, to represent them as false, and finally to pervert them entirely. Whoever assumes an office, be it in the state or in the church, assumes the additional obligation of discharging the necessary duties of that office, together with the surrender of a portion of his personal liberty. He acts in the capacity of self-abasement. Indeed an unlimited, abstract state of freedom in a society with other men, independent of any social obligation, is utterly impossible.

But some one may say, that the obligation imposed by Symbols makes hypocrites, without being of any advantage to the whole; for the church cannot guard with sufficient vigilance the observance of these imposed obligations. Just as men even now discover, so it is in every thing to be feared; it is natural to man, to hold on to a desirable office, to yield his assent to something, of which he is not convinced, or which he is not willing to maintain. But is this the fault of the church? "The church must not judge of secrets." She cannot see into the heart of any man; she must believe of every man, so long as his opposition remains concealed, that he means what he speaks. The state imposes an obligation upon her servants also, to discharge their functions, not according to their own opinions, but according to her positive advancement. If they do not do this, they break their oath;

they betray the state: so she takes back this violated authority again, and no one is surprised at it. Should the church only allow every one of her servants the liberty to distort and to expand her fundamental doctrines to wider limits, and still retain the unfaithful incumbent in office and in honor; yes, advance him further and further, only to turn against herself the weapon which she had given him for her protection and defence? And all this affects the church infinitely more than similar conduct does the state. It affects the salvation of her members; and she has to render an account in future, how she has observed, or how she has neglected this duty.

Another enquiry is this,—How shall the church act towards desponding natures, who in all candor of disposition have been drawn into doubts? The church, with her counsel, takes them by the hand; she admonishes them to search for the truth, with prayer for the illumination of the Holy Spirit, and only not to let their doubts have an influence upon their official labors. Thus she regards these doubts as the natural result of human weakness and infirmity, because she has the power to overcome them, and because she knows, that a real experience of doubt, is ever followed, in due time, by additional light from the Lord, from which every doubt immediately vanishes. The church conducts and regulates these difficulties, not by the arts of political authority, but in the spirit of meekness; she does not break, but she heals; she does not enforce her penalties on this hand and on that, but she soothes and conciliates; and she dismisses from her service that man only, who has already been admonished with all her understanding and all her strength.

But says one, "The obligation imposed by church Symbols should be at least subordinate, for they have no effect in preventing a single deviation or transgression." From the same reasoning, we should have to abrogate all laws divine and human, they too being transgressed and violated every day. The church does exactly what her duty demands; she institutes her obligations and she exercises her vigilance, over him who acknowledges that he needs the sanction of her obligations. In this way she regulates her own government, she exercises a supervision over her servants, by means of her established organs. Beyond this, whatever remains concealed, she submits to the disposal of the Lord, for her interest is indeed no other than His own.

PART II.

Of the chief subjects in the Book of Concord.

I. The three ecumenical or catholic Symbols.

The ecumenical or catholic Symbols form the basis of church Symbols. The church has placed these as leading articles in the front part of the Book of Concord, and of her peculiar Symbolic writings, adding her own to these, with the declaration that her Symbols are intended to introduce no new doctrine, but they should be regarded merely as a growing expansion of the earliest Confession of the church, by historic explanations of the diversified relations of the church.

To the same effect Luther asserts in his writings, that the three Symbols or Confessions of faith in Christ, have been unanimously used in the church. "Although," he continues, "I have taught and written a great deal already concerning faith, what it is, and what it is able to accomplish, and have also submitted my confession to the public, what I believe and where I am determined to stand, yet I have in addition to this been willing to see the three Symbols, as we usually term them, or Confessions brought before the world in the German language,—Confessions which have, up to the present time, been maintained, read, and sung in the whole church; and at the same time I here testify that I hold with the true Christian church, which has as yet continued to maintain these Symbols or Confessions, and not with the false Romish church, which is the bitterest enemy to the true church, and which has introduced many idolatries by the side of these beautiful Confessions." In this sense also they are named in the Form of Concord, (Epitome, page 465): "And as, immediately after the time of the Apostles, and even while they were yet living, false teachers and heretics insinuated themselves, against whom Symbols, that is, short, plain confessions, were drawn up in the first churches, and these were unanimously held as the universal Christian faith and confession of the orthodox and true churches, namely, the Apostolic Symbol, the Nicene Symbol, and the Athanasian Symbol; we acknowledge these, and hereby reject all heresies and doctrines, which, contrary to these, have been introduced into the church of God." So the Declaration likewise refers to them, page 506, characterizing them as the "three catholic and general Symbols of high authority;" and in reference to that treatise of Luther's called "The three chief Symbols or Confessions of Christian faith, unanimously used in the church," they were introduced into the Book of Concord.

They were called ecumenical or catholic Symbols, and indeed first called so, within our knowledge, in the Lutheran church, because they originally obtained and enjoyed the most general acknowledgment and influence in the church above other confessions, and have been regarded always as the truest and purest expression of the doctrines of the church. Hence they possessed too high a value to require the addition of particular Symbols, which had been attached to them, and then were rejected; as Hutter (1) says in reference to this matter: "Those Symbols, such as the three ecumenical Symbols, which had been approved by the unanimous consent of the whole catholic church, obtained far greater authority than those which were received by the judgment and approbation of some particular churches." For these general Confessions had for their object the secure preservation of the unity and purity of the church. A Symbol of concord, on the other hand, should express the conformity of views between the minister and his several congregations or provincial churches. These ecumenical Symbols will be reviewed in the following order:

(1) Compend. loc. 1, Qu. 15.

A. The Apostolic Symbol.
B. The Nicene.
C. The Athanasian.

In the discussion of each of these will be considered—1. Its Appellation and Origin. 2. Its Nature and Design. 3. Its Importance in the regulation of the church; from which we may learn in what relation they stand to each other, and to the Confessional writings of the Lutheran church.

A.—The Apostolic Symbol.

1. *Its Appellation and Origin.*—The Apostolic Symbol, by its very name refers back to the times of the Apostles. For, though it cannot be proved that it was composed and published by the Apostles, still it reaches back to the earliest times, and stands in perfect harmony with the doctrines of the Apostles, (Acts 2, 42.)

There has always been an opinion, that as we have to thank the Apostles for the name, so we ought likewise to thank them for the origin of this Symbol; and indeed it has been asserted that the Apostles composed it, either before their mission among the Gentiles, in obedience to the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, or about the time of the persecution by Herod,—that this inference may be drawn from the Acts of the Apostles, 12, and that it was composed not only as a bond of union, but also for the purpose of having a general summary of doctrine and rule of faith. Persons attached to this opinion would find a reference to our Symbol in several places of the Apostolic writings, as John 10; Heb. 5, 12; Rom. 12, 6; 2 Tim. 1, 14. Indeed they have described the very mode and manner, in which the Apostles composed it, and the share which each of them had in the work. In the year 390, Ruffinus (1) says: "All, therefore, convened, and being filled with the Holy Ghost, they composed, for themselves as we say, that brief formulary of future ministry, by comparing together what each believed, and resolved to commit it as a rule to believers." More definitely still is the author of the writing described in the "Sermons concerning the times," which were composed long after the time of Augustine, and inserted in the Benedictine edition of the spurious writings of Augustine (2). In the introduction he says: "That which is called a Symbol in Greek, in Latin is termed a *collatio*, or comparison of copies. It is called so, because the faith of the catholic law, mutually compared, is collected in a brief Symbol, the text of which we now declare to you, through the grace of God. Peter said,—'I believe in God the Father Almighty;' John said,—'The Creator of heaven and earth;' James said,—'I believe also in Jesus Christ, his only-begotten Son, our Lord;' Andrew said,—'Who was conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary;' Philip said,—'Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, and was buried;' Thomas said,—'Descended into hell; on the third day arose from the dead;' Bartholomew said,—'Ascended to heaven; sits at the right hand of God, the Father Almighty;' Matthew said,—'From whence he shall come to judge the living and the dead;' James, the son of Alpheus, said,—'I believe also in the Holy Spirit; the holy catholic church;' Simon Zelotes said,—'The communion of saints; the remission of sins;' Judas, the son of James, said,—'The resurrection of the flesh;' and Matthias completed the whole, by saying,—'Eternal life, Amen.'"

John Cassianus (3), Venantius Fortunatus (4), Isadore of Spain (5), Wil-

(1) Expositio in Symb. Apostolor.
(2) Tom. V. opp. Num. 241, page 280.
(3) de Incarn Domini, lib. VI. c. 3.
(4) Expositiones breves Symboli Apostolor.
(5) de divinis s. eccles. officiis lib. II.

liam Cave (1), no less than Hincmar of Rheims, and lastly Vaschasius Radbertus, unanimously declare the Apostles to be the authors of this Symbol.

It was also a general belief in the Romish church that the Apostles had constructed this Symbol, and that it was composed by them, by member and by article. This view was taken of it originally in the Lutheran church; the Centuriator of Magdeburg adopts the opinion; Selnecker, David Chytraus, Christopher Ireneus, Dan. Cramer, all acknowledge themselves inclined to the same view; and they supposed, even after the impression, of which we shall speak hereafter, began to prevail, that this Symbol did not immediately proceed from the Apostles, that they could still unite, on the authority of its origin, the various divisions of the protestant church. The Armenian, Christopher Sand, in his history of the church, countenances the apostolic origin of this Symbol, and he claims for it a precedence in time to the Nicene Symbol.

The first opposition to this opinion arose in the Romish church itself; Laurence Valla, and after him Erasmus, who in the preface to Matthew, says: "I do not know that it has been composed by the Apostles;" and he manfully maintains his assertion against the censures of the university of Paris. Dupin follows him, but above every writer of the Reformation, Rivetus, Thamier, Bœtius, and especially John Gerh. Vossius, and the English writers Bingham, John Pearson, Peter King, and others. Among the theological writers of the Lutheran church, we notice first of all Luther himself, who does not express any definite opinion either for or against the apostolic origin of this Symbol; but in his sermon on the Epistle, at the feast of Trinity (2), remarks: "We have neither made nor conceived this Confession, nor did the ancient Fathers; but as the bee seeks her honey from numerous beautiful, airy flowers, so has this Symbol been collected from the books of the blessed Prophets and Apostles, that is, from the entire holy Scriptures, in a compendious form for children and illiterate Christians. For this reason a person may reasonably term it the Symbol or Faith of the Apostles; for it is evident that no one can compose a better or more excellent one in so brief and clear a style. And the opinion has prevailed in the church, from ancient times, that either the Apostles composed it themselves, or it was collected by their best schools, from their writings or sermons." This peculiar view is elegantly illustrated, in a pious and useful explication in his catechism by John Brentius: "Because the composition of these articles by the twelve apostles, seems to depend more on tradition than unexceptionable authority, we follow that opinion which appears the more probable. For it is called the Apostolic Symbol, because it contains the *epitome*, the *compendium*, the *substance* of all apostolic doctrine, indeed, as Luther says above, of every treatise concerning God the Father, the Son, and Holy Spirit. Hence this Symbol ought justly to be regarded as a little bible conveying a true knowledge of God. For there is abundance of internal evidence, that the articles, which in this Symbol have reference to Jesus Christ, were collected into this epitome from the first council, which Peter held on the day of Pentecost, the Apostles being present, and giving their approbation." Further arguments are urged against the authorship of the Apostles, as to this Symbol, by Texel, Buddeus, and Gotta. And though, indeed, if we regard the form which it now has, this Symbol may not have been composed by the Apostles themselves, yet that the nature of the materials is apostolic, no protestant can deny. John Andrew Quensted remarks that, "It is called Apostolic Symbol, not because it was framed by the Apostles themselves, (for it should be numbered among other canonical writings,) but because it was composed by apostolic men, who heard the

(1) Historia litterar. scriptorum ecclesiast.

(2) Church Postil, Ser. 9, page 29.

Apostles themselves, and digested into its present form, not only from their writings, but also from their oral councils." But it was not delivered to the church, in the words which it contains at present, until the fourth century after Christ. The form of this Symbol, both as to the words, as well as the connection and order of the articles, certainly does not agree with the form either in the eastern or western churches, until the fourth century.

The arguments which are employed against the authorship of the Apostles, are the following:

1. *The silence of the holy Scriptures.* Had the Apostles really been the authors of this Symbol, they would certainly have referred to it in their writings; and assuredly Luke, in the Acts of the Apostles, would not have disregarded so important a fact, since events of far less relative importance are there described.

2. *The equal silence of the primitive church.* The Fathers of the church, Ireneus, Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Tertullian, Eusebius, Hilary, Cyril of Jerusalem, would surely have referred to this, even had it been merely as traditionary; for it would have been a powerful weapon for them in their conflicts with the heretics. It is true Sixtus of Sienna says, that all the orthodox Fathers assert, that this Symbol was composed by the Apostles; but he has forgotten to prove by proper authority his positive assertion.

3. *The nature and import of this Symbol,* in which many important articles of the Christian doctrine are passed over, and many are embraced in expressions so general, that even persons could, and did receive it, who gave the words a different sense from that which the Apostles wish to imply. Had the Apostles really been the authors of this Symbol, as the rule of doctrine and of faith, they would certainly have produced a more comprehensive and definite system.

4. *The number and diversity of Symbols framed by synods and individual teachers of the church, and the confessions of the first centuries,* which could not have occurred, had a Symbol existed which was sanctioned by apostolic authority.

5. *The different revisions of the Symbol itself, and the additions,* which it evidently received from time to time; and this could never have occurred, had it been recognised in the primitive church as having apostolic origin; for in that case, alterations in this Symbol would have no more been attempted than in the text of the holy Scriptures.

6. *The superscription of this Symbol,* characterizing it as *apostolic,* is not decisive. Superscriptions frequently do not specify the true author of a work, and in general they have no force, when it is not expressly mentioned from whom they originate. But if we admit that the appellation apostolic, originally and with justice was applied to this Symbol, the same appellation might be understood in reference to the import or doctrine, just as well as the Nicene Symbol is in reality frequently called apostolic on account of its doctrine. Besides, the usages of language prove the interchange of συμβολον with *collatio* manifestly false.

7. *The traditions of the church* likewise determine nothing, for they depend only upon Ruffinus, whose credibility Jerome has rendered very dubious, and upon the unknown author of a work concerning the times, attributed to Augustine. The latter is no evidence, and Ruffinus himself does not know how to introduce his information in any other way than by saying: "Our Fathers have said," &c.

8. Finally, it will never do to assert, as the Roman authors Baronius, and others have asserted, in order to establish the traditions of the church, that the *composition of a Symbol by the Apostles* was indispensable. Neither had the Apostles the necessity of such a bond of union, because they enjoyed the far more excellent bond of the Holy Ghost, nor was it necessary for the congregations, for these had the oral and written instructions of the Apostles. The necessity of such a rule of faith became far more indispensable after the death of the Apostles, and in conse-

quence of the ever increasing extension of the church, especially after the appearance of heresies, which disturbed the unity of the church.

It is worthy of remark, that some have begun in modern times to ascribe the origin of this Symbol to the Apostles. G. E. Lessing seems determined to ascribe the verbal composition of the Symbol or rule of faith not only to the Apostles, but to Christ himself. Delbrick revives this opinion of Lessing, and says: "Whoever feels the interest of our church near his heart, must rejoice to discern, how the alleged expressions of the church Fathers agree, much to the gratification of Lessing, in testifying decisively, that the church indeed of the first century received an infallible rule of faith immediately from Christ, as a fountain of immutable doctrine, requiring no proof; and that the verbal and written communications of the Apostles and their successors, were only the effluences from the riches of this."

J. C. Lindberg, in the Symbolical Books of the Danish church, published in Danish and Latin, 1830, endeavors to prove the assertion that the Apostolic Confession of faith should not be ascribed to the Apostles, entirely groundless and radically false. Rudelback also boldly declares himself for the apostolic origin of this Symbol, while he suffers himself to hope a complete settlement of this controversy; and indeed we should express our obligations anew to this excellent man, to whom the church owes so much, if by his means the question in this respect could be brought to a final decision. For if the apostolic character of this Symbol, and its adoption in the church from the earliest times, were indisputably secured by his explanation, no little would be gained in establishing the proof of its apostolic origin.

The origin of this Symbol and the time of its production, Laurence Valla ascribes to the ecumenical council at Nice; but Vossius on the contrary maintains that it was published by the leaders of the Romish church, an opinion with which J. H. Swicer coincides, but he places its first appearance in the second century. More especially, however, Spanheim feels assured, "that it is very probable the Symbol commonly called Apostolic was composed in the Roman church, very essential in this age of controversy as to its primary articles concerning God the Father, the Son, and Holy Spirit. The elements of the oriental Symbol were the same, used in the primitive eastern church before the council at Nice, and terminating in the article concerning the Holy Spirit." Hornbeck says in relation to this: "There was formerly in the primitive days of the church, a certain apostolic Symbol,—you may consider it to be that which is mentioned in Matthew 28,—but our Symbol of twelve articles, never had the Apostles for its authors, nor had it their authority; it was framed indeed a long time after the age of the Apostles, on various occasions, in opposition to various heresies, and for the support of this or of that article, which the Symbol we now possess has conveyed down to us, by what author it is not known, because it was not composed by one author, or at one time."

From the want of a more definite specification, the opinion has attained the greatest prevalency, that this Symbol was not completed by one person only, nor at one time, in that form in which we now employ it for the regulation of the church; that it cannot, with complete certainty, be referred to, either in the oriental or in the western churches, before A. D. 400; and that its completion seems to fall in the sixth or seventh century. Indeed we find our text of this Symbol first published in the Greek Psalter of pope Gregory, according to which Usher makes quotations in his work on the ancient Apostolic Symbol of the Roman church. If any one would contend that the Symbol was first completed in the seventh century, because this manuscript belongs to that period, he would be asserting too much. It is indisputably much older, and it existed in the church in the earliest times, not only in its leading principles, but in the far greater portion of its contents. This proves the origin of this Symbol among the Fathers of the

church. It is true that it does not stand complete in any of the works by the ancient Fathers, a circumstance which is seriously to be regretted, but there is enough to show that its different parts were employed in their several writings. For, we ought never to forget that the Fathers did not wish to give a full relation of this Symbol in any corresponding passages of their works, but only so much as seemed necessary for the object in view. This is rendered sufficiently evident by a passage in Cyprian's epistle to Magnus, to which we have already referred in asserting that the word Symbol was at first used for a Confession in Baptism. In that letter Cyprian makes the following remark:

"This is a distinction which should prevent any one from saying, that to hold the same Novatian law, which the Catholic church holds, to baptize with the same Symbol with which we baptize, to acknowledge the same God the Father, the same Son Christ, the same Holy Spirit, enables him to usurp the same power of baptizing which seems not to differ from us in the ceremony of baptism. Whoever feels inclined to oppose this, let him consider that the first rule of the *Symbol* is not the same with us as with the Schismatics, nor is the interrogation the same. For when they ask, 'Do you believe the remission of sins and life everlasting by the holy church?'—they speak falsely in this interrogation, because they have no church. Besides they confess with their own lips, that the remission of sins cannot take place unless through the holy church, and, not possessing such church, they prove that the sins are not forgiven." So again in a similar passage to Flavianus, bishop of Constantinople, against the heresy of Eutychis, he demands: "How can any one acquire the necessary erudition in reference to the sacred pages of the New and of the Old Testament, who does not understand the beginning of his own *Symbol*? The sentiments which drop from the lips of all those about to be baptized, throughout the world, has not yet entered into the heart of this old man Eutychis. Ignorant, therefore, of what he ought to think of the incarnation of the Word of God, nor wishing to labor in diffusing the light of intelligence in the full extent designed by the holy Scriptures, he has regarded, with anxious attention, that Confession, at least as ordinary and imprudent, by which all the faithful profess to believe in God the Almighty, and in Jesus Christ, his only-begotten Son, our Lord, who was born of the Holy Spirit, and of the Virgin Mary; by which three expressions the schemes of almost all the heretics are destroyed."

Very remarkable too appears a passage in the epistle of Ignatius to Trallianus: "Be ye deaf, then, when any one shall preach to you, without the authority of Jesus Christ, who was of the family of David, of the Virgin Mary; who was truly begotten, truly delivered up to Pontius Pilate, was truly crucified and died; who also was truly raised from the dead,—his Father raising him."

Although we do not find this passage introduced into any work upon our Symbol, yet we believe it demands peculiar attention on account of its tenderness, especially in the words, "was delivered to Pontius Pilate," and then again, "was crucified," (ἐδωχθη and ἐσαυρωθη.) Who does not feel the vigorous style of the Apostles running through the whole?

In connection with the *form* of baptism naturally came the *confession* at baptism, in reference to which, the applicant for baptism was furnished with instruction through the administration of that ceremony. For this contained the fundamental article of Christian faith, on which instructions of every kind are made to depend. Tertullian calls this system, "the Christian sacrament and substance of the New Testament;" other Fathers call it the "Canon of Truth;"—"the ancient token of the church;"—"the rule of truth;"—"the tradition of truth;"—"the ministry, the heraldry, the faith of the church;"—"the legal, catholic faith;"—"the sacrament of faith;" "the pure tradition;" and simply, "the faith," "the rule," "the truth," always referring it to the Apostles.

2. *Nature and Design of this Symbol.*—An examination of its Nature proves, that the Apostolic Symbol was an expansion of the form of baptism, but not an explanation of the whole Christian system, constructed for the purpose of instruction. It is therefore defective in many important points,—as, in reference to the unbounded grace of God,—the merit of Christ,—the personal union of the natures in Christ, and in consequence the conditional communion of attributes,—the influence of the Holy Ghost,—the origin and the nature of sin,—justification by faith,—conversion and regeneration,—the means of grace, and many other subjects. And who, upon these points, can discern a want of Symbols? The Nature of this Symbol determines its Design. It was a confession at baptism, and as such, as is evident from its very character, it could represent not so well the whole system, as the historical facts of the Gospel, which are the groundwork of faith. Hence the object of a Symbol is to ascertain and explain the rule of faith or of truth in the church, which, fixing upon the words of the Symbol the definition of that rule, accommodates and unfolds the whole scheme of Christian confession to catechumen. The text of this Symbol was committed to the applicant a short time before baptism, with the admonition to commit it to memory; for on the one hand, it was to be secured from the profane by the secrecy of this method, and guarded against all profanation, to be dreaded by too general a publicity; and on the other hand, the new Christian was instructed by way of Symbols or signs, that it should be his first duty, to make the Symbol, by one invariable mode, his own, as Augustine remarks: "In order that you may retain the words of the Symbol, you ought by no means to write, but to learn them by hearing, nor to write them down, when you shall have learned them, but always to keep and retain them in your memory. For whatever you are about to hear contained in the Symbol, is contained in the divine writings of the holy Scriptures. But that which has been thus collected and reduced into a certain form, should not be written, and it serves to remind us of the promise of God, when predicting the New Testament through the Prophet, he said, Jer. 31, 33: 'This is my covenant,' &c. For the purpose of suggesting this passage, the Symbol is learned by hearing, nor is it written upon tables or upon any substance, but upon the heart." And Jerome says to the same effect: "The Symbol of our faith and our hope, which was written by the Apostles, not upon paper and with ink, but in the fleshly tables of the heart,—hence the Greek Fathers frequently call it τὸ μαθημα."

The delivery of this Symbol to young persons before baptism, corresponded with the return which they were required to make of it. When they had committed it to memory, they were required to rehearse it in the first place to their catechets, and afterwards to acknowledge it publicly before the whole congregation, and especially at baptism, to answer verbally from the Symbol the questions put to them upon the particular articles, of which the quotation from Cyprian given above, and many others from the Fathers are abundant evidence, and likewise according to what Tertullian says in his treatise concerning the origin of Baptismal rites: "After this, let us be immersed three times, making a greater number of answers than the Lord has pointed out in the Gospel."

And thus the knowledge of the Symbol and of the Lord's Prayer was the *least* of that which the church required of those who wished to become her members; while they, in consequence of the regulation, that those who were destitute of this knowledge should not be allowed the privilege of becoming sponsors, (for it was the duty of the sponsor to direct his god-son or god-daughter in the knowledge of the Creed,) or to enjoy the privilege of communion, but to be subjected to the rigor of canonical laws, these, I say, were bound to secure the preservation of this Symbol. Members at their confirmation also, were required to rehearse the baptismal confession, so that this rehearsal by those who had received the rite of baptism

when children, might serve instead of the recitation usually made in other cases at baptism. The evangelical church has connected this rehearsal of the Symbol with the confirmation of members, and she considers a knowledge of the Symbol an indispensable attainment for the Christian.

Now, in the commencement, the Design of the Symbol was exclusively internal, when the knowledge and the use of it was first applied to the mysteries of the church, and it still should be reasonable that this Symbol continue a defence to the Christian against the injurious attacks of heretics, who will never cease their assaults from without. We shall, indeed, no more refer to the purely external view of Samuel Basnage and others, according to which each of the twelve articles of the Symbol, into which it was originally divided, through the fond belief that every particular article was constructed by one of the twelve apostles—every word indeed was supposed to be directed against some particular heresy; but still we shall have to observe a reference to heretical doctrines as connected with the design of this Symbol. As heresies are directed against the prosperity of the church, this Symbol must naturally be brought into conflict with them, and it will serve as a shield to every true confessor. In this conviction, we should be perfectly satisfied if any one shall say to us: "The second article,—'the almighty Creator of heaven and earth,'—is directed against the Gnostics; the fourth,—'conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary,'—is against the heretical opinions of Ebion, Cerinthus, and others, who denied the supernatural conception of Christ, as it is against Jovinian, who denied the undefiled virginity of Mary after the birth of the Lord, indicated by the expression, 'A virgin conceived, but a virgin did not bring forth;' the fifth,—'suffered under Pontius Pilate and was buried,'—is against Menander, Cerdon, Saturninus, and others, who believe only in an apparent body of Christ; the sixth,—'descended into hell,'—is against the Arians, the Eunomians, and especially against the Apollinarians; the seventh,—'ascended to heaven, sits at the right hand of God the almighty Father,'—is against Apelles and his followers; the eighth,—'from whence he shall come to judge the world,'—is against Marcian, Cerdon, the Valentinians, the Basilidians, the Carpocratians, and others; so too the tenth article,—'of the communion of saints, and the remission of sins,'—is against the Donatists, and against the Montanists and Novatians; finally, the eleventh,—'of the resurrection of the body,'—is against the opponents of that doctrine." But to be convinced that to suppose this Symbol composed against these heresies, and for no other purpose,—to suppose that heresy was the sole cause of its origin, does actually refer its composition to an object entirely external, we need only remember the remarkable expression of Rudelback: "There is a conclusion forever infallible,—the Truth which was manifested in Christ, was first, and the lies came hobbling after it."

For the purpose of affording a brief view of the important diversities of text, which appear in existing copies of this Symbol, we shall give some examples, from the admirable Library of the Symbol by Hahn.

1. The Roman form of the Symbol according to Ruffinus: "I believe in God the Father almighty; and in Jesus Christ, his only-begotten Son, our Lord. Who was born of the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate, and buried; on the third day he arose from the dead, ascended into heaven, sits at the right hand of the Father; from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. And in the Holy Spirit, the holy church, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the body."

2. Confession of the Faith by Marcellus of Ancyra: "I believe in God almighty, and in Jesus Christ his only-begotten Son, our Lord, who was born of the Holy Ghost and of the Virgin Mary, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and buried, and on the third day arose from the dead, ascended into heaven, and sits at

the right hand of the Father, from whence he will come to judge the quick and the dead; and in the Holy Ghost, the holy church, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the body, and life everlasting."

3. A Greek Formula, from a manuscript of the eighth century, according to Jacob Usher: "I believe in God the Father almighty, and in Christ Jesus, his only-begotten Son, our Lord, who was born of" &c.,—"and in the Holy Ghost, the holy [church], the remission of sins, the resurrection of the body, Amen."

4. A Latin Formula, from a manuscript of the seventh or eighth century, according to the same authority. (The verbal errors must be set to the account of transcribers): "I believe in God the Father almighty, and in Christ Jesus, his only-begotten Son, our Lord, who was born of the Holy Ghost and of the Virgin Mary, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and was buried; on the third day he arose from the dead, ascended into heaven, sits at the right hand of the Father, from whence he will come to judge the quick and the dead. And in the Holy Ghost, the holy church, the remission of sins, and the resurrection of the body."

5. This Form,—abridged for the Liturgy,—is according to the Sacramentarium of Gelasius. Hahn, with great reason, believes this form to be the original one: "I believe in God, the Father almighty, and in Jesus Christ, his only-begotten Son, our Lord, who was born and who suffered; and in the Holy Ghost, the holy church, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the body."

6. Text transcribed from the Greek Psalter of pope Gregory, according to Usher: "I believe in God the Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth. And in Christ Jesus, his only-begotten Son, our Lord, who was conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, and was buried, descended into hell, on the third day arose from the dead, ascended into heaven, sits at the right hand of God, the Father almighty, from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy catholic church, the communion of saints, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the body, and life everlasting, Amen."

7. Aquilenian Form of the Symbol, according to Ruffinus: "I believe in God the Father almighty, invisible and impassive; and in Christ Jesus, his only-begotten Son, our Lord, who was born of the Holy Ghost, of the Virgin, was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and was buried, descended into hell, on the third day he arose from the dead, ascended into heaven, sits at the right hand of the Father: from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. And in the Holy Ghost. The holy church, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the body."

3. *The Authority and Significancy of this Symbol.*—That the church from the earliest times ascribed the highest importance and significancy to the Apostolic Symbol, is incontestable. A manifest proof of this is, its careful concealment in the first century. And then the use which the church made of it as a general baptismal confession, at the communion table, and generally in divine service; but more especially the fact, that she made it an integral part of the Catechism, as an introduction to her own doctrines and instructions. Nor is its importance any less in our own times, since we make not only a nominal use of it, but have to observe it, since the Reformation, as a bond by which the protestant churches are to be held together.

Though we should hope and strive for a union founded upon the efficacy of this Symbol, as Calixtus, Laterman, Dreyer, and others wish to see, it is sufficiently discussed in those critical controversies, and with reason denied. It is true indeed, that "if not all the articles of faith are contained in it with formal and definite distinction," still they can all be deduced from it, implicitly, virtually, and by an easy inference, as a necessary consequence; and it shows us the history of the Christian system of doctrine, how soon the church saw it necessary to estab-

lish the apostolic creed or a broader explanation of this Symbol. And the fact too, that heretics themselves employed this Symbol as their confession of faith, and drew from it the same interrogatories as the orthodox church, which they put to those about to be baptized, proves incontestably, that it is not improper for the church to guard well the union and purity of her faith in her temporal relations. This double import of this Symbol ever continues to be at once a bond of union to the whole Christian church, and the rudiments out of which the other Symbols are formed; and if in our days, fallen as it seems in utter confusion, so ill-founded an opposition has arisen against the efficacy and use of this Symbol in the church, we may deplore the new symptoms of disease, in the unbounded strifes and efforts of visionary minds, and renounce every claim, every argument for the evidences of truth which holds this only to be "the original and infallible Christian Symbol," continuing at the same time to be Christians and members of the Christian church,—yes, even in the discharge of high functions, and delivering our instructions from the remarkable and complete confusion of ideas which is prevalent in this generation. We may here, however, introduce the words of Ireneus, from his work written in opposition to the heretics: "The church has employed the same proclamation, and the same faith; although that church is dispersed into all parts of the world, it watches with the same vigilance as if occupying but one house, and preserves the same uniformity of faith, as if it had but one soul and one heart, proclaiming these truths, teaching and imparting instruction, as if it were collected and framed into one body."

B.—The Nicene Symbol.

1. *Its Appellation and Origin.*—This Symbol derives its name from the first general church-council, held at Nice in Bithynia, where the bishops of Europe, Asia, and Africa assembled in obedience to the summons of Constantine the Great, in the year 318, in order to restore the peace of the church, agitated by the heresy of Arius. Here the necessity immediately presented itself, to secure the elements of Christian faith, contained in the Apostolic Symbol, by a new Form of doctrine unanimously agreed upon, and calculated to compose impending controversies, and in addition to this, to determine, with due care and accuracy, the meaning of some passages in the Apostolic Symbol, under the color of which Arius might insinuate his false opinions. For Arius did not refuse to acknowledge the Apostolic Symbol with the rest of the church, but always understood it in a sense widely different from that of the orthodox church. Hence arose his separation from the church, and at the same time a reason for the differences between the Nicene and the Apostolic creeds.

This Confession of Faith was adopted at Nice, and afterwards by the second Ecumenical council held at Constantinople in 381; and in proportion to relative passages which this church-council had introduced, it was increased by additions directed against the heresies which had arisen since the council at Nice. In the form which it now assumed, it obtained universal influence in the church, and it was afterwards distinguished by the peculiar appellation, the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Symbol.

The following individuals are mentioned as authors of the Nicene Form:—1. Hosius, bishop of Corduba, who sat as president of the council, and of whom, according to Athanas, the Arians, Ursacius and Valens say to Constantius: "This man also constructed the creed at Nice;" by which it is to be understood, not that he composed it, but that he made a verbal delivery of the faith in the name of the Synod. 2. Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, one of the most learned members

of the Synod, entertaining the opinion, however, that the doctrine of Arius was not in opposition to the faith of the church. 3. Hermogenes, concerning whom Basil the Great says in his letter: "The beloved Hermogenes, who wrote our great and accurate creed in the illustrious council." 4. Athanasius, at that time deacon. 5. Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, concerning whom Josephus, the Egyptian, says: "The emperor ordered the creed which the bishop of Jerusalem had written to him, to be read in the synod of bishops, and they adopted it by a vote of 318 bishops." A very manifest truth is, that the emperor had given orders to a greater number of bishops, to compose a form of Faith, among which that of Eusebius obtained the general approbation, the only one containing the additional word ομοουσιος, which was inserted at the request of the emperor, as Eusebius himself informs us. This Form of the creed was originally written in the Greek language, and was afterwards translated into Latin by Hilarius of Pictavium.

2. *Its Nature and Design.*—To be able to estimate with precision the nature and design of this Symbol, it is necessary to examine the original text of both the Nicene and the Constantinopolitan Symbol, and to bring under one view the differences between them. We shall give the Form of the first according to the epistle of Eusebius to the people of Cæsaria; of the second, according to the Acts of the council of Constantinople and of Chalcedon.

a.) Nicene Symbol: "We believe in one God the Father, almighty Creator of all things visible and invisible, and in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, only-begotten of the Father, of equal power with the Father, God of God, light of light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, of like nature with the Father, and by him all things were made which are in heaven and in the earth; who for us mortals, and for our salvation, came down, and took upon himself human flesh, and became man, suffered and arose the third day, ascended into heaven, and will come to judge the quick and the dead. And we believe in the Holy Ghost. And let the catholic church anathematize those who say that there was a time when the Son of God was not,—that before he was begotten, he did not exist,—and that he came from nonexistence into being; or those who say that he is of a different substance or property, or that he was created, produced, or that he is a different being."

b.) The Constantinopolitan Symbol: "We believe in one God, the Father almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, who was begotten of the Father from all eternity, light of light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, of like nature with the Father, by whom all things were made, who for us mortals, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and entered into flesh, from the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary, became man, and was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, and suffered, and was buried, and rose on the third day according to the Scriptures, ascended into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of the Father, and shall come again in his glory to judge the quick and the dead, and of his kingdom there shall be no end. And we believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord, the Giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son is adored and glorified, who is spoken of by the Prophets. We believe in one holy, catholic, apostolic church; We confess one baptism for the remission of sins; we believe the resurrection of the dead and life everlasting to come."

If both these Forms be compared with the Apostolic Symbol, and with each other, it will be perceived that the former sufficiently agrees with the latter, that there is not one variation, but merely an extension, rendered indispensable by the necessities of the times, and hence the design of these additions immediately becomes evident. It was especially necessary too in this form against the heresy of Arius, to acknowledge the divinity of the Son and the unity of his essence

with the Father. And on account of this, the council retained merely the third article, the confession of which relates to the Holy Ghost; instead of some other sentences, it inserted a positive rejection of the doctrine of Arius, and the consequences resulting from it, and hence it happened, that those sentences were omitted to which, as yet, there had been no opposition.

The Constantinopolitan Form, which had to maintain the divinity of the Holy Ghost against Macedonius, retains the additions belonging to this, and in addition to this again, the third article of the Apostolic Symbol, in its complete form. This completed Form is that which was afterwards received into our Book of Concord, according to the Latin translation of Dionysius Eriguus, in a better form, however, and approaching more accurately the sense of the Greek text. We observe in this the following variations: in the Symbol of Dionysius the word *unigenitum* is wanting, so likewise the words, God of God, light of light; instead of *genitum*, Dionysius has *natum;* instead of *homo factus*, he has *humanatus;* the word *passus* is wanting, the expression *secundum scripturas* is wanting; instead of *qui ex Patre Filioque procedit, qui—adoratur et glorificatur*, Dionysius has *ex Patre procedentum, cum—adorandum et glorificandum;* again, he has *per sanctos Proph.*, instead of *per Proph.; futuri* instead of *venturi*.

The most important variation here is the noted word *Filioque*, which excited so great a commotion in the church. The writers of the Roman church, especially Baronius and Ceverinus Binius, assert that this addition contained in the Symbol of Constantinople, was suppressed by the Greeks; and they wish to ascribe all the blame for the schisms in the church, to these people only. Some protestant theologians also, among whom is John L. Hartman, approve this opinion. But it has long been placed beyond all doubt, that neither in the Form of Constantinople, nor even in the rescript of it in the subsequent councils at Ephesus and Chalcedon, do these additions appear, but it was first interpolated at the third council in Toledo, A. D. 589, and acquired general repute in the western churches not until several centuries later. For Leo III. himself, who was requested by the legates of the council held at Aachen under Charles the Great, in the year 809, to complete the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Form with these additions, did not consent, but caused this Symbol, still without the additions, to be engraved upon a tablet of silver. Vossius believes that Sergius III. had this Symbol first ratified by the authority of the Pope.

3. *Its Authority and Consequence.*—The Nicene-Constantinopolitan Symbol attained great authority in the church, though not equal authority with the Apostolic Symbol. The high importance which it has secured is proved by the epithets which have been applied to it by synods and writers of the church. They call it "the Divine and Apostolic creed," "the Gospel creed," "the System of Truth," "the Canon of the creed," "the Consent of faith," "the Divine symbol of faith," "the best and most accurate Formula of faith." And then again the extensive use, which has been made of it in divine service. It has been sung or chanted in the church, received in the canon of Mass, since the time of Benedict VIII. and the confession of it has always been regarded as a sign of orthodoxy. In the oriental church it entirely superseded the Apostolic Symbol, and was used instead of that as a symbol at baptism. Concerning the Abyssinian church, Isenberg writes, that it did not even know the Apostolic Symbol, but employed only the Nicene. And indeed this must be understood exclusively in reference to the Nicene Symbol. For even the conflict with the western churches, and the resulting schisms of the church, especially the objection which eastern churches made to the insertion of the word *Filioque*, induced her to retain only the Nicene Symbol to the exclusion of the Constantinopolitan, whilst the western churches on account of that word, adopted the latter.

C.—The Athanasian Symbol.

1. *Its Appellation and Origin.*—The third ecumenical Symbol, called also the *quicumque Symbolum*, from the word with which it commenced, has improperly taken the name of Athanasian, while it is abundantly evident that it could not have been composed by Athanasius, though it is ascribed to him by its superscription in our Book of Concord. For it is quite probable, that the Roman writers, Baronius, Ballarinus and others, sought to ascribe the authorship to Athanasius, as an effectual means to invalidate certain opinions which they opposed. In addition to the evidences for an opinion long prevalent, Montfaucon has collected the following:—1. Athanasius nowhere makes any mention of this Symbol, but he frequently expresses his opposition to so great a diversity of forms of Confession. 2. The oldest and best manuscript of his works does not contain it, indeed he has many expressions to the contrary. 3. The transcripts and translations of this Symbol, besides Athanasius, mention sometimes a certain Bonifacius, and sometimes Anastasius, but most frequently no one is mentioned as the author of it. 4. The evidences for the opinion that Athanasius was the author, are found much later, not before the eighth century, and there is always a doubt attending even these testimonies. It was first particularly acknowledged about the year 1233, when pope Gregory IX. despatched several legates to Constantinople, for the purpose of making an effort for a union with those deputed by the Greeks, which might serve as a groundwork for further negotiations. 5. Neither Cyril of Alexandria, nor Leo the Great, nor the council at Ephesus or at Chalcedon, make mention of Nestorius or Eutychis, to whom this Symbol has particular reference. 6. Gregory of Nazianz, and other living writers, do not assign Athanasius as the author of this Symbol. 7. This Symbol appears more frequently in connection with the writings of Vigilius of Tapsus, than in those ascribed to Athanasius. The internal evidences are the following:—1. The style and arrangement forcibly prove that this Symbol was originally composed in Latin; a language which Athanasius, according to his own declaration, did not understand. 2. Verbal expressions, which were peculiar to Athanasius, as ὁμοούσιος, that *shibboleth* of the orthodox church in the fourth century, do not appear in this Symbol; while on the contrary, they took their origin later, from the contest against the heresies of Nestorius and Eutychis, and during the council at Chalcedon, came into vogue, such as the word *persona*, ὑπόστασις, which Athanasius and those of his time had avoided as tinctured with Sabellianism. If the reader will remember the words *et Filioque*, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son also, which at no time was held in doubt by the church, he will be convinced that this addition to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Symbol, belongs to a later period.

From the want of a more precise statement of facts, it could not fail that a great variety of conjectures arose about the probable author of this Symbol. It has been ascribed to Athanasius, who was bishop of Spire about the year 642; to Hilarius of Poictiers, 354; to pope Anastasius I., 398; to Anastasius the Sinaite, the last patriarch of Alexandria, 599; to Anastasius, the librarian, 870; to Eusebius of Vercelli, 354. The most general suffrage, however, has been given to Hilarius of Arles, about the year 429; to Vincentius of Lerin, 434; to Venantius Fortunatus, 560; and especially to Vigilius, bishop of Tapsus, who, as above remarked, published several more treatises, and among them our Symbol also, under the name of Athanasius. The resemblance of style, and his remarks about the controversy of the Arians, the Nestorians, and the Eutychians, should strongly incline us to this opinion. It is an opinion of Giesel worthy of remark, that the origin of this Symbol must be sought for in Spain, where several councils of Toledo, beginning with the explanation of it, expanded the Nicene Confession of Faith,

especially as to the articles concerning the Trinity and the incarnation of Christ, into the modes of expression peculiar to the Athanasian creed; and in several sentences, that the former accords with this, without being, however, dependent upon it. That among these forms, the Symbol at present existing, was framed in Spain during the seventh or eighth century, and towards the end of the eighth was conveyed to France. That the old appellation,—Creed of Athanasius,—which, at a later period was misunderstood, as being applied to it from Athanasius, must be referred to Spain. That the catholic faith could have been originally distinguished as the creed of Athanasius, only by the Arians, in contradistinction to the creed of Arius, as their system was termed by their opponents, and that the Arians in Spain for a long time stood opposed to the Athanasians. To this, however, Kölner in his *Symbols*, urges the following objections, which at the same time give support to the opinion that this Symbol arose in France in the fifth century:—1. The oldest probable testimonies of Avitus of Sienna and Cæsarius of Arles refer it to the French. 2. Venantius Fortunatus wrote his commentary in France. 3. The Gallic church at the first adopted it, and it found general circulation, and became a subject of general reference by the Gallic bishops and councils; and still further its insertion in the Gallic Psalter, with which it was disseminated in other lands. 4. The oldest translation, as well as the most numerous and oldest manuscripts appeared in France.

2. *Its Nature and Design.*—Since we know nothing with certainty either of the real author of this Symbol, or of the time of its composition, or of the circumstances under which it appeared, or which in all probability gave it existence, we can make only some very general remarks in reference to its design, or merely infer what that design was from its nature. We therefore retain the same superscription to this Symbol as we find in Luther's treatise on the Three Symbols, introduced as the Symbol of Athanasius written against the Arians, and we discover its design clearly expressed in the first and last sentences: "Whoever wishes to be saved, above all things it is necessary to maintain the catholic faith" . . . . . and then: "This is the catholic faith," &c. It furnishes the orthodox church with the pure catholic faith, or the general faith, and this not so much in the form of a Confession,—as it does not begin with the usual expression, "we believe,"—but in short, compendious sentences, to which a further explanation is afterwards added. The pointed force of these sentences, the completeness with which they all explain the doctrine in reference to the Trinity and the relation of the three persons of the divine essence to each other, point always to the time in which the catholic faith entered into an open warfare against all kinds of heresy, and determined upon their rejection; and therefore, the design of this Symbol can be described in no better way, than in the words of Luther: "The other Symbol, that of saint Athanasius, is longer, and gives each article in fuller detail, on account of the Arians;—namely, the article that Jesus Christ is the only Son of God, and our Lord, in whom we believe, with whom we believe in the Father, as the text reads in the first Symbol: 'I believe on God,' &c., 'and on Christ,' &c. For if he were not the true God, he could not be honored in our faith equally with the Father. For this, Athanasius in his Symbol labors and contends, and it is truly the saving principle of the first Symbol." Indeed this is true; and if we could not prove by any reference, that it was composed with this express design, yet it is evidently an extension, confirmation, and security for the Apostolic Symbol, though it discusses the three articles in the Form less diffusely than the Nicene Symbol. Its nature therefore proves it to be the catholic creed, the maintenance of which it declares necessary for our salvation. From this it appears that a mere historical faith, or a merely external ecclesiastical orthodoxy is insufficient. In opposition to this reproach, which has been thrown upon this Symbol, we have

only to refer to the living and life-giving truths which it embodies. With equal justice we might utter the same reproach against many passages of the holy Scriptures, which insist upon the necessity of faith. Should we feel inclined to blame this peculiarity of the Symbol, as being too exclusive, we must remember, that it is the duty and privilege of the church to regard herself as the pillar and fortress of truth, exclusively against all heresies. The question here is, as it is in relation to every Symbol, not whether we shall give free scope to the inclination and caprice of men, which the flesh seeks, but whether this Symbol will stand the test, if measured with the rule of God's word.

3. *Its Authority and Significancy.*—The Christian church has esteemed this Symbol as a correct expression of her faith, and has arranged it in the third place among the ecumenical Symbols, a rank which its character and antiquity seemed to claim for it. And if the western churches exceeded the eastern in their estimation of this Symbol, it was in consequence of the very natural reason that it had arisen in the midst of them, but in a short time afterwards the eastern churches followed their example.

It was gradually received into the churches of various countries, and generally used in their public services. This is in accordance with the assertion of Adelbert, bishop of Teroune: "The Symbol in the sermon of saint Athanasius, whom the catholic church were accustomed to attend with the utmost reverence, and it commences thus, 'Whoever,' &c." To the same effect, Albo, in his treatise on the "Sacred harmony of the Church," declares that, "upon the evidence of Honorius, this Symbol was formerly sung every day, but now it is repeated on Sabbaths in a full attendance of the whole congregation, and the confession of our holy faith, on that day, is publicly celebrated." The council of Savaurense ordained, that this Symbol be sung only in the morning, because it was published at the time when the thick night and darkness of heresies and of errors, were universally exposed and dispelled. It was chiefly too in consequence of the prevalence of this Symbol in the church, that every member was required to commit it to memory.

The evangelical church received this Symbol among her confessional writings, as an evidence of her conformity with the ancient church in every thing which belongs to the catholic faith. But although Ballerman and other Roman writers charge Luther, with having ascribed little importance to the Athanasian Symbol, indeed to the whole doctrine of the Trinity, it is sufficient in reference to the latter charge, to refer to the numerous sermons and other writings of Luther, which furnish us with abundant evidence that in regard to the Trinity, he has invariably adhered to the doctrine laid down in the Scripture; and in reference to the former it is only necessary to remember, not only some of his declarations already referred to, in relation to this Symbol, but also some passages in his comments on the prophet Joel, where he says in reference to the Symbol: "I know not whether there was any thing written, even in the time of the Apostles, more important and more sacred in the church of the New Testament."

The numerous translations of this Symbol into other languages, furnish abundant evidence of the character which it had acquired. We have already alluded to the Greek translation of it, and it was, soon after its appearance, translated into the Hebrew, Arabic, Anglo-Saxon, and German languages.

II. The Augsburg Confession.

1. *Its Appellation and Origin.*—Thirteen years had already elapsed, since Luther made the first attempt towards the Reformation. To be convinced how necessary this had become, we shall have to take a hasty glance at the condition of

the church, which indeed had taken the ecumenical Symbols as her foundation, but had also, in the course of time, permitted numerous abuses in doctrine and worship, to be introduced and superadded to these Symbols. Luther was not the first to perceive this; but all the efforts which had been made to restore the church to a knowledge and performance of her duty, had proved unavailing, up to the time of his appearance. Yet now the time was ripe when Luther, or rather the power of God through him, was to pronounce the omnipotent fiat, which thousands of minds perceived to be, only the expression of that which had been living in their own bosoms, and had become the object of their warmest desire.

Luther did not stand alone, as more or less of his predecessors, all the eminent men of his age, stood at his back, and hence his views spread abroad with the rapidity of lightning,—they found in the minds of all a joyful acknowledgment, and a heartfelt reception. Only in the church, as she had been founded amidst the depravity and infirmity of men, the work of the Reformation met with no encouragement. The holy conclave would have had to yield up their existence at the same time with their errors. Hence they endeavored to defeat the efforts of Luther; and because it seemed impossible that they should submit, it was natural that a new church should be erected, which should acknowledge the word of God as the fountain of faith in all the elementary principles of her belief, and, as an evidence of her internal harmony, of her identity with the pure and primitive church, make a public confession of these principles.

The reformed church had already acknowledged these fundamental principles frequently and openly; she had expressed her desire that a general Diet of the empire be appointed, as the most effectual means for the rejection of errors in belief; she had for that purpose, already expressed her approbation of "A free, Christian council,"—for although they arose in Germany, yet the elements of the Reformation were now diffused throughout christendom. The German emperor, Charles V., perceiving indeed the importance of these matters, but not comprehending the full compass of them, cherished the hope that he might, by gentle means, again restore the evangelical authorities of the church to a reconciliation with the Roman See. He perceived that these dissensions would greatly impair the union and power of the German dominions, as well as his own imperial authority; and therefore, on the 21st of January, 1530, he proclaimed a Diet of the estates general, to take place at Augsburg, on the eighth of April. In reference to this most important object of the Diet, the imperial mandate goes on to say: "In order to consult further about the dissensions in reference to our holy religion and Christian faith,—how the opinions and sentiments of contending parties on the subject of religion, might be mutually expressed, explained, and considered, with moderation, mildness, and affection; that the errors which have been discussed or avowed by each party in their writings, being abandoned or corrected, those opinions might be settled and reduced to one plain standard of truth and Christian harmony; that one pure and true religion being cherished and preserved among us, we may be able to live in harmony and concord in one Christian church also, in the same manner as we subsist and serve under one Christ."

Thus an opportunity was given to the evangelical authorities, to appear with a general confession of faith. They perceived at the same time the whole importance of the occasion. The faithful and pious chancellor, Dr. Gregory Fontanus, advised that "those opinions to which we had hitherto adhered, and in which we still persisted, should be brought together in a systematic form, supported by evidences from the word of God, in order that we might have something definite to present." And thus prince John of Saxony gave orders to Luther, Jonas, Bugenhagen, and Melanchthon, about the fourteenth of March, 1530, under the instruction of the imperial proclamation, "To draw up the articles concerning which

there had been contentions, both in faith and in other external usages and ceremonies of the church, and personally to deliver it to him at Torgau on the Sunday of Oculi." The accomplishment of this labor was prolonged, however, for some time, as may be seen by another communication of the elector to the above-named theologians, on the 21st of March; his desire, however, was finally complied with, and the draft when finished was afterwards made the elements of a system of Confession by Melanchthon, as appears from a letter of the elector to Luther, dated at Augsburg, on the eleventh of May,—in which he says: "After you and some others of our learned theologians, in obedience to our gracious order and request, had brought those articles, which have become the subject of controversy, in the form of notes to Wittemburg, we desire not to conceal it from you that Mr. Philip Melanchthon revised these notes, and drew them up into a system, and we now return them to you. And it is our gracious desire that you will now still further revise these articles, and that you may feel yourself under no restraint, in pointing ont by some little notes or remarks, any portions which may please you, or which you think proper to censure." The reply of Luther, May 15, is generally known: "I have read over the Confession by Mr. Philip Melanchthon, and I am well pleased with it. I can find nothing in it to improve or to change; nor would such an attempt become me: for, in this art, I cannot move along so softly and gracefully as he. We hope and pray that Christ our Lord may cause this work to produce a train of great results. Amen."

We remark, that in the writings of the elector the reference is to the *controverted articles*,—"Articles concerning which there is some controversy, and when abuses are found, there they are corrected." To these was to be inferred the draft by the theologians of Wittemburg, and the second part of the Confession is the place where we have to seek this draft. But the elements of the seventeen Articles, concerning Faith and Doctrine, which Luther had completed in 1529, in his religious controversy with Zwinglius at Marburg, constitute the first part of the Confession. These articles were altered here and there at Marburg, and then laid before the second Suabian Convent, Oct. 16, 1529, and adopted; and they were very probably transmitted by the theologians to the elector at Torgau, at the same time with their own draft, and another treatise on Faith and Works.

These three works,—the seventeen Suabian articles, (or rather the articles of Marburg,) the treatise on Faith and Works, and the draft of the controverted articles,—were laid before Melanchthon at Augsburg, in order to be arranged into one system, for the purpose of being presented as a public Confession before the Emperor and his subjects. It is sufficiently known how earnestly he took this work to heart, how deeply he took every word of it under consideration, being fully aware of its high importance. And indeed all the evangelical party had to go to work, with greater diligence, to ensure the success of their Confession; for the circumstances under which it would have to be exhibited at Augsburg, gave to them only a stronger motive to be solicitous for the future. According to the language of the Emperor's proclamation for a general diet of the empire, he had expressed himself very friendly disposed towards them,—"Kindly and graciously desiring that each of the electors, princes, and the estates general, put down in writing, in the German and Latin languages, his views and opinions of the errors, dissensions, and abuses already referred to, and deliver a copy, in order that these errors and dissensions may be the better collated and compared, and the sooner reduced to a unanimous Christian system." But these fair prospects soon became darkened; and he who came to the diet filled with the best hopes, could not fail to see the imminent danger which threatened the Reformation.

The Emperor already at Viacenza, had very ungraciously received the messengers of the evangelical party, who had to deliver to him their protestation, towards

the close of the diet at Spire, indeed he had them arrested. He delayed the investiture of the elector of Saxony under various pretexts, and appeared to lend a willing ear to the opponents of the protestants, who had gathered around him at Insbruck. We shall not stop to consider this. For the declarations of the Emperor above alluded to, and particularly the occurrences in Italy seemed better calculated to facilitate his negotiations with the Pope. We turn our attention to the events at the diet itself. There the Emperor was long expected, and not until the evening of the fifteenth of June did he arrive at Augsburg, where the elector John of Saxony had already come on the second of May, the landgrave Philip of Hesse on the twelfth, two days after which the duke Ernst of Luneburg came, and on the twenty-fourth the landgrave George of Brandenburg. At this time a number of evangelical members of the diet, with those who had been sent to the diet had collected. Luther, who was under the ban of the imperial edict issued at Worms, had to remain behind at Coburg. But the famous theologians, whom the evangelical princes were to bring with them, did not fail to attend. Along with Melanchthon was Justus Jonas, Dr. Urban Regius, Dr. Stephen Agricola, Mr. George Spalatin, Mr. John Agricola of Eisleben, Andrew Osiander, John Brentius, John Rurer, Adam Weis, Martin Moglin, Dr. Schnepf, Dr. Ordinger, Dr. Henry Bock, and others. Among the princes were particularly observed the Saxon chancellors Brück and Bayer, and the margraves Vogler and Heller. Equally numerous with the evangelical, were the Catholic princes and estates; and there was great reason for the remarks which Luther made in his letter to Cordatus, on the sixth of July: "I am exceedingly gratified that I have lived to the present hour, in which Christ is proclaimed by his own confessors so illustrious, in so large an assembly, and in a public Confession so very beautiful. And that Scripture is fulfilled, 'I will declare thy testimonies in the presence of kings,' and this will be fulfilled also which is spoken by one, who does not speak falsely: 'He who shall confess me before men, him will I confess before my Father, who is in heaven.'"

When the diet had commenced, there were numerous difficulties to be encountered. On the evening of the arrival of the Emperor, he summoned the four princes of Saxony, Brandenburg, Luneburg, and Hesse, to a private audience, and he enjoined it upon them to forbid the theologians, who had attended them to Augsburg, to preach there. Here the Register of Rurenburg reports in reference to these men, that the landgrave of Hesse spoke for the evangelical party as well as he could, on the subject of preaching; and when king Ferdinand, in the French language, pressed the subject in the presence of his royal majesty, the Emperor would pay no regard to his entreaties, and indeed manifested signs of indignation, intimating to them, through his brother the king, that he would persist in the injunction, and desiring them to understand what it was their duty to do. Then George the margrave boldly declared, that he reverenced this doctrine, and would ever abide by the word of God; that before he would yield, the Emperor might take off his head; that the princes for the present had no other desire than to obtain a hearing, and that on the next day at the early hour of six, the Emperor would give a further answer in reference to this matter. There are other evidences that the heroism of the margrave George, which acquired for him the honorable sirname of Confessor, made a favorable impression upon the emperor, and it is facetiously reported that he exclaimed: "Take the head off! take the head off!" But it came, however, only to this, that the emperor finally forbade both parties to preach, and only granted occasional permission to such ecclesiastics as those to whom he himself should have expressly granted the privilege. In the second place, it was an earnest desire of the Emperor, that the evangelical princes should take part in the festival of Corpus Christi, about to take place the following day; but this likewise was so pertinaciously refused by the margrave

George, that king Ferdinand wept with indignation. On the other hand, the emperor refused, and even determined, not to let the Confession of the evangelical party be read or delivered at the general diet.

For while the members of the diet were convened in the forenoon of Saturday, the twenty-fifth of June, and after an address of the Pope's legate in reference to the religious difficulties, and the movements of the Turks, after the reception likewise of a message from the Low Countries in the east, praying for assistance against the Turks, the princes of Saxony, Brandenburg, Luneburg, and Hesse, who together with the representatives of Nuremburg and Reitlingen, had subscribed to this Confession on the twenty-third, appeared with the instrument in their hands, and Dr. Brück, in their name, entreated the emperor to permit it to be read aloud, it appeared that this request, so just and reasonable in itself, and of so much importance to the evangelical party, had not become in the least degree more acceptable than before. The Register above referred to, relates the interesting proceedings, in which the Confession of the evangelical party finally vanquished, through the assistance of God, in so perspicuous a manner, that we cannot avoid quoting several remarkable passages here: "His majesty, after the conference with the elector and princes, at first absolutely refused this request, and peremptorily required the Confession to be presented to him; and when the princes who made the application, continued to agitate the matter, observing that necessity highly required it, because it greatly concerned themselves, the salvation of their souls, their honor, and their reputation; unless this were done, they must stand before his royal highness in a very disreputable light, as having suffered unbecoming doctrine and opinions to be disseminated in his provinces; on account of this it would be necessary for their own character to be publicly heard. His imperial majesty again refused a third time, but the elector and the princes continued to press the matter, and desired with humility and piety, that he would suffer the Confession to be read here publicly. For nothing had been written in it except what necessity demanded, and no one was assailed with abuse. Then his imperial majesty caused them to be informed, that he felt inclined to grant their request, but as it had become late, it was his desire that their electoral and princely graces would deliver the Confession to his imperial majesty, and that he would hear it at two o'clock in the afternoon, in his palace, in the presence of the elector, the princes, and estates.

"On the other hand, the elector and princes caused it to be intimated, that it was their principal desire for his majesty and the estates to hear their Confession, with the further request, if it would be agreeable to him, that he, at the appointed hour at which he had proposed to hear them at the palace, appear again at the council chamber, and permit their manuscript to be read there, suffering them to retain it in order to review and correct it, as it had been drawn up in haste. His highness persisted in the determination of hearing it at the palace, but was willing to permit the elector and princes to retain the manuscript; and to this the princes had to submit.

"At three in the afternoon, the Confession was subscribed by the elector of Saxony and the other princes, and likewise by the representatives of Nuremburg and Reitlingen. It was first read from a German copy by the Saxon chancellor, in a clear and audible voice, so that all who attended might understand it, and then delivered in Latin and German to his imperial majesty, in presence of the elector, the princes, and estates. Thereupon his majesty, after some consultation with the other electors and princes, caused it to be said by duke Frederick to the elector of Saxony and his attendants, that his imperial majesty had heard the Confession, and because the due consideration of it would be tedious, involving matters of the greatest importance, necessity required his majesty to reflect maturely upon it,

and to take counsel; that his imperial majesty would do so; that he would examine it thoroughly as became his Christian character; in this determination he would persist, and that he would grant the elector and princes who had spoken another hearing. This answer, and especially the gracious audience which had been promised, drew from the elector and his attendants, the warmest expressions of gratitude towards his majesty, the king, the electors, princes and estates, promising their humble services and obligations in the most friendly terms. And it was further decided that they would conduct themselves towards his majesty with submissive loyalty, and that they would faithfully observe and perform his majesty's orders, not only in reference to this matter, but also in reference to all the business of the diet.

"Afterwards his imperial majesty charged the elector and princes, still urging their cause with earnest entreaties, to keep this dangerous manuscript with themselves, and not have it published; and they promised to have this attended to."

That which was aimed at from the first as an apology, became a confession. In consequence of its apologetic character, Melanchthon had at first named it Apology; but it must be remarked that it ought to be much rather called a Confession. In the reports of the delegates of Nuremburg, other appellations still appear: they speak of it as a Proposal or Proposition, and as the Saxon Abstract or Report. For it was originally the intention, that each evangelical delegation should hand over their own written statement, but the margrave George advised that they should all unite in one general Confession, and receive Melanchthon's Apology as such a Confession, which on account of its great importance, and the place where it was delivered, was called the Augsburg Confession. In later times, during the controversy with the Jesuits, it was distinguished by the name of the Evangelical Apple of the eye, (Prov. 7, 2,) in consequence of the high importance which the evangelical church attributed to it.

And lastly it still remains to mention, that the Emperor himself took both copies of the Confession, which the chancellor Brück, after having read them, wished to deliver to the imperial secretary, Alexander Schweis; and it was his intention to keep the Latin copy himself, and to transfer the one in German to the elector of Mentz as chancellor of the empire, to be deposited in the archives of the government. In this manner the Latin copy of the Confession came into the archives at Brussels, whence the duke of Albo afterwards carried it with him to Spain.

Our gratitude is due to the determinate resolution of the elector of Saxony, that the Confession was read in the German language, when the emperor, not without design, wished the Latin text to be read. For the elector is said to have cried out, that they were on German ground, in a German land, and he hoped the emperor would not refuse to hear the German copy. At the same time the evangelical party asserted, that the Latin copy had been written in so much haste, that it would be very difficult to read it.

2. *Its Nature, its Composition, and Design.*—The Confession of Augsburg, as we have already observed, comprises the three manuscripts which had been consigned to Melanchthon, for the purpose of being revised and formed into one system. From these three manuscripts arose the two parts of the Confession,—the first of which, consisting of twenty-one articles, on Faith and the doctrines of the church, and the second, consisting of seven articles, on abuses which are there corrected, are drawn up in a clear, artless, firm, and elegant style. In these articles Melanchthon comprises the opinions of the theologians; the preface and conclusion were added by chancellor Brück. It is said that the Latin text, without the preface, however, and the conclusion, and without the twentieth article, was finished a long time before the German copy, and that this text alone

was sent to Luther. We find, indeed, in the Register of the 14th of June, this remark: "The Saxon Abstract of the articles of Faith composed in German, is to be ascribed to the Saxon delegates, yet without a Preface or a Conclusion, and as Philip Melanchthon undertook to revise it, he did not wish to attach any Preface or Conclusion of his own to it in German, as he believed that the Preface and Conclusion ought to be composed not only in the name of the elector, but in that of all the Lutheran princes and estates; and while he was rendering the articles in German, namely, where it is said in the Latin text that this or that was preached or maintained by the Saxon electors, in the German he has left out the Saxon electors, and substituted a general term, which is equally applicable to all the estates." But this German copy, which the delegates of Nuremburg could have sent home on the fifteenth, as they had already on the third of June transmitted the Latin copy, is complete; and we have a German manuscript, in which the preface, the conclusion, and the twentieth article also, are wanting. Thus it appears that the German text was completed, soon after the completion of the Latin probably, but certainly after it. We believe indeed that we are able to adduce a more positive evidence, that both copies were transmitted to Luther at Coburg. On the sixteenth of May, according to the Register, "the delegates of Nuremburg asked of the Saxon chancellor, what his grace desired to discuss at this diet in reference to subjects relating to religion? He answered that it was in reference to a proposition concerning this article, first sketched here at Augsburg, in order that it be written out in German and Latin, but that it was still unfinished, having been sent in order that Luther might revise it; that in a few days it would be returned, not to be retained, but to be sent back." If we observe that the delegates speak of sending a draft in Latin, "and when the report is brought into German, the draft will also become manifest;" hence we need only assume that they mean the German Confession in its complete state; for the draft, according to the testimony of the Saxon chancellor, was completed already on the 16th of May. It appears too, by the testimony already adduced from the above particulars of the 14th of June, that the Confession by Melanchthon was made from a translation of the Latin text, which, however, may serve no less for a true original; because Melanchthon, after he had completed it by the addition of a Preface and Conclusion, with all diligence applied himself to the improvement of the German text. He himself introduced numerous alterations; and it is not reasonable to suppose that Luther had the management of these, which gradually gave to the original draft quite a different form. "I have rendered the Preface of our Confession somewhat more rhetorical than that which I had written at Coburg," he writes to Luther on the fourth of May; and on the twenty-second of the same month: "I am making many alterations every day in the Apology. I wish you would glance over the articles of faith. If you think there is nothing wrong in them, I will know better how to complete the rest. For they must be gradually changed and accommodated to changing circumstances." And on the day after the delivery of the Confession, he writes to Comerarius, that he had altered and improved the chief parts every day, and that he would have made still greater alterations, if his counsellors had permitted him; so that he had good reason, on transmitting his copy, after the remarks above quoted, to write to bishop Dietrich respecting Luther: "I desire to know what the doctor thinks of my Apology."

So long as Melanchthon was preparing this Confession for his master, the elector, he was under less restrictions in reference to these alterations. But when those princes and estates had come with their theologians, with writings on the same subjects to the diet, and had agreed to present a general Confession, and even this of Melanchthon's, which we believe, was completed in the first week in June, then the several articles had to be settled in general council, and established in

full conference. And hence says Melanchthon with great reason: "I have assumed nothing on my own authority, each sentence and each article being discussed in order by the princes and other rulers and advisers, who were present."

Thus we distinctly perceive that the existing manuscripts or copies deposited in archives, differ widely from each other. There appear to be nine Latin manuscripts, twelve German, and one in French. The Latin copies are—1. The Hessian, in the public archives, at the castle of the elector of Hesse, together with another Latin, a German, and a French manuscript, brought home from the diet by the landgrave Philip; and it has been characterized with this epithet properly enough by Forsteman, and though it occupied the second place among the public copies, we have introduced it first, because it manifestly contains the Confession in its original form, that is, not as a system of faith under the title "Chief articles of Faith." 2. The Dessauan manuscript, in the general archives of Anhalt, brought home from the diet by prince Wolf. It has neither Title, Preface, nor Conclusion. 3. The manuscript of Regensburg, among the public documents of the cathedral; to this manuscript, Gemeiner, the keeper of the archives, with great inaccuracy would add the title of "the eighth copy from the original text." It is written in two different hands, and has numerous corrections from copyists and other causes. 4. The manuscript of Wurtsburg, in the archives of Wurtsburg. This agrees, like the foregoing one of Regensburg, mostly with the text of Fabricus, and both show when the original draft of the Confession was completed. 5. The manuscript of Ansbach, in the archives of Nuremburg, belonging to the publik records of Brandenburg, brought from the diet by the margrave George, together with three German manuscripts of the same. It is entire, its principal differences being in the article concerning the vows of the monks, where the words are omitted from "the Canons teach in every vow," to "are exposed to the eyes of men;" and in the article concerning the power of the church, a considerable addition appears, which, however, we still may notice in the oldest impression. From an examination of this manuscript, we can defend Forsteman against Weber, that the preface very probably was written at the same time with this text. The ink is not faded, and on both the leaves upon which the preface is written it extends over the whole surface of the paper, and to both margins, the other part of this containing a part of the controverted article. 6. The manuscript of Hessia. It is the first manuscript in the volume of records, containing numerous corrections, and agrees in general with the first Latin impression. 7. The Hanoverian manuscript, in the archives of Hanover, brought by duke Ernest of Luneburg from the diet, with a German manuscript. It is complete, yet almost illegible in consequence of the numerous corrections. 8. The manuscript of Nuremburg, in the archives of Nuremburg, excepting the want of the antitheses in articles thirteenth and eighteenth, agrees with the quarto edition by Melanchthon, in 1531. It has apparently many corrections, and, a circumstance of some importance, the names of seven princes subscribed. 9. The manuscript of Weimar, in the public records of the General History at Weimar. It is found in the records of the convent of Naumburg, 1561, and was written at that time, as Weber and Forsteman have proved. It agrees with the quarto edition of Melanchthon, word for word, though the antitheses in articles thirteen and eighteen are wanting.

The French translation of the Augsburg Confession appears in the archives of the elector at Cassel, and was inserted in the volume of public records with a Latin and German manuscript. Like the first Ansbach German manuscript, it wants the preface and the controverted articles; on the other hand, it contains the article concerning the invocation of saints, and thus resembles the Spalatin manuscript. It is quite probable that this is a translation of that manuscript, concerning which, on the 28th of May, 1530, the delegates of Nuremburg wrote to their master:

"The Report, that is, the Augsburg Confession, was composed in Latin, German, and French." The author, no doubt, was Tucher of Nuremburg, who by order of the elector of Saxony, translated into French a copy of instructions to be delivered to the emperor. On the authority of Forsteman, the imperial secretary had nothing to do with the translation of this article.

The German manuscripts are the following:—1. That of Spalatin, in the archives of Weimar. It is in Spalatin's own hand-writing, without the Preface, and containing the third part only of the articles concerning monastic vows. Among all manuscripts this exhibits the Confession in the most ancient form. 2. That of Anspach. It wants the Preface, the twentieth and twenty-first articles, and likewise the controverted articles. It still, however, agrees in its details more with the manuscript of Spalatin, than with later ones. Though it exhibits variations from the former, which are wanting in the latter, and thus it seems to occupy a kind of medium position between the two. 3. That of Hanover. This is considered original, entirely corresponding with the foregoing only from the first to the nineteenth article, together with the Conclusion, and the Introduction to the controverted articles, and then, it was certainly written by a different hand, the Preface, together with the twentieth and twenty-first article and the controverted articles is added, and some necessary variations from the first draft are made, probably by the same hand, yet in so careless a manner, that it is forgotten to insert the conclusion to the articles of faith and the introduction to the controverted articles after the nineteenth article; but in the proper place of this introduction, the twentieth and twenty-first articles, omitted in their own place, are written, and then the conclusion and introduction follow. 4. That of Hessia. It contains corrections from a hand, not contemporary indeed, and not so late as the last. It is complete, and corresponds almost entirely with that of Augsburg. 5. That of Nuremburg. It exhibits numerous instances of conformity with those of Weimar, Anspach, and Hanover, more especially, however, with the copy in the records of Mentz; and contains the names of eight princes subscribed. 6. That of Munich, in the public archives of Munich. It shows a strict correspondence with later manuscripts in their complete form. It frequently adds the text from the leading edition of Melanchthon, and is remarkable on account of some peculiar readings, ending however, with the article concerning the Mass, in the words, *fur andre Lebendigen und Todten*. 7. That of Weimar. It is only a copy of a copy, agreeing mostly with the above manuscript of Mentz; it contains readings, however, which occur in the oldest impressions, and in the *editio princeps*. 8. That of Nordlingen, in the public archives of Nordlingen. It betrays deficiencies which characterize it as an incorrect transcript, and agrees in general with the Augsburg manuscript, and the impression of Oberland. 9. That of Augsburg, in the library at Augsburg. It agrees with that of Nordlingen, and also with the copy of Oberland, and especially with the last; so that it appears, both have originated from the same source. 10. The second manuscript at Augsburg. This is, incontestably, a very important manuscript. It agrees with that in the public records at Mentz; it exhibits corrections, however, in which the original readings are changed, and those inserted which occur in other manuscripts, and in the *editio princeps*. These corrections, with few exceptions, are written by the same hand, and they may be a still greater evidence, that this manuscript was compared with the original copy, when it was used by the evangelical and Roman Catholic parties, in the examination of the draft, which was made at the diet. From the most positive evidence we can declare, that this very manuscript affords us the text of the Augsburg Confession, in a form which exhibits the highest degree of conformity with that which was delivered to the emperor. The variations from the original seem to consist mostly in differences of orthography among the writers; as to

the text, no further variations appear. "With all propriety this manuscript may be used as a ground for a new edition of the Augsburg Confession." This is the opinion of Forsteman, which we cannot vouch for, without an actual inspection of the manuscript. 11. The third manuscript of Anspach. Weber calls this merely a transcript of the foregoing manuscript, by the same hand, in which his corrections are introduced into the text. Forsteman opposes this; and we can agree with him too, from our own comparison of both manuscripts. If Forsteman is right, as we believe, this manuscript stands pre-eminent among them all, and nothing should prevent us from declaring it a true copy of the original. 12. The copy from the records of Mentz, from which the text of the Book of Concord has been usually taken, because it was long regarded as the original itself, although it is nothing but a copy, and more than this a defective one.

Before we describe how this copy attained the unmerited honor of furnishing the text for the Book of Concord, we must make some necessary remarks concerning the first publication of the Confession, because the history of this, especially of the so-called *editio variata*, shows us why recourse was had in the compilation of the Book of Concord to a *manuscript* of the Confession, in preference to Melanchthon's editions.

As remarked above, the emperor ordered the evangelical party not to publish the Confession, and these had promised to obey. But without the knowledge or consent of these men, there appeared even during the diet, and immediately after the conclusion of it, seven different editions, six in German and one in Latin, and indeed, as was natural enough, without betraying the printer, the publisher, or the editor. They were all published from one manuscript; the first four German editions were published in the Swiss dialect; the fifth in the dialect of Lower Saxony; the sixth in the high German dialect. They differ but little from each other. The first four abound in typographical errors, the fifth still more, but the sixth is more correct. The Latin publication, in its peculiarities, approaches the manuscript of Anspach, and has likewise numerous typographical errors, from which it is evident that the publisher knew very little about Latin.

The want of authenticity in these publications, caused Melanchthon, as he says himself, in his Latin preface, not indeed from the positive order of the elector, and yet not without his previous knowledge, to issue a publication of the Latin and German text. This edition has the following title: "Confession of Faith, exhibited to the invincible emperor, Charles Augustus, at the Diet of Augsburg, 1530; to which is added the Apology of the Confession, both in German and Latin. Wittemburg." And at the end,—"Printed by George Rhau, 1531." From this last date, we must not conclude, that this edition first appeared in 1531. 1. Because Melanchthon says in the preface to his *editio princeps* concerning that first publication: "It was published two months before, by some speculating typographer." 2. Because the date, 1531, is not applicable to the publication of the Confession, but to that of the Apology. The Confession was published, and in circulation, before the publication of the Apology. 3. Because we learn from a letter of Pistorius, dated, Midda, 18th of January, 1561, addressed to the landgrave Philip, on the occasion of the Naumburg Convention, where the princes wished to subscribe to the authentic copy of the Confession: "Since I have heard that your princely grace has sought, with so much diligence, for a copy of the Augsburg Confession, corresponding with the one delivered to his imperial majesty, in 1530, in order to provide against our adversaries, who keep circulating the injurious report, that we have no longer the Confession which was delivered to the emperor. Now, I have two copies, one in Latin and one in German, of the very first edition in quarto, printed at Wittemburg, and brought to the Diet at Augsburg. These copies I

transmit to you, which I received of Dr. Brück, and which agree in every respect with the manuscript delivered to his imperial majesty."

This publication has the effect of presenting both texts united in one copy, though they both at the same time can be separated in such a manner that comparative forms of examples can be viewed at pleasure. More numerous editions of this text rapidly succeeded each other, different examples of which are those of Feuerlein, Weber, and Dr. Gottler, in his invaluable Monography, and in addition a critical literary history of the original copy of Melanchthon's Augsburg Confession and the Apology in Latin and German, printed at Nuremburg in 1830. Concerning the formation of this text, Melanchthon says in the preface of his publication, "that he himself prepared it from a copy of great authenticity." It is now uncertain whether these words have reference to the Latin only, or to the Latin and German both; and it is still more uncertain, whether Melanchthon inserted the amendments which he had already made in his first publication, and in what relation his text stands to that delivered to the emperor. Both of these very important inquiries it may be our duty in this place to answer. 1. The words which we have quoted from the preface, have reference only to the Latin text; for Melanchthon took his draft from this, which, in a very immature state in consequence of the great haste, was delivered to the emperor; nor can it be said with any more reason, that he derived it from a copy finished before the delivery. Indeed of the German text, he still had the draft in his own hands. 2. In the Latin text Melanchthon made very little alteration, of which assertion the readings furnish abundant evidence, as well as the silence of the archbishop Lindanus, who, in his late work on the discrepancies in the Concordia, 1583, only reproaches the German text, and the later Latin publications of the Concordia, pointing out spurious readings, but not from the Latin *editio princeps;* and in reference to this matter, Lindanus was the best qualified to judge, for he had himself seen the Latin draft in the archives of Brussels. The German text was diligently revised by Melanchthon, and frequently changed, not only in letters and in words, but the twentieth, twenty-seventh, and twenty-eighth articles, were entirely remodelled. From particular instances, of which we shall speak hereafter, we are convinced that our text approaches much nearer the original copy which was delivered to the emperor, than does the *editio princeps* of Melanchthon. For,—1. Our text is derived from the best manuscripts, especially the second of Anspach. We shall not presume, however, that any one of these manuscripts, even the third of Anspach itself, would have been correct, according to this text of Melanchthon, if he delivered that one to the emperor. 3. It was not a very long time before that he had written the draft of the Latin text in its purity, and so it was also but a short time till important alterations of the German text were made, which the numerous controversies on the subjects of the text had rendered necessary. 4. Melanchthon himself says, that his counsellors had forbidden him to make any further alterations; that he had improvements in readiness, which he was not suffered to apply; so that he seized the first opportunity which presented, to accomplish what still seemed requisite, and this was the publication of the Confession. 5. Our text may be regarded, if prejudice could be laid aside, as the publication of the original copy, while the text of the *editio princeps* is much more labored, more profound, and more refined.

In reference, however, to the names subscribed to the Confession, they may, indeed, prove the *editio princeps* to be historically correct. For Melanchthon must certainly have known who subscribed the Confession, and he could neither have added to, nor taken from it, a single name without incurring the reprehensions of his adversaries. But the subscribers of the *editio princeps* defend its accuracy up to the year 1572, when an edition at Brandenburg, according to a col-

lation by Cœlestin and Zoch, appeared with a catalogue of false names, which were afterwards transferred into the German edition of the Book of Concord. It may, indeed, be correctly inferred from this, that the elector Frederick and duke Franz subscribed the Latin copy of the Confession, as the more important one, but not the German copy, because they were not then in the exercise of any civil office. This is a source from which nothing can be conceived and nothing known, when such a difference between the two copies was made. In relation to the *editio princeps* it may still further be said, to judge from its correspondence with the Latin copy and the manuscripts, that no objection was made in this respect to Philip, landgrave of Hesse, at the convention in Naumburg in 1561, where he was then still present, and further that Lindanus seems to remember nothing of any such occurrence.

These alterations by Melanchthon in the quarto edition of 1531, which soon after received further amendments in the octavo edition of 1531 and 1538 in Latin, and then in German 1533 and 1536, excite no further attention, since they only affect the composition and the style, but by no means make any innovation upon the Lutheran doctrine. For, although Wigand, with some plausibility, says in reference to the first octavo edition: "Some time after, in the same year, another edition appeared in octavo form, which Melanchthon, without consulting others, began to change in several places, introducing injurious alterations as well as good,"—yet we have a more certain evidence against this objection, in the Apology of the Augsburg Confession: "In the first ten years, that is, from 1530 to 1540, no alteration appeared which could be regarded as serious in reference to any real doctrines, or points affecting our articles of faith." Melanchthon indeed, as the alterations themselves prove, was entirely and exclusively influenced by the desire to render that evangelical system of truth, so gloriously acknowledged at Augsburg, always better, to defend it always with still greater energy and success, on which account it has come to pass, that this Confession and Apology has ever been regarded as the general Confession, but by no means as Symbolic writings in our sense of that term. On the other hand, it is a circumstance of much importance, that in the year 1540, a new Latin quarto edition, by George Rhau, appeared, which presents the tenth article,—concerning the Lord's Supper,—in the following words: "Respecting the Lord's Supper, they teach, that the body and blood of Christ may be represented with bread and wine to those who participate in that sacrament;" whereas in its original form it read thus: "Respecting the Lord's Supper, they teach, that the true body and blood of Christ are truly present, and are distributed to those who participate in the Lord's Supper, and the learned likewise approve it." This alteration was, in every sense, a deviation from the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and an approach towards the Calvinistic doctrine, which article, when so rendered, can be conveniently explained in accordance with his doctrine; as Calvin, in 1557, writes to M. Schelling: "I do not reject the Augsburg Confession, to which I willingly and cheerfully would subscribe, as the author himself has explained it." But that which the Calvinist would regard merely as an interpretation, elucidation, indeed, as it would naturally seem to him, an improvement, the Lutheran must view as a dangerous and unwarrantable perversion of his Confession of Faith; and, indeed, this is evident from the attack of Eck upon Melanchthon at the colloquy at Worms, 1541, where the altered copy of the Augsburg Confession was brought forward, and equally evident must it be from the further history of the Lutheran church. At this colloquy Melanchthon at last was obliged to discontinue his reference to the altered edition, and the elector, John Frederick of Saxony, declared, "that he was determined to disregard the new edition, and adhere only to the original." From this it evidently appears that the elector could not sanction these altera-

tions of the Confession; besides the elector had before this time taken umbrage at the frequent alterations made by Melanchthon. For Luther, during the session of the Convention at Smalcald, said to the princes who visited him in his illness: "After my death, dissensions will occur at the university of Wittemburg, and my doctrines will be altered." The elector took this so deeply to heart, that immediately after the recovery of Luther, he came to Wittemburg, and intimated to Luther and Bugenhagen, through the chancellor Brück, that he did not like to hear that Melanchthon and Creuziger employed modes of expression, in the articles of Justification and Good Works, different from those of Luther; that Melanchthon indeed, in editing the Augsburg Confession, had taken upon himself the responsibility, without consulting his friends, to alter several words. "These alterations taking place now," said the elector in a prophetic spirit, "what will occur, Dr. Martin, when we both close our eyes? Our oldest prince is still a child, and our brother is yet young, and there is a great deficiency in competent men." Much less could he call the altered edition a good one; and indeed Brück had to speak in reference to this matter, with Melanchthon, at the request of the elector, and make him acquainted with that nobleman's dissatisfaction. In the General History of the doctrines of the Protestants, by Weber and Planck, the evidences may be seen which have been employed to refute the foregoing assertions. But although both these allow no weight to these assertions, and especially wish to make it appear, that Luther was aware of the alterations of Melanchthon, not viewing them with silence, but even *sanctioned* them, yet this would be an objection against which many evidences can be adduced, in all respects claiming our attention. For the evidence of Wigand is worthy of remark, who says: "I heard from George Rorarius, that Dr. Luther said to Melanchthon,—'Philip! Philip! you are not doing right, in altering the Augustan Confession so often; for it does not belong to you, but to the church.'" And this was far from being a Flacian tale, as Planck would represent it; indeed the theologians of Jena had made the assertion, at the colloquy in Altenburg, held in 1568, without contradiction by their opponents. Selnecker and Chytraus, who at first had expressed a favorable opinion of the alterations of Melanchthon, signed the report addressed to the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, dated March 15, 1578, in which it is said, that the Augsburg Confession was altered, by the advice, consent, and recommendation of the devout Dr. Luther, as the alteration was undertaken and accomplished during his life. This cannot be indicated by the authority of any theologian; for it is true that there were several still living, who could vouch that no alteration of the Augsburg Confession, or of the *Locorum Communium*, met the approbation of Dr. Luther. And that this is the general view of the subject, is proved especially by the important declaration of the Reformed theologian, John Vossius, against Hugo Grotius, who asserts that to view the Belgic Confession as having been altered is inevitable, because that alteration was made at Augsburg. Vossius writes to him: "You say that the Augustan Confession has been changed. I know not whether that is of any great consequence, since it was altered by the private judgment of Melanchthon, but, if I am not deceived, it was never altered by public authority. This one thing at least I know, that Melanchthon was frequently reproached by Luther for doing this, without seeking the counsel of others. I know also that the princes of Germany, who adhere to the Augustan Confession, acknowledge no other except that exhibited to Charles V. in 1530." It is true that no public declaration of Luther's upon this point has come down to us, but it is abundantly sufficient for us to know what is said in the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, that Luther had by no means approved the interferences of Melanchthon, but indeed guarded against them with the greatest diligence. At first he said nothing publicly respecting it, until finally he determined to write to him,

when in the name of the elector, he was entreated by chancellor Brück, in the following language: "I have several times offered the best admonitions to Melanchthon, but he has not followed them. Do you, therefore, make all the efforts in your power, and, in the name of God, do your utmost to preserve the purity of our holy doctrines." Luther was exceedingly mortified, on seeing that it would be necessary for him to act in opposition to Melanchthon; and we need not be surprised, if he bewailed the unfortunate circumstance in a letter to his friends. "He had so long regarded Melanchthon as a true and active co-laborer, to whom he himself, to whom the church, owed so much gratitude, might he not hope to win him back by gentle and soothing admonitions, and restore him again from these dangerous and pernicious deviations?"

In the church, the copy of the *Latin* Confession of 1540, was that which particularly was said to be altered, while the earlier impressions, and the German copy, were not included under this characteristic, this copy having obtained at no time any considerable repute. At the time when the Cryptocalvinists had the supremacy, it did prevail to some extent; even so far as to induce the princes opposed to it, to enter into an examination of the discrepancies at the Convention of Naumburg in 1561, as "it was referred to, on the part of the papists, was handed about and used, in the religious discussions and disputes at Worms in 1540, and at several other places. The *editio princeps*, however, was the only one subscribed and defended." No doubt the evangelical party, at the diet of Augsburg in 1559, were distressed in consequence of these discrepancies, charged upon them by their opponents, and they proved, in their Protestation of May 1st, that they all unanimously persevered in maintaining the Confession delivered in 1530, and acknowledged exclusively in the Form of Concord, the first unaltered Augsburg Confession, and by this acknowledgment, they denied all authority, in the church expressly, to every other edition.

When their opponents undertook to found their arguments upon the alterations of Melanchthon, and especially to withdraw, after his death, to a lamentable extent, his adherents from the Lutheran church; when it became necessary, for the protection of the doctrines of the church, to embody the Symbolic writings into a system of doctrine, then it also became an object of deep solicitude, to recover the true text of the Confession delivered at Augsburg. Now where was this to be found, if not in the archives of Mentz? With this view, the elector Joachim II. was sent in company with the archbishop Sigismond of Magdeburg, in the year 1566, to the court chaplain, George Cœlestin, and to the counsellor, Andrew Zoch, at Mentz, for the purpose of determining whether this same be the real original. This copy appeared in 1576, by order of the elector August of Saxony, and the German text recovered by this examination has been introduced into the Book of Concord. There is reason to believe that we have the true original, and the best authorities, the chancellors of Mentz, can believe nothing less. Pfaff, the chancellor of Tübingen, was the first to excite a doubt on this subject. During his residence in Swalbach in 1729, he had an opportunity to seek for the original in the public archives of that place, but it could not be found, and it is now evident that the real copy, which the Register names as the original, is that which was published after the above-mentioned examination. The assertion of Pfaff, however, received the less credit, as in a short time after this, Feuerlein, a member of the consistory, made known the declaration of Gudenus, the assessor of the judicial court, from which it becomes evident that the German as well as the Latin original still exists entire in the archives. Feuerlein has even described the external appearance of the German copy, as being a book in small quarto form, bound in black leather, with red margins; and from this, the duchess dowager of Weimar, who, at the instance of Seidler, the chief counsellor of the consistory, had ask-ed

for a transcript of the authentic text, received an accredited transcript as a copy of the true original. Weber, the minister of the collegiate church, had this printed, and as it presented a text quite different from that of the Book of Concord, it could not escape various assaults from every side. From this Weber was induced to search the archives himself, and found to his astonishment, that the text which he had published was a copy of the edition of 1540, which Griesbach had already indicated, in his critical dissertations. It is really astonishing, that the civil council could presume to call this printed copy an original, while on the very title of it, the date 1540 appeared! The further researches of Weber were attended with similar results. The original copy delivered to the emperor Charles, had long since disappeared; and very probably it was sent, with other public documents, to Trent in 1546, and had not been returned. The investigation which took place in the year 1566 and 1576, was conducted in accordance with a transcript, which Weber discovered, under the name of Protocol. From this it is perceived, that Cœlestin, upon whose authority the credibility of the German and Latin text of the Confession received into the Book of Concord principally depends, was either dishonest, or at least very insincere. This Latin text, which he wishes to consider the original from the one preserved at Mentz, while indeed it was never there, is a reprint of the one published by Fabricius, and his German text is merely a transcript of the Protocol above mentioned, and yet he and the civil counsellors published it as a copy of the original. In addition to this, it also appeared that this Protocol had subscribers, although Cœlestin exhibits some names, yet not the *full* number.

Hence it is to be inferred, that our text in the Book of Concord by no means presents the true original. Indeed we are obliged to acknowledge still further, that it has been taken from a copy of the Confession, which has no small number of errors, namely, typographical errors, omissions, and transposition of sentences. Still, however, it can by no argument be established, that this is not a transcript from the original deposited in the public archives, the errors of which are not so much to be ascribed to the original, as to the carelessness and negligence of copyists, though we perhaps should find it improbable, as in that case the names of the signers should have accompanied the text. Mindestens cannot be persuaded that this text corresponds most closely with the best manuscripts, and that its errors might easily be corrected from that copy, and from the *editio princeps;* so that we have no reason to remove the text received by the church, and to introduce another in its place, when we cannot be certain that it approaches any nearer to the original copy. We appeal here to what was said above of the reception of this text in relation to the substance of the *editio princeps*, and to the evidences of the various readings. With great cheerfulness we acknowledge the value and the excellence of Weber's work, yet we cannot entirely exculpate him from all partiality. He takes no pains to conceal it, that he is an undisguised enemy of the Form of Concord. By this disposition he has exercised no small influence on many, and numbers have permitted themselves to be led into error by him. He has invalidated the authority of the Book of Concord, and as much as possible abused the text received by the church.

3. *Its Authority and Importance.*—Luther called the Diet at Augsburg, "The trumpet of the Last Day;" so might we, with equal propriety, denominate the Testimony which was presented there, the sound of this trumpet, which, because it proclaims the Gospel of God in a louder strain, has extended, as the sound of that trumpet will extend, into every land. The emperor himself sent it to numerous princes, and to the university at Lowen, for the purpose of ascertaining their opinions on these subjects. His secretary, Alexander Schweis, translated it into French, and Alphonsus Valdasius into the Spanish language. The cardinal Campe-

gius translated it into the Italian language, for the convenience of the pope, who did not understand much Latin. Other pious delegates caused translations to be made for their particular courts. Thus the calumniations, which had continued to pour upon the evangelical party, now experienced the most powerful opposition, and their Confession could now be best defended in the open light of the public mind.

A perusal of the Confession makes the deepest and most favorable impression. The emperor did not express his opinion publicly indeed in reference to this Confession; and we cannot refer to any free expression of his internal convictions, because such an expression would not have been consistent with his civil policy. But he did hear the clear sound of the Gospel; and the fact, that he strove to retain both copies of the Confession, that he actually did retain the Latin copy, as well as his strict attention during the two hours of reading the Confession, convinces us that he knew the importance of the subject, and felt the necessity of giving it a mature consideration in private. And though he never appeared friendly to the Reformation, yet there arose after his death a wide and prevailing impression, that he died in the evangelical faith. His brother, king Ferdinand, conducted himself afterwards with a great deal of moderation towards the evangelical party; and the reproach, which the pope on a subsequent occasion, in 1559, endeavored to throw upon him,—that he would have to number prince Maximilian among the Lutherans,—proves that the Confession of Truth did not waste all its influence on him. Henry, duke of Brunswick, although a bitter enemy to the Lutherans, invited Melanchthon to his own table, when he made the declaration, that he could not reject the article concerning the two forms,—the marriage of priests, and the distinction of meats. William, duke of Bavaria, said many friendly things in reference to these subjects, to the elector when there on a visit, and made a number of remarks favorable to the enterprise and the doctrine, which no one had ever suggested to the elector before; indeed when Eck once made an allusion to his promise to write a confutation of the Confession, saying that he could not do so from the Scripture, but from the Fathers he probably could; "Well," replied the duke, taking the words from the lips of Eck, "the Lutherans then are sitting on the Scripture, and we papists are sitting close by." Frederick, the prince palatine, Eric of Brunswick, Henry of Mecklenburg, the duke of Pomerania, George Ernst of Heneburg, were all convinced of the truth. The cardinal Matthew Long, archbishop of Salzburg, openly declared himself as entertaining feelings consonant with the articles concerning the Mass, and that concerning meats and human traditions, with the sole exception of the intolerable circumstance that a mere monk should undertake a reformation. Other cardinals spoke also to the same effect, and numerous bishops made declarations of a friendly and favorable character, as well as many among the civil princes,—one indeed, very probably Stadion of Augsburg, was heard to say: "This is the pure truth, we cannot deny it;" and he acknowledged, in his introductory discourse during the negotiations for a general pacification, that it was evident that the Lutherans held no opinions opposed to the articles of the Catholic faith.

These evidences, many more of which might still be adduced, proclaim loudly for the character and high importance of the Augsburg Confession. She victoriously repelled the calumnies which had been heaped upon the evangelical party, triumphed over prejudices, and overpowered the hostility of many, through the silent but irresistible power of truth. This was by far a more glorious victory, than if the league of the evangelical party had subdued the emperor and all its opponents by the power of arms. For the church herself reaped the greatest blessing resulting from it. The Confession served her as a banner, around which she rallied her true members; it served as a sure foundation, upon which she re-established

herself; it served as a wall of defence, not only against the attacks of enemies, but also against the attempts of sectarians and fanatics. And while the Augustan Confession is to be viewed mainly as an event of its time, and of the ecclesiastical relations under which it was formed, and also as an evidence of the faith of those who lived at that time, just as obvious is its connection with the past and future history of the church,—that it is in harmony with the first Symbols of the church, and at the same time a foundation, upon which the further expansion of the church might take place, without danger of being betrayed again from the word of God to human traditions, so long as we adhere to its fundamental doctrines.

In the evangelical Lutheran church, the Confession naturally exerted a general influence. It became not only the basis of internal, ecclesiastical peace, by the league of Augsburg in 1555, but also of political tranquillity, by the league of Westphalia in 1648. Distinct from this is the relation of the German Reformed church. Zwinglius had sent a confession of his own to Augsburg; the cities of Oberland had sent in their *Confessio Tetrapolitana*. After this they had neither power nor inclination to embrace the Lutheran Confession. Although this took place afterwards, they only had reference to the *variata*, to which the Lutheran church never attributed symbolic authority.

III. The Apology of the Augsburg Confession.

1. *Its Appellation and Origin.*—Of the impression which the perusal of the Confession produced, we have spoken above. It was like the beams of the sun, one effect of which is to harden, another to soften; but all knew that a suppression of the differences in regard to faith, was pressingly requisite to the security of the empire. Above all the emperor felt the incalculable importance of the period in relation to himself; for the reduction of his political power, his imperial authority in and out of Germany, could be obviated only by a reunion of the dismembered parties. This was still possible; but his counsels would have to be formed commensurate with the rising opposition, the ecclesiastical powers would have to be summoned to many a council, and, through a hundred difficulties of the German nation, united upon a new and radical reformation in leader and in members, if the western division of christendom could be restored to harmony. Only Eck and his associates were absent from the diet. Nor could any thing better be effected by the counsel which the Catholic estates, on the 27th of June, in conformity with his instruction, had submitted to the emperor,—"The Confession of the evangelical party, applauded by all intelligent, candid, and moderate men, had adopted what was commensurate with the Gospel, the word of God, and the Christian church, but what was not so, it had confuted by the word of God, and exposed in all its native deformity." At the same time the enquiry was pressed upon the evangelical party, whether they were determined to adhere to the Confession already presented, or whether they had something further to introduce, in order that all might be brought to one determination, and led to pursue the same object. But now commenced the artifices of the Roman theologians, and especially of the Pope's legates and their subordinates, whose plan it was, not to enter into any further discussions, but to bring these differences to a termination by force.

These men, however, were not successful in their infamous designs, and even the well disposed found but little more success in the accomplishment of their laudable intentions. Indeed it finally came to this result: the emperor desired a refutation of the Confession to be drawn up in his name, to be read before the elector and his attendants, and afterwards the whole subject to be determined according

to his proposition. In consequence of this instruction, the Roman theologians were induced to commence a preparation of this Refutation. Among these were the above-mentioned John Eck, who had been created prebendary of Regensburg for king Ferdinand; John Schmidt or Faber, provost of Ofen, and court chaplain of the king; John Cochlaus, court chaplain of duke George; Augustine Marius, the suffragan bishop of Wartzburg; Conrad Wimpina of Frankfort, who composed the text of the Conclusion against Luther; Conrad Colli, prior of the cloister at Rhau, who wrote against the marriage of Luther, and on that account was highly applauded by Reuchlein; the monk Medartus, minister of king Ferdinand, whom Erasmus, in his colloquies, omits. But it was a long time before they came to the authorities with their work. They brought a great number of their controversial writings against Luther and his doctrine, so as to collect and compare each treatise against the Confession; but according to Chytraus, their first draft was so miserable, that it was rejected with indignation by the emperor himself; and five times had it to be revised, before it could be brought to a sufficient degree of accuracy so as to satisfy the emperor. This was not effected until the third of August, when finally the work, which was called the Confutation, was permitted to be read in the German language, by Alexander Schweis, the private secretary of the emperor, before the members of the diet in session, in the same hall in which the Confession itself had been delivered.

This Confutation was drawn up according to the Latin copy of the Augsburg Confession,—in fact, like that copy, composed in Latin and German at the same time, so that the arguments might be directed against the several articles in order, rejecting some entirely or in part, or such as pleased the writers, approving partially or in full. The testimonies of the Fathers, the decrees of councils, the canons, the resolutions and doctrines of the Roman church, were principally employed as the basis of their arguments, but to the holy Scriptures they appealed very sparingly indeed. They expressed an entire conformity with the first, third, eighth, ninth, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth articles; they partly accorded with the second, fourth, fifth, sixth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth articles, with the addition, however, of the specific Roman doctrine concerning original sin, the meritorious nature of good works, of satisfaction, and the canonic statutes, the insufficiency of faith for righteousness, and especially with the addition of transubstantiation to the tenth article, the doctrine of auricular confession to the eleventh article, and the seven sacraments to the thirteenth article. The seventh, twentieth, and twenty-first articles were entirely rejected, and the same fate attended the second part of the Confession concerning abuses, though, at a later period, with the acknowledgment that abuses do exist in the church, especially among the spiritual orders, and that they were not unwilling to have them corrected. At the conclusion the emperor declared to the evangelical party, that he now perceived an entire agreement between them and their adversaries, and yet, as protector and guardian of the church, he would cause them to confer again on these subjects at another time.

In the meantime, the emperor might feel that the Confutation, even in its improved form, still exhibited very numerous blemishes, on account of which, he refused to the evangelical party the transcript of the Confutation which they solicited, and he would not even receive the Refutation. In compliance with the order of the elector, and some other theologians, who instructed him to prepare an Apology of the Confession, Melanchthon composed this Refutation according to the short sketches of the Confutation which Camerarius had been able to make during the time of its being read before the members of the diet; probably too some notes and other writings of the Roman theologians were employed. Now when, on the twenty-second of September the journal of the diet was read, and it

was there asserted, that the Confession of the evangelical party had been entirely invalidated by the Confutation, the elector of Saxony caused the Apology to be introduced and presented by Brück. Frederick, the prince palatine, had already received it, and the emperor himself had extended his hand to take the manuscript, when king Ferdinand pushed back the hand of the emperor, whispered into his ear, and advised him to refuse the reception of the instrument.

The first copy of the Apology was composed at the same time in Latin and German. Chytraus was the first who published the Latin text, according to the manuscript of Spalatin; one other manuscript, partly by Spalatin, partly by Melanchthon, was discovered in the library at Wolfenbüttel, and earlier still, in the library of the university at Helmstadt, and a third one is contained in the Acts of the diet at Brandenburg. Both the last, Forsteman has made public, and the second indeed, in his new book of Records, page 357, the third, page 485. The first impression of the German text, we find in Cœlestin's first Augsburg publication of the German text of the Augsburg Confession, 1577, published again in 1597 and in 1603, and after that transcribed in a literary review by Bertram. Forsteman has also given an edition of the manuscript found in the archives at Cassel.

Now when a second journal of the diet appeared, in harsher language, still making the reiterated assertion, that the Confession had been totally invalidated by the Confutation, necessity itself forcibly impelled its friends to make this Apology more generally known. It is true Melanchthon had already been thinking of the effort, and he had commenced a revision of the first draft, the full completion of which was not effected until the middle of April, 1531, when it appeared in print. The Latin text was composed entirely by Melanchthon, the German by Justus Jonas, though not translated from the Latin exclusively by him; for Melanchthon in connection with the translation still made such additions and alterations as seemed proper, and all such additions and alterations as do not appear in the Latin, derive their authority, however, from the same hand.

Melanchthon gave this treatise the title of "The Apology of the Confession;" and in the German text, "The Apology of the Confession, translated from the Latin into German, by Justus Jonas." The term "Apology" was applied to this for the purpose of expressing the opposition which the Confession encountered, on account of which they desired at the convention of Schweinfurt, that the term "Assertion" be substituted for it, or that the term Apology be explained by a definition made to accompany it. Brück declined this request, in the name of the evangelical party, while he replied, "that the term could not be omitted; that Apology was the correlative of Confession; that the princes, however, and his friends did not wish that other articles be taught different from those treated of here."

2. *Its Nature, Formation of the text, and its Design.*—The character of the Apology depends naturally upon that of the Augsburg Confession, of which it should be viewed as a defence. With this Confession it corresponds article by article, in consequence of which Brück, with great reason, called it "the correlative of the Confession;" but as it had to be at the same time directed also against the arguments of the Confutation, some articles which had not been opposed, were dispatched with a brief notice, in order to afford room for a more full explanation, a further confirmation and defence of those which had been made the subject of controversy by their opponents. Only the latter articles in the *editio princeps* and in the Book of Concord have their titles superscribed, but neither the one nor the other is distinguished by having numbers to the articles. Thus, article I. concerning God, and article III. concerning Christ, are but briefly discussed, while article II. concerning original sin is treated more at large; the same may be said of article IV. concerning justification, to which a subdivision, concerning love

and the fulfilment of the law, with a reply to the arguments of the adversaries is attached, and here too is controverted, what the opponents of the Reformation have alleged, in connection with their objections to article IV., concerning the efficacy of love and of good works. Melanchthon has passed over articles V. and VI., concerning the ministry of the church, and the good fruits of faith, because he had already referred to the objections of his opponents, in the foregoing articles. Articles VI. and VII., concerning the church, and what the church is, he has brought together under a single view, and he has only cast a short glance at the eighth, which found a willing reception; so too, in reference to article IX. concerning baptism, article X. concerning the Lord's Supper, article XI. concerning confession, briefly discussing what relates to article XI., still further explaining and determining the evangelical doctrine concerning confession, as treated in the subdivisions of article XII. Article XII. concerning repentance connected with the subjects of repentance, is treated at the same time with article XI. In article XIII., concerning the number and use of the sacraments, the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession concerning the sacraments, is established, and at the same time the argument is prosecuted against the seven sacraments of the Roman church. Article XIV., concerning ecclesiastical orders, is treated briefly, as well as article XVI., concerning political orders; article XVII., concerning the return of Christ to judgment, and article XIX., concerning the cause of sin, and also article XVIII. concerning freewill, are reviewed with brevity, in reference to the Pelagian errors of the opponents, and the errors thence resulting; so too the twentieth article concerning good works is discussed the less explicitly, because these objections had come under consideration already in article IV. On the contrary, Melanchthon has treated the fifteenth article, concerning human traditions in the church, with the greater earnestness and precision, because the enemies of the Confession sought to defend the spiritual necessity of human institutions. Nor has he examined article XXI., concerning the invocation of saints, with less circumspection. With equal diligence he has defended the controverted articles,—article XXII. of the abuses in reference to both elements, article XXIII. abuses concerning the marriage of priests, article XXIV. abuses concerning the mass, article XXVII. abuses concerning monastic vows, article XXVIII. abuses concerning the power of the church,—while article XXV., abuses concerning confession, article XXVI., abuses concerning the discrimination of food, are passed over, because they had already been treated in the articles concerning confession and satisfaction, and concerning human traditions.

Since no manuscripts of the Apology exist, either in Latin or in German, we can only refer to the edition of Melanchthon, from which has been derived what was said above concerning the Augsburg Confession. While the first edition was going through the press, Melanchthon made entire alterations in the text, and, on this account, the sheets from I. to O. had to be reprinted. Vitrus Dietrich preserved six of these sheets, and they still exist in the public library at Nuremburg, and they were brought before the public by the rector Hummel, in his "New Library of rare Books," 1777. The two Latin editions of 1531 and 1538, appear not less amended, the text of which, as well as that of the *Confessio variata* of 1540, is distinguished with the names too of the *variata*. We have already remarked that the first edition in German, was no translation, but merely a revision of the Latin; and this text, in a later edition, especially that of 1533, greatly changed, as may be inferred from the title: "With numerous emendations." This first Latin and German edition, was received into the Book of Concord.

3. *Its Authority and Importance.*—As the first draft of the Apology was not accepted by the emperor, and as it was not published by the evangelical party, it has consequently lost its original symbolic authority; and this would result nec-

essarily from the alterations made on it by Melanchthon. But it did not first appear, as Baumgarten contends, by its reception into the Book of Concord, but it was brought forward, already in 1532 at the convention of Schweinfurt, by the evangelical party, as an acknowledgment of their faith; and in 1537 at Smalcald, it was subscribed together with the Confession, nor was it less included in the *Corpora Doctrinæ*, before the publication of the Book of Concord. Concerning its Importance, the attacks of the adversaries furnish abundant evidence; for they must have deeply felt with how much force these clear, lucid, and elegant arguments, the logical acuteness, the quiet serenity, as well as the warm benevolence with which this treatise was composed, would bear upon the trembling infirmity of their own doctrines. Even Cochlaus himself had to complain, "that the Apology was gratifying even to most of the members of the Roman church, it was therefore necessary to prepare a brief confutation." Indeed so great and so universal was the impression made by this Apology, that he could find no one who would print his confutation. That there may be found some errors in matters of secondary importance, detracts nothing from its value. On the most essential point, namely, on doctrine, it is as pure as the Confession itself, as a completion of which it was written.

IV. The Articles of Smalcald.

1. *The Appellation and Origin.*—These articles derive their name from that of the Convention held at Smalcald, in February, 1537, this being the sixth convention of the seven occasioned by the league of Smalcald, where these articles were laid before the theologians collected there on the summons of their rulers, and there they were subscribed by these theologians. Pope Paul III., in the year 1536, had proclaimed a general and long desired council, to convene on the 23d of May, 1537, and the evangelical party were also invited to attend by the Pope's legate, Peter Paul Vergerius. The evangelical party, however, entertained no great hopes as to the beneficial result of such a council; indeed it was their opinion, as Luther declared, that there was no need of a council on their part. Yet they wished to keep themselves in readiness, if it should happen, to present their Confession as they had done before the emperor and the assembly at Augsburg. With this view the elector of Saxony gave instructions to Luther, on the eleventh of December, 1536, to prepare articles of faith, which could be made the grounds of deliberation at that council. Luther drew up these articles, privately at Wittemburg, in accordance with the charge of the elector, and immediately at his request laid them before Agricola and Spalatin at Amsdorf, for their examination. By these men his manuscript was approved, and on the third of January, 1537, it was sent to the elector by Spalatin.

There is an appendix attached to the articles of Smalcald, which was composed also at the request of the elector, and indeed of the Convention itself. But although this injunction was made in the presence of all the theologians, and it is reasonable to suppose that all had received a copy of the work, yet we know that Melanchthon took up the pen, and that he is to be regarded as the exclusive author. For he writes to Justus Jonas: "I have been desired to write something against the power of the pope of Rome. I have written it with a little more asperity than I am accustomed to use."

Both of these writings, at the request of the elector, were subscribed by the theologians who were present at Smalcald. Yet we need not suppose that the subscription was completed by them all at the same time in public convention; but it seems much more probable, so far as it relates to the articles of Smalcald,

that they were subscribed by some already at Wittemburg, by others on the way, to whom Spalatin presented a copy for subscription, and that many subscribed after the conclusion of the Convention. The signature of Melanchthon is quite characteristic, and it has been used as a great objection to him. Kelner has undertaken the justification of Melanchthon, and, as it appears to us at least, has rendered it evident, that his overture, which has been made the subject of so much reproach, arose from his unceasing efforts to secure a more desirable position for the church in relation to the state. We must leave it with our readers, to examine for themselves, this important explanation of Kelner. We give here one from numerous other overtures made by Melanchthon, which we find in a letter of his to Camerarius: "I do earnestly wish that I were able, not indeed to establish the dominion, but to restore the administration of the Roman priests. For I see what kind of a church we are about to have, a clergy most irregularly organized. I perceive that there will be a more intolerable tyranny hereafter, than has ever yet appeared." How exactly did Melanchthon foresee the future condition of the church!

The signatures were attached to the appendix after its completion at Smalcald, from the 23d to the 26th of February. For, on the 23d the request of Brenz was made to Bugenhagen, and on the 26th Melanchthon makes known to the elector that all the theologians who were present had subscribed.

2. *Its Nature, Formation of the text, and Design.*—The articles of Smalcald consist of a preface which Luther first prefixed to them, when he caused the articles to be printed in 1538, and of three parts, the first of which contains the articles of the high, the divine Majesty, founded upon the ecumenical Symbols; the second contains the article concerning the office and work of Jesus Christ, and three articles more, concerning abuses of the papists, which have special reference to the merit of Christ; the third part contains the fifteen articles concerning remaining points of Christian doctrine, of which Luther makes this remark: "The following points or articles we might discuss with learned and reasonable papists, or among ourselves." And then follows the discussion concerning the power and supremacy of the pope, and concerning the power and authority of the bishops. In this way the evangelical princes wished to justify their objections to some transactions of the pope; for they had already determined not to acknowledge the authority of this council. And thus, these articles ought to be considered, not so much a confession of faith, as a collection of all that the evangelical party taught as true, and all that they rejected as erroneous. An acknowledgment of the former they urged upon the council, and by an explanation of this, they expected the doctrines of the Roman church to be reformed. But the power to establish what ought to be taught in the church, and what ought not, they were determined never to yield to the council.

The German text of the articles of Smalcald, as they flowed from the pen of Luther, affords an evidence of his keen, independent mind, which was not to be bribed or bartered in what he had learned from the word of God, and what he knew to be true; here he always expresses his own convictions with that vigor and acuteness, which were peculiar to him. Nor is the peculiarity of Melanchthon less observable in his portion of the work: the logical analysis, the compact and learned argument, the noble and dignified expressions, deserve our unreserved acknowledgment, and secure the lasting influence of this treatise in the church.

Both manuscripts, which have been used in framing the text of the articles of Smalcald, have fortunately been preserved down to our time:—the original copy of Luther, which was kept in the library of Heidelburg, and published in 1817 by Marheineck, and the copy of Spalatin which was exhibited at the Convention, and there subscribed. This was discovered in the archives of Weimar, and in the year

1553, was published by the theologians who were there, to which some later additions of Luther's were attached, under certain definite signs, and the places of omitted passages are likewise distinguished by marks. This copy was taken into the German Book of Concord of 1580. Luther himself in 1538 had caused the articles of Smalcald to be published in quarto by Hans Luft, at Wittemburg, and in the same year two other editions appeared in quarto, and then again in 1543. In 1545 an octavo edition followed, which was edited by Luther himself, as remarked above, containing many alterations, either by additions or omissions, which do not, however, change the sense.

Luther's work was published in 1541, in a Latin translation by Peter Generanus, a Dane of the village of Gennera near Apenrade, who studied theology during eight years in Wittemburg, supported by the king of Denmark, and was an inmate at Luther's house, and, at a later period, became pastor and provost of Apenrade, but finally a Roman Catholic and a professor at Ingolstadt, where he died in 1584. But, in consequence of the apostacy of the author, this translation was not received into the Book of Concord. A different translation,—alas, by far a worse one,—the author of which is supposed to have been Selnecker, though it is more probable that he was only the editor of an edition of it, published at Wittemburg in 1579, has been received. At least Feuerlein has remarked that the text of Selnecker of 1580 and the edition of 1579, have the same striking errors of the press, as *ultimum ferculum* instead of *ultimum judicium*. Besides, Selnecker published a particular German and Latin edition of the articles of Smalcald in the year 1582, and a second time in 1609, in which last edition the Latin text of the original appendix is given.

For as Luther wrote these articles in German, so Melanchthon wrote his appendix in Latin. Yet not the original of Melanchthon, but the German translation made by Vitrus Dietrich, was presented to the estates at the convention as an official text, and subscribed by the theologians. Now, although Dietrich published this work already in 1541, with the remark: "Written by Philip Melanchthon, and translated into German by Virtus Dietrich,"—yet it was still forgotten that Melanchthon was the author of it, and in the subsequent publications of 1540, 1542, 1549, 1560, &c., it was distinguished as being without an author. Hence it happened that the theologians of Weimar when they in 1553, as above mentioned, published the articles of Smalcald with this translation from the manuscripts found in the archives of Weimar under the superscription employed in our Book of Concord, without any reference to a translation, with the remark, however, that it answered as the German original text; and Selnecker, in his Latin Concordia of 1580, employed a different Latin translation arranged according to the German copy, although Chytraus had printed in 1571 this appendix as the composition of Melanchthon, yet under the false date of 1540. Hence the original text again became public; and finally it was received into the *Corpora Doctrinæ* of the corrected Latin Concordia of 1581. Since, however, a title peculiarly incorrect was here retained, we must be very careful not to be led into error by the misapplication of a word. There is another German translation never received, however, in the church, which Geyerberg made according to the Strasburg copy of 1540. For all these literary explanations our thanks are due to the industry of Bertram, whose history of the Symbolic Appendix to the articles of Smalcald, Riederer has published at Altdoy in 1770, enlarged by additions.

3. *Its Authority and Importance.*—The articles of Smalcald together with the appendix of Melanchthon, constitute an important part of the symbolic defence of the Lutherans. They were composed at the request of the evangelical princes and estates, presented before a public assembly of these nobles, approved and adopted, and in connection with the Augsburg Confession and the Apology, were subscribed

by the theologians. Thus it was proper to form them into one system with the first Symbols; but they have, in consequence of their nature explained above, an independent significance; because in these the Lutherans have, for the first time, explained with fullness and precision, their relation to the pope and to papists. We may say that in and through these, the Reformation has been established, and a separation of the evangelical from the Roman churches definitely settled. With great justice then do they receive a place in the *Corpora Doctrinæ*, and in the Book of Concord.

V. VI. The two Catechisms of Luther.

1. *Their Appellation and Origin.*—The first church had catechumen indeed, but not catechists, in our sense of the term. Those were called catechumen, who had manifested their desire to become members of the Christian church, were known to be fitting, and now stood in immediate preparation for the reception of baptism. These catechumen were very far different from those of our time. They were persons of riper years, whose instruction had to be conducted quite differently both on this account, and in consequence of the forms then prevalent, as we perceive from the Catechesis of Cyril of Jerusalem, and from other works. Such were the catechumen mentioned in the New Testament, as Cornelius, the chamberlain from Etheopia, Aquila, and Priscilla, Apollos, the learned Jew of Alexandria, and others; such were the earliest of the church Fathers,—Justin, Athenagoras, Tatianus, Ireneus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius, Ambrose, while bishop, Augustin and others, and if we refer to the catechetical schools of early times, Constantine the Great, who a short time before his death, caused himself to be recorded in the number of those under preparation for baptism, and showed himself in this peculiar relation, as humble as he was ardent and fond of learning.

As to the instruction of these catechumen, which was performed, not in churches, but in particular buildings called κατηχουμενα, catachets were more especially necessary for the improvement of these catechetical schools, and suitable books had to be prepared, as that by Gregory of Myssa,—the ο λογος κατηχητικος ο μεγας, and that by Augustine,—*de catechizandis rudibus*,—a guide by which Augustine shows to the deacon Deogratias, how he had to manage catechumen who were men of business, learned individuals, grammarians, and other persons already grown and well educated. These and other catechetical writings of the first century, necessarily were compelled to have reference always to the polemical objections of the Jews and pagans against the Christian system; but on the other hand, they had to be adapted to the character of the times, until the church attained a secure position, the access of adults became less frequent, and the baptism of children grew into general practice. The form of instruction gradually approached more and more our form of confirmation, and alas, it was lost with the cessation of controversy, and the difficulty of observing it; chiefly too did the zeal of instructors introduce numerous forms of instruction and external ceremonies in the place of confession and of a living faith.

Applause, however, is due to Charles the Great, who perceived the importance of religious instruction, and earnestly labored to promote its extension. He and Lewis improved the institutions for the catechetical instruction of the people, in the common language of the Romans, as well as in the theological language of the church. In the eighth and ninth centuries, the first German catechisms appeared, namely, those by Kero of Salle, and Godfrey of Weisenburg, and then again in the eleventh century by Notker Labeo. Ulric, bishop of Augsburg, made it the especial duty of the clergy to attend to the catechetical instruction of the people;

and Otto of Bamburg assigned forty days to the pagan applicants as a period of preparation for baptism. On the whole, however, there appeared much less solicitude in regard to catechetical instruction in the dominant church, up to the time of the Reformation. Only the treatise of Gerson, *de parvulis trahendis ad Christum*, and the treatise of the bishop of Chester, Reginald Peacock, can be named as elementary works on the Christian religion. But so much the more active were the sects which had seceded from the church,—the Albigenses and Waldenses, the Wickliffs and Hussites; for they were well assured that their own existence, under the oppressions of the dominant church, chiefly depended upon a radical instruction of the young.

Luther was also aware of this. The Reformation would prosper then only, when its interest was identical with that of the people, and this could only then take place when the people from their youth, under suitable instruction, were initiated into the doctrines of the church, by the confession of the truth. Already in 1518 he published some works adapted with this view to the instruction of the people, and these were treatises which we may very properly term the first catechisms,—"Short forms of the Ten Commandments, of the Creed, and of the Lord's Prayer;" which were printed in that year five times, once in the following year, and still more frequently without any mention of the year and place. Other men followed his example; and in 1525, Jonas, and Agricola of Eisleben, by the instruction of the elector, undertook the preparation of a catechism.

But all the catechisms which appeared in the early days of the Reformation, could not retain the general esteem of the people; they all had to yield to the catechism of Luther. Very early he had conceived the design of writing a catechism; for he says in the preface to his edition of the Scriptures: "In the name of God, a plain, simple, unadorned catechism is necessary, first of all in the German service, for the Mass and the arrangement of divine worship. But a catechism is a book of instruction, in which we may teach the heathen, who wishes to become a Christian, what he ought to believe, to suffer, and to know. Hence those young students, who are to receive instruction, and who must learn the Creed before they are baptized, are called catechumen. And let no one think himself so wise as to despise this amusement of children. When Christ wished to gain men, he himself had to become a man; so if we expect to gain children, we must become children with them." But Luther readily perceived how absolutely necessary it was that he should undertake this work, when he assisted in the church visitation held in Saxony in 1527 and 1529. Of this he speaks himself in the beginning of the preface to his Smaller Catechism: "The deplorable wretchedness which I recently witnessed, when I visited your parishes, has impelled me to publish this catechism, drawn up in a very simple and brief form. Eternal God! what distress did I behold!—The people, especially those living in the country, and even parishioners for the most part, possessing so little knowledge of the Christian doctrine!" Thus on both hands Luther observed deficiencies,—on the part of the people, the want of Christian knowledge, on the part of ministers, an unfitness for the proper performance of their official duties. Both of these deficiencies affected him to the heart; to both parties assistance must be afforded, and thus the two catechisms took their origin, which afford, in a manner as yet unexcelled, not only all that is necessary for a Christian to know, but to the minister also the most excellent instructions for a profitable use of these doctrinal books.

Though such be the origin of both catechisms, it must not be supposed, however, that Luther composed his large catechism, which he had commenced already at the end of 1528, from the first as a manual for the teacher; but according to his shorter preface, he designed this catechism "as a book of instruction for children

and illiterate persons, and he explains at the Conclusion, the threefold division of the catechism, which was the usual practice among the ancients,—The Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer,—where he says, that he would close with these three divisions; and these he arranges under the superscriptions, "the first Part," "second Part," "third Part;" and he then gives the article concerning baptism and the Lord's Supper as an appendix. With equal precision he has expressed himself also in the explanation of the principal divisions: at the beginning of the part concerning baptism, he says: "We have now prepared the three principal divisions of the Christian doctrine; in addition to these, we have still to speak of the two sacraments," &c.; and in the Conclusion he enters still further into the consideration of the design of the work for the old and young. With this the declaration of Luther, in his letter of the 15th of January, 1529, to Martin Görlitz, exactly corresponds: "I am now engaged in preparing a catechism for the uninstructed members of the church;" where, there is no need of supposing, as seems to have been done up to the present time, that he spoke in reference to the Small Catechism alone. Judging from the plan of the Larger Catechism, and from his own declaration above referred to, Luther from the first had not the design of writing two catechisms. But his work expanded under his hand, and at the completion of it, he knew that it would not be suitable, in this form, for the instruction of the common people, of children, and the unlearned, and hence he determined to prepare for these persons a small catechism. In April, 1529, the Large Catechism was completed in the German language; in May and July a translation was executed by Lonicer and Obsopoeus; towards the end of summer the Small Catechism appeared, a Latin translation of which was in circulation so early as in September. That the Small Catechism had not yet been thought of at the completion of the larger one, is proved beyond a doubt by the remarks of Obsopoeus in the preface to his translation of the Larger Catechism, July 1: "But to this we have added the two catechisms of John Brentius, of the church of Halle, for they may serve as an abstract or epitome of this one which is more diffuse."

Whether, in the composition of his catechisms, Luther had recourse to writings of the kind already existing, more especially those of the Bohemian Brethren, which had become more widely diffused in this branch of ecclesiastical literature, than the Roman church was at that time, is a question very difficult to decide. Augustine denies this, asserting that these catechisms appeared much later; but Köllner with propriety reminds us, that the Bohemian Brethren, already in 1523, had caused a catechism to be printed in German and Bohemian, and likewise sent a Latin copy to Luther, of which he draws his proof from their own writings. It is moreover worthy of observation that their catechism contains, besides the three ancient divisions of the doctrines of the church, the doctrines also concerning the sacraments and the table of family duties. And although Luther has adopted a similar arrangement for his Smaller Catechism, yet he has entirely remodelled that whole text, so far as it was not taken from the Bible; and with great justice, indeed, in addition to other epithets of distinction, with which his cotemporaries and posterity have honored him, he seems richly entitled to that of "Father of Catechisms."

It still remains for us to refer to the appellations, under which Luther caused his doctrinal works to appear. The smaller one he calls, "The Enchiridion, or Small Catechism for the common parishioner and minister." The larger one he calls, "The German Catechism." The name Catechism for such writings as were calculated to subserve the instruction of the young, was already in general currency. That term, however, was not applied to any works of Christian antiquity. To such writings was then applied the term κατηχησις, from κατηχεω, in the sense of "to sound into the ear of any one," that is, "to instruct by word

of mouth," and then again, "to inform concerning something," "to teach about something, especially in reference to religious truth," in which sense this word soon afterwards came into general use in the church. Köllner contends that the word *Catechism* was first introduced by the Bohemian Brethren, who had named their catechetical writings *Catechesis* or *Catechismus*. In 1525, as above remarked, the elector of Saxony had ordered the composition of a *catechism*; and thus it appears that the word was at that time in general currency in our sense. The first work, however, which appeared in Germany, under the name of Catechism, was the catechism of Rurer and Althammer. An evidence of the great value which Luther and the church after him always attributed to these doctrinal treatises, is derived from the fact that the catechism was popularly called "the layman's bible."

2. *Their Nature, Formation of the text, and their Design.*—The catechisms of the ancient church, as Luther found them, were formed from three principal sources. These were,—1. The Decalogue, so that instruction might be given, according to the arrangement of the Ten Commandments, concerning good works, and the cardinal virtues, and then, on the other hand, concerning the seven mortal sins. 2. The Creed, most frequently the Apostolic Symbol only, frequently also, similar to the Weisenburg catechism, the Athanasian creed, together with the hymn of saint Ambrose. 3. The Lord's Prayer, with an explanation, which probably was taken out of the above-mentioned catechism, and partially retained by Luther. These were the three divisions, which have descended from the Fathers down to the churches of the present day. The catechism of the Bohemian Brethren had, besides these, the doctrines concerning the sacraments, and a table of family duties.

Conformably with the uniform aim of his labors, Luther has observed this arrangement of the ancient church. With this view, his Larger Catechism originally contained,—1. The Short Preface; 2. The text of the Ten Commandments, of the Apostolic Symbol, and of the Lord's Prayer; to which was added,—3. The institution of Baptism and of the Lord's Supper; after the text, every time it was repeated, an explanation follows. "The Admonition to Confession," was not contained in the quarto *editio princeps* of 1529, yet, in the same year, it appeared in both octavo editions. The larger preface, together with the appendix to the Confession, followed in the quarto edition of the next year, and thus to the present time, the text in all the principal divisions remains the same. Luther always anticipated alterations here and there, in the words and expressions of his original text, but which, as we have intimated in a foregoing passage, were of no great consequence, especially as all the editions, from 1529 to 1538, remained entirely the same, while, on the contrary, the edition of 1538 exhibited considerable alterations.

The text of the *editio princeps* was received into the Book of Concord, because it was inserted in the German and Latin editions of the works of Luther. Hence, in the German Book of Concord, the "Admonition to Confession," together with a large division of the explanation of the Lord's Prayer, has been omitted.

Latin translations of this catechism appeared very early, and first of all by Lonicer: "The Catechism of Luther, translated into Latin by John Lonicer, Marburg, 1529." Lonicer was professor of the Latin and Greek languages at Marburg, and he dedicates his translation to Laticus Paulus Rosellus of Padua, who had desired him to execute a translation of the work of Luther. Soon after a translation by Obsopoeus appeared: "The Catechism of doctor Martin Luther, the theologian, most worthy to be read, translated into Latin by Vincentius Obsopoeus, with the addition of two catechisms by John Brentius, translated by the same hand, Hague, 1529." Obsopoeus was summoned by prince George to Anspach, in order to instruct the young in general literature, and he dedicated this translation to

Albrecht, margrave of Brandenburg. This translation was published again and again in 1533; and in the editions of Peter Brubach, it appears, so far as we are able to judge from a comparison of the editions accessible to us,—that, for instance, published by Brubach in 1544 at Frankfort,—to be in a very complete and greatly improved form. It has been received into the Book of Concord, though greatly altered by Selnecker, and not much to its advantage.

We cannot describe the original plan of the Smaller Catechism, since the *editio princeps* of that catechism is no longer extant. Riederer describes a copy, of 1529, which was found in the library of the university of Altdorf. This has the title, "Enchiridion: the Small Catechism for the common parishioner and preacher, enlarged and improved, by Martin Luther, Wittemburg." And at the end: "Printed at Wittemburg by Nickol Schirlenz, 1529." After the title, follows the ordinary preface, and after this the five principal divisions, each of which has a particular title covering one whole page, with the additional design every time expressed, "As it is most plainly to be taught by a father to his family." The text agrees with ours, only the Commandments are given in a shorter form. For instance, the fourth Commandment reads thus: "Thou shalt honor thy father and mother." The Introduction to the third division is not inserted, and of the Conclusion we find only the word *Amen*, with the usual definition. After the five divisions, succeed the morning and evening prayers, with the grace at meat, and likewise the table of family duties. After these follow the form of marriage ceremonies, and the form of baptism. In this copy there was added the German Litany, with the notes of some melodies, and a collection of prayers.

In the later editions, a form of Confession was inserted by Luther, before the principal divisions of the Lord's Supper; but we cannot say at what time, as we can only judge from the old edition of the Enchiridion, published at Wittemburg in 1539, a very beautiful but scarce edition, and this does not contain it. The fifth division, as we have it in the Book of Concord, is not characterized in this way by Luther, and still less by the superscription in our present catechisms. "Remarks concerning the power of the keys," with the two following questions: "What are the remarks concerning the power of the keys?" and "What is that power?" This section is occasionally found from the year 1564, especially in the controversy against the Calvinists, who sought to expel the Confession and absolution out of the church, and it was usually introduced between the division concerning baptism and that concerning the Lord's Supper; and although this was its proper place, it was called the sixth division. It is worthy of remark, that Matthesius, in his sermon on the life of Luther, speaks of the sixth division of the Instructions for children, and places Absolution between baptism and the Lord's Supper, a proof that this arrangement was in vogue at that time, thirty-six years after the appearance of the catechism.

From whom this division in its present form took its rise, has not yet determined. It was ascribed at an early period to the first general superintendent of Pomerania, John Knipstroy, because he laid this "sixth division of the catechism, concerning confession and the keys of the kingdom of heaven," in the year 1551, before the synod of Greifswald, for their approbation. But Mohnike, in his treatise concerning the sixth division of the catechism, has shown that the text of Knipstroy reads entirely different from ours. As little is it to be supposed that Brenz, or Luther himself, as it is believed, is the author of it; but its origin is to be sought in the well known sermons at Nuremburg and Brandenburg on the catechism. The fifth sermon is entitled, "A sermon on the office of the keys," and, after the citation of the passages from John 20, 22, 23, it asks the question: "How are these words to be understood?" Then follows the answer: "I believe,"—exactly as in our catechism,—"that what the called servant of Christ

does, is the same as if Christ our blessed Lord himself had executed it." And Franke arrives at the same conclusion, who, so far as we know, was the first to investigate and determine the question.

Later editions of the catechism, have still another appendix: "Some Christian questions with their answers, for those who wish to approach the sacrament, drawn up in simple and expressive terms, by Dr. Martin Luther." This, however, has not been received into the Book of Concord. The form of the marriage ceremony and that of baptism was omitted in the general collection for the Book of Concord, and this was the cause of great offence to the theologians of Helmstadt and of Brunswick. Chemnitz was also dissatisfied. The omission, however, may be justified; for,—1. Neither of these is a writing of doctrine or of confession, but merely a book of ceremonies, and a liturgy. 2. The several country churches should enjoy freedom in forms of ceremony. And—3. From what appears to be the character of the churches of Oberland, and those in the Palatinate, which have not employed forms of exorcism in connection with the ceremony of baptism, and consequently they cannot take offence from the books treating of baptism, while in other lands different forms of marriage ceremony have been practised. In this view, the three civil electors agreed, that it was entirely immaterial whether these two books were added to the Book of Concord, or omitted. It is only necessary to remark here that Luther, already in 1520, had translated into German this little work on baptism, from the common Latin Formula, and in 1524 or 1526, had revised it, but at a later period, composed the additional book on the marriage ceremonies.

The Small Catechism, in the year 1529, was translated into Latin at two different times; once by some anonymous translator, and then again by Sauerman, with the knowledge and approbation of Luther. The first translation, which Riederer describes, is the more especially important, because it most probably was finished immediately after the first impression of the catechism, and presents that work in the original form, which is now lost to us. It was given as the last part of the Prayer-book of Luther, and contains the usual preface, "Epistle to the parishioners and preachers;" after which a very simple and brief explanation of the catechism follows. In the first two divisions, however, it is not drawn up in questions and answers, but in such a manner, that the explanations can be derived immediately from the expressions of the text. Of the Confession and the form of Absolution, nothing appears; the introduction of the fifth division reads somewhat differently, and the morning and evening prayers, and the prayer at table, are placed immediately before the table of family duties. This translation, as a comparison of it with the description of Riederer proves, has been received in the Wittemburg Latin edition of the works of Luther, with a very few alterations in the fourth division. And consequently we might have good reason to hope, that the catechism is contained in its original form in the Latin works of Luther. The translation of Sauerman has the title: "A small Catechism for small boys in school. Little boy, do not despise this little book. It contains the chief precepts of the great God." This translation has been received into the Book of Concord, but not,—as has been supposed up to the present time,—a translation no longer existing, made by Lonicer or by Justus Jonas. Other translations into Latin, no doubt, appeared as soon as this catechism began to be used in schools of learning.

Besides, the Small Catechism has been translated into the Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac languages, and soon afterwards into numerous living languages. Already in the first year of its publication, it appeared in the different dialects of the German language. The editions which it underwent, are innumerable; no other book, except the holy Scriptures, enjoyed so great a circulation as this bible of the laity; so that Matthesius, thirty-seven years after its appearance,

could write: "Praise be to God! more than a hundred thousand copies have been printed up to our time, and it has been used in every language, among the multitudes of every pious land, and in all the Latin and German schools."

After the remarks in section first, little more need be said in reference to the Design of both these catechisms of Luther. The excellent prefaces to them both, plainly point out this design. The Smaller Catechism may serve as a manual and book of instruction for the young, for domestics, and for the laboring man; but the larger one will serve for the maturer Christian, and the minister himself. Though Luther had not this object before his eyes in composing his Larger Catechism, yet his labor extended under his hand, as he afterwards perceived and declared himself: "The Smaller Catechism is the substance of this condensed into a briefer form, showing what a Christian ought to know and to believe towards his own salvation; but the larger one contains the explanations, the further proofs and applications of these principles."

3. *Their Authority and Importance.*—Great and universal are the authority and the importance of these two catechisms for the prosperity of the Lutheran church, not indeed from the unopposed reception they have received among the Symbolic books of the church, but from the internal superiority of their contents over all other writings of a similar character. Their enemies have been forced to acknowledge this directly and indirectly. Exceedingly unpleasant was it to the Catholics, Philip of Spain and Ferdinand, who first published an edict against them; with the same ardor, indeed, the Jesuits in Grätz published the Small Catechism, under the title: "The Smaller Catechism for the common parishioner and minister, enlarged and improved, from Dr. Martin Luther's works published at Wittemburg, 1587." Certain references to the doctrines of the Roman church, which were found in the earlier writings of Luther, were appended to this work, in order to bring the articles of the catechism into bad repute. With no less earnestness did the Cryptocalvinists act, who sought to betray the people by misrepresentations of the Lutheran catechism, and to injure it by their insidious intrigues. It should be understood, that the Lutheran theologians did not fail to oppose these wicked attempts of their adversaries, as they had done, in reference to other false charges.

But such attacks could only but serve to elevate the regard of the Lutheran church for the valuable labors of her principal teacher; for the attempts of her adversaries proved throughout Germany the incalculable value of these books; or rather much more. For they themselves afterwards made extracts out of the Small Catechism, a book drawn up in such an elementary form, that nothing is calculated to serve better as instructions for children, and nothing further can be desired for the conscience of the man of general knowledge. For this reason they have both, by the Form of Concord, with great propriety been denominated the bible of the laity; and their symbolic authority, thus established, has continued and will continue, so long as the Lutheran church exists. On the contrary, it is very natural that, at a time when the unlimited authority of the holy Scriptures themselves has been questioned and resisted, the like oppositions must attend our catechism. Indeed strong efforts were made by the Neologists to expel the catechisms of Luther out of the churches and schools, and secretly to introduce, as the Jesuits and Cryptocalvinists had done, books of doctrine entirely opposed to the principles of Luther, though sanctioned by his name. Innumerable is the multitude of those catechisms, which came to light in the course of fifty years. But whilst they have been rising and imperceptibly stealing away into forgetfulness, the catechisms of Luther have triumphantly maintained the field, and, in the hands of true ministers, have enabled them to accomplish, even in our days, the regeneration of the church. Let us then come to the conclusion, that these false systems of faith must yield; that our catechisms, from the great length

of time during which they have maintained their superiority, will preserve their symbolic authority; let us confide in that authority; and when we are induced to wander from the prescribed path of the church, let us thus be recalled to a more uniform system of belief.

In regard to evidences for the great excellence of the catechisms of Luther, especially the smaller one, there is no scarcity indeed: there would be easily a greater number found than we can possibly introduce here. Justus Jonas, himself the author of a catechism, makes this declaration respecting it: "The catechism is a small book, which a person can purchase for sixpence, but six thousand worlds are not commensurate with its value. The believer knows that the Holy Ghost communicated it to the venerable Luther." Dr. Bugenhagen always adhered to it, and made some severe remarks about the civil authorities, who, he said, did not value it sufficiently high. Prince George of Anhalt testifies, that in this small bible of the laity, the substance of the doctrines of all the Prophets and Apostles, is collected in the shortest possible compass. Matthesius says that Dr. Luther, in all his life, has produced nothing more excellent and useful; for he had used the two catechisms in his family, in school, and on the pulpit, and was conscious that the whole world could not sufficiently express their thanks to Luther. Dr. Frd. Mayer gives it the following applause: "Embracing as many ideas as words; as many useful lessons as heads.—Brief in its little pages, but incomparable in the magnitude of theological principles." Dr. Siegmond Baumgarten calls it, "the true jewel of our church, and a most potent masterpiece of composition." To the same effect Leopold Ranke declares, that "the catechism which Dr. Luther published in the year 1529, and concerning which he said that 'he studied it himself, though he was an old doctor,' is as excellently adapted for children as it is thoughtful; as elegant as it is incontrovertible, uniform and distinct. Happy is he who brings his soul to conform with its precepts, who will steadfastly adhere to it! He alone can return sufficient gratitude to the wisest of the wise, who fixes his unwavering confidence every moment in the holy truths here presented in the transparency of beauty." The same applause has frequently been expressed too by men, who do not coincide with the doctrines of Luther. Respecting a copy of the small catechism which did not contain the name of Luther, a certain theologian exclaims: "Blessed be the hands which wrote this holy book!" How should we not accord with this pious prayer of Matthesius: "May Christ the Lord convey this holy catechism with the Wittemburgian explanations, from our hands into the hearts of pious fathers and their children, and graciously bless it in the work of salvation."

VII. The Form of Concord.

1. *Its Appellation and Origin.*—As the Form of Concord is the latest Symbol in the Lutheran church, so it has been the most violently opposed, a circumstance which naturally resulted from its originating amidst the agitations and controversies of the church; and indeed if we can form a correct judgment of these controversies, we can at the same time have a proper conception of the Form of Concord.

Thus the members of the Lutheran church had many reasons, to form as close a union among themselves as possible after the death of Luther. And yet on the day of the meeting of Concord, in 1546, after his death, every thing like harmony seemed to vanish from them. Indeed such a state of things could not fail to occur among the teachers of error and among sectarians, as it could not be otherwise amidst that activity of spirit and that more unrestrained freedom of speech which arose with the Reformation. Yet the powerful spirit of the illustrious Luther held them

down, and kept them under some restraint, either to perform their duties to the Christian community, or to separate themselves entirely from it. But the more the flame was smothered during his lifetime, the more fiercely it broke forth after his death.

The unfortunate war of Smalcald so earnestly opposed by Luther, with all its painful consequences, and among these especially the *Interim*, and the controversy about the sacraments, as well as the intrigues of the Cryptocalvinists in Saxony, gave the chief impulse to those agitations which afterwards prevailed in the Lutheran church. Nor did they rest here; but as jealousies arose in the controversy from a bitterness of spirit, so controversies about matters of little importance created distrust among the theologians, which, excited to the highest degree of violence by presumption and obstinacy, increased the disquietude of the church. At present it may be regarded as a most important consideration, as the custom has uniformly been since the time of Planck, that the Lutherans, in this instance, did not always observe a due degree of moderation,—indeed it was too much disregarded on both sides,—while it must not be maintained, on the one hand, that the Lutherans had any good reasons to introduce unusual forms of expression in theological matters with distrust, and in consequence to apprehend injurious results in reference to the church; and, on the other hand, that they had to act not only in conjunction with public enemies, but with false friends; but especially that the contest was not with one assailing their own reputation, nor invading the stability of the church, but with those who, by the most unwarrantable means, and by the most objectionable duplicity,—as by false representations of the writings of Luther,—through a contemptible abuse of the confidence of their princes, were endeavoring to undermine the Lutheran system. The Lutherans never had recourse to such means; they never sought to employ such artifices in their arguments against the Confession of others.

But the Lutheran church can boast of having settled the conflict not only of these, but even of numerous efforts, in the proper manner, that is, by means proper to be employed by a church. From these efforts, in the year 1536, resulted the "Form of Concord" at Wittemburg, and in 1574 the "Form of Concord between the Swiss and Saxon churches" appeared, the last of which became the foundation of our "Form of Concord."

Already before this Form came into existence, numerous efforts had been made for the restoration of concord; and with this, in 1558 the diet of the electorate of Frankfort, in 1561 that of the prince of Naumburg, and in 1568 the colloquy at Altenburg, were held. Things, however, were not brought to an adjustment by these efforts; on the contrary they became infinitely worse. This was especially the case between the theologians of the prince of Saxony and those of the duke of Saxony. In Saxony, especially at Wittemburg, the doctrine of the Cryptocalvinists prevailed, which the pupils and friends of Melanchthon had spread over the whole country; in the jurisdiction of the duke, the doctrines of Luther were maintained, principally by the theologians at Jena. The political relation of these contending parties, as it had arisen during the war of Smalcald, naturally contributed to prolong these dissensions. August, the prince of Saxony, however, felt the necessity of re-establishing the peace of the church. And when Julius, the duke of Brunswick, in company with William, the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and Jacob Andrea, the provost of Tübingen, an accomplished and excellent man, was sent to him, he received them graciously, and gave orders to the theologians at Wittemburg to hold a consultation with them in reference to the controverted points, and to labor with assiduity for whatever might contribute to promote the security of Christian unity.

Andrea had already in 1568, drawn up a draft, consisting of five articles, for the

purpose of restoring harmony in the church, and when the consultation at Wittemburg proved unavailing, in consequence of the insincerity of the theologians who were there, he laid it before a second convention of the theologians of Wittemburg and Leipsic at Dresden in 1570, but here also he failed to secure the acknowledgment of these men. In the same year, twenty-one theologians under the jurisdiction of the elector of Saxony, of the duke of Brunswick, of the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, of John the margrave of Küstrin, of the prince of Anhalt, and of the cities of Lower Saxony, assembled at Zerbst, and united themselves under what was called the *Norma Servestana*, that is, to the following effect, that only the Three Symbols, the Augsburg Confession, and the Apology, together with the writings of Luther, but not the *Corpus doctrinae* of Melanchthon, should prevail as a rule of doctrine. But here also the ingenious artifice of the Philippists completely deceived the simplicity of Andrea, who was even suspected of having formed a secret conspiracy with them, and was compelled to defend himself openly against the charge. Precisely such was the case too, in reference to the learned Dr. N. Selnecker, through whom the duke of Brunswick charged the elector to watch the movements of the Wittemburgians, and he was sent by the elector, bearing the injunction to these, to furnish him with a plain and correct explanation, by which every injurious misunderstanding might be prevented or removed. Not only was he most egregiously deceived by those men, who maintained neither the truth nor the faith, and who proved themselves like real Pharisees on the seat of Moses, that is, of Luther; but there was also a second convention held at Dresden in October 1571, with an instrument called the *Consensus Dresdensis*, drawn up by the theologians of Wittemburg, and imposed on those delegates, which soon turned out to be a real *Dissensus*, and was rendered nugatory by their dishonest conduct. Still the elector continued to exercise patience towards them, and employed the mildest modes of reasoning and reference, so as to persuade them not to circulate that execrable book of Exegesis, published at Leipsic in 1574; even after the executive committee had advised severer methods to be employed, and foreign kings, princes, and lords had advised the same. But in the investigations which were made, in consequence of this requisition, and especially by a letter of the secret Calvinists, sent to the elector, facts came to light at Wittemburg, and at his court, which placed the duplicity and designs of these men beyond all doubt, and compelled the elector to exert himself more zealously against them. In May 1574, he brought these matters before the diet acting in conjunction with nineteen disinterested professors and superintendents, and articles affirmative and negative were laid before them, drawn up by Daniel Greser, Dr. Casper Eberhard, Casper Heidenreich, and Dr. Martin Mirus, while the president of the Consistory, Dr. Paul Crell filled the chair, which articles, under the name of a Declaration of the Dresden Confession, which have also been denominated the Articles of Torgau, were received and subscribed. The result of the investigation was, that those who refused to subscribe these Articles, were rejected and banished from the country, or thrown into prison, some for their lifetimes.

In this manner the Cryptocalvinists in Saxony were repressed, but by no means exterminated. Andrea perceiving this, sought by the friendly power of argument to reestablish the unity of the church. He caused six sermons to be printed concerning the dissensions in the church, and sent them to M. Chemnitz and D. Chytraus, in order to secure the acknowledgment and signature of the Saxon theologians. But as these sermons did not obtain general approbation and assent, Andrea framed them into eleven affirmative and negative articles, which he named the Explanations of the churches of Suabia and the dukedom of Wittemburg. This work was partially altered and improved by Chytraus and Chemnitz, and received

the title "The Suabian and Saxon Form of Concord." It met with great approbation from Julius, duke of Brunswick, who secured its reception in Lower Saxony, and sent it to the elector August, who received also about the same time the Form of Maulbrun from George Ernst, the landgrave of Henneberg, who had caused this Form to be drawn up by Luke Osiander and B. Bidembach, for the purpose of allaying the controversies of the church.

In the mean time the elector, on the 21st of November 1575, had referred a treatise of his own, together with a memorial, also in his own hand writing, to his private Council, in which he solicited their cooperation in this work, and showed how it should be commenced and prosecuted. We have to ascribe much weight to these exertions of the elector, against the charges of the opponents of the work of Concord, already mentioned in section third, because they prove that an opportunity for this salutary work was secured by the elector alone, and that he knew perfectly well in what manner things might be brought into the most favorable situation. The declarations of the elector are especially worthy of remark, that good in every respect must not be expected from the immortal Philip Melanchthon, and that the restoration of peace must not be looked for from a colloquy, a convention or the like. On this account, Dr. P. Leyser with justice observed, that no one should intimate that the elector suffered himself to be deceived by the theologians; and that he in every respect acted as they had directed him. Dr. Selnecker likewise declares that it would be a shameless fiction, should any one presume that the wise elector should have been induced by a few theologians, to take up the labor of restoring Christian Concord.

The importance of both these testimonies induces us to give the following genuine transcript. The passage written by the prince reads thus: "Counsellors beloved and faithful, experience shows alas! what good the schism among our theologians in our country and in other lands, is calculated to produce; and although we should have hoped that the Lord would have in some way devised means by which the theologians might have united among themselves, yet it is abundantly apparent from the colloquy at Altenburg, what kind of a union is manifested by them. And although every civil government should conduct itself with caution and timidity, in attempting interferences with the perplexed minds of the theologians, yet I have foresight enough to perceive, as there is no Pope amongst us, that if government does not interpose, nothing better need be expected from this schism but a greater amount of injury and disadvantage, which will entail a train of miseries upon our posterity. And though in reference to my own person, I have revolved considerations on each hand, so far as my understanding enabled me, yet nothing has seemed so pleasant to me as to urge you on in this work; as there can be no *ability in me* to execute a task of such magnitude,—an ability which should be regarded as indispensable in matters of such importance, so I hope that my expressions and my meaning in this *memorial* will be sufficiently understood by every one, and that every one will perceive that I *seek nothing farther than a unity of doctrine and of the theologians;* and may God grant us his gracious aid in effecting this! Amen. It is, therefore, my earnest request to you, that you advance to this great work, with the utmost speed, and with mature deliberation, in order to secure harmony of doctrine and of the theologians; do not suffer yourselves to be misled, because your instructor may not be considered correct in every respect; and on this account, look more to the honor of God than to that of mortal man, I make no doubt, that, without any suggestions of mine, you will know how to act with due diligence and deliberation, continuing to communicate to me your views and determinations, this I expect of you, and remain yours most graciously. Done at Augsburg, November 21, 1575. Augustus the elector, to John of Bernstein, Thomas of Sebottendorf, Dr. Laurence Lindeman, and Dr. D. Peifer."

The following *memorial* accompanied this communication. "Though I have revolved the subject in various aspects, it seems to me almost impossible that there should be any unity among us, who acknowledge the Augsburg Confession, beholding, as we do, that in the jurisdiction of every Lord, there is a distinct system of doctrines, which is called a *Corpus doctrinae*, composed and sent abroad, in consequence of which, not only many people are led astray, but the minds of the theologians are embittered against each other, so that they become every day further and further alienated; and alas! it is to be feared that, through this malignity and alienation of mind, the theologians, who shall succeed us,—a calamity which the gracious God only can avert,—will in a short time be led off entirely by new doctrines and in controversies like these, the true doctrine will be lost. Let no one, who is better qualified to effect this, however, suppose that I have anticipated him in offering the following suggestions.

"And because I cannot entertain any hopes, from past circumstances and experience, painful as it may be to make the acknowledgment, that the theologians can be induced to feel reconciled, to be composed, or to hear the voice of reason calmly from one another, in any colloquy or any other convention, far less to frame a system of union among themselves, yet I have been thinking, though it may not be the best way, that we, who acknowledge the Augsburg Confession, unite ourselves in a friendly spirit; that every lord name some theologians who are lovers of peace, to the number of three or four persons, as well as an equal number of political counsellors, and appoint a day for them to assemble. Then let every lord bring his *Corpus doctrinae* with him, and deliver it over to the assembled theologians and civil counsellors, that they cause the Augsburg Confession to be their model, and try, and deliberate, and determine, how they may, by the grace of God, according to that *Corpus doctrinae*, form a single *Corpus doctrinae* out of all that may be presented, to which we may all make acknowledgment; that book or *Corpus doctrinae*, be reprinted and sent to every lord for his own special perusal and conviction."

The private counsellors could only sanction the proposition of the elector, and they advised an early promulgation of this view together with the theologians who accompanied them; and thus a communication was sent to other evangelical princes and lords, as the elector John George of Brandenburg, the landgrave William of Hesse Cassel, George Frederick, margrave of Brandenburg and Anspach, and George Ernst prince of Henneberg; and in February 1576, a convention of twelve theologians was summoned at Lichtenburg, a castle of the elector, near Prettin on the Elbe, in order that their plans might there be proposed and discussed. There were three points which they proposed for their special reference and consideration. 1. That all reproaches, all charges should be laid aside and forgotten, and that every controversy should be regarded as extinct and exterminated. 2. That the *Corpus doctrinae* of Melanchthon should no longer be forced upon the conscience as a rule and Confession of Faith; but that the prophetical and apostolic writings only should maintain their authority without limitation or restrictions of any kind, and after these the three general symbols; the original and unaltered Augsburg Confession, together with its Apology, Luther's Smaller and Larger Catechisms, and the Articles of Smalcald, to which might be added Luther's Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians in reference to the doctrine of justification. But all the books of the Cryptocalvinists, as the new Catechism of Wittemburg, the Book of Questions, the Proof, like the *Consensus Dresdensis*, should be rejected. 3. Finally it was proposed that the most disinterested theologians, as well as those named by the landgrave William, as Dr. Chytraus, Dr. Chemnitz, Dr. Jacob Andrea, and Dr. Marbach, undertake this work of reconciliation, in compliance with the desire of the elector and other

princes, compare the articles of the Augsburg Confession again with each other, erase or correct ungrammatical forms of expression, though without any mention of names, and likewise to explain some things in a christian manner, in order that the true, sincere servants of the Lord might not appear chargeable with the errors of those who preferred the false.

From this proposition of the elector, made probably on the seventeenth of February, he now took a further step. He sent the Form of Maulbrun and the Confession of Lower Saxony, to Dr. Jacob Andrea, for the purpose of receiving his advice in reference to this matter, and requested him to make the two treatises, the first of which was short, the second large and inconvenient, (it must be remembered that the latter was compiled by Andrea himself, and revised by Chemnitz and Chytraus,) the foundation of a new confession, and in this way to unite both the former works, rejecting the imperfections of both; and thus it was presented, on Sunday of Rogation week, May 1576, in the general assembly at the castle of Hartenfels at Torgau. Twenty theologians were summoned to this colloquy, and eighteen actually appeared. Eleven of these,—Dr. Mőrlin, Dr. Crell, Dr. Selnecker, Dr. Harder, Daniel Grőser Dr. Mirus, M. Lysthen, M. Jageteufel, M. Cornicalius, M. Schutz, and M. Glasser, had been at Torgau in 1574, and all were then present at Lichtenburg; the other seven, mostly foreigners,—Dr. Andrea Musculus, Dr. Christopher Kőrner of Frankfort Dr. Jacob Andrea of Tübingen, Dr. David Chytraus of Rostock, Dr. Martin Chemnitz of Brunswick, M. Casper Heyderich, superintendent at Torgau, and John Zanger, coadjutor of Brunswick for the first time appeared at the summons of the elector. John Jentsch, private secretary of the elector was also present. The Synod had the most fortunate result. Its members acted in every respect according to the opinion of Andrea; and by the seventh of June 1576, they were able to deliver the fruits of their labors to the elector, who, in the same beneficent spirit which he had previously manifested,—that he would willingly be subjected to the expense of a hundred thousand guilders or more, in order to restore the peace of the church,—even with greater joy than heartfelt humility, wrote to Andrea: "Beloved lord and doctor,—with sincerity of heart, I give thanks to the benevolence of God, because the Almighty has graciously heard my humble prayer, and with his Holy Spirit has kindly assisted you in the settlement of two great Articles, as your letter informs me,"—(in reference to Original sin and Freewill, upon which two points Andrea had written that the members of the Synod had united and expressed one unanimous sentiment,)—"bringing your deliberations to a happy conclusion; and will he not hear my prayer, weak and contemptible as it may appear before the eternal God, to carry this work on still farther, until all the difficulties of this Christian assembly be brought to a conclusion grateful to us all? And may the Holy Trinity lend its aid to this great object! Amen. And be you entreated ever to advance, as you now have been doing, for the faithfulness of God will assuredly ever stand by you. Augustus, the elector."

This system of Doctrine drawn up at Torgau, the arrangement of which, in twelve articles, was afterwards made a foundation for the Form of Concord, had the title: "The resolutions at Torgau, showing in what manner and by what means, through the power of the word of God, the rising dissensions between the theologians of the Augsburg Confession, may be settled and composed in christian harmony, A. D. 1576." and to this was prefixed the preface to the Form of Maulbrun. So soon as the work was laid before the elector, he examined it not only himself, but sent it to his private council, and afterwards to other evangelical princes and estates, with the request that they would also examine it carefully, and return it to him with their corrections and remarks. Dr. Martin

Chemnitz and especially Dr. Jacob Andrea wrote to others, who took great interest in this review; for it was an object of earnest solicitude with the elector, to have this work examined with the utmost precision, and to have every sentence of it brought to as high a degree of perfection as possible.

After the opinions and criticisms of most of these men had been obtained, the elector delivered them to three theologians, who have already been named very frequently,—Chemnitz, Andrea, and Selnecker,—in order that they might review and improve this book of Torgau from the criticisms now before them. This duty they accomplished in 1577, at the cloister of Bergen near Magdeburg, for the first time, and very probably in April of the same year, as some criticisms upon the work were still coming in, in a second conference they reviewed it again; but the final conclusion of this review was at last effected at a third and larger assembly in May of the same year, where Musculus, Körner, and Chytraus were engaged in addition to the three theologians mentioned above. For the purpose of obviating the inconvenience complained of in consequence of the size of the Book of Torgau, an Abstract from it, called the *Epitome*, was made at the first convention; and at present in the title applied to the whole work, still consisting of two parts, which it retains in our Book of Concord, and which was originally "A general, clear, correct and final repetition," instead of the first word was substituted the word "radical," because it was indicated that all members of the Lutheran church would not adopt this book. There was still another convention summoned by the electors of Saxony and of Brandenburg in 1578 at Tangermünde, with the view of profiting by the latest remarks and corrections; but the decision was, to be careful that no further alterations be made in the work. Other conventions, of the Hessians at Langensalza, of the theologians of Anhalt at Herzberg, and of the theologians of the elector at Smalcald; but of these only the last proved of any consequence. Finally in January 1579, at the convention of Jüterbock, a preface was composed by the reviewers of the book of Torgau; in February at Bergen, especially after some remarks by the elector of Pfalz, some alterations were made, and in June it was entirely concluded at Jüterbock.

Such was the origin of this treatise, which at first was called the Book of Concord, and afterwards, so far as we can learn from Selnecker's Recitations, in the edition of Heidelberg of 1582, it was called the Form of Concord. For Selnecker remarks,—that "Some one, in reference to the title of the book, intimates that 'Form of Concord' may seem too ostentatious." The former appellation is the most generally current, while the latter might easily be confounded with "The Book of Concord," that is, the full collection of the Symbolic books, the *codex symbolicus* of the Lutheran church. The appellation "Book of Bergen" was originally applied by the three Lutheran theologians, but at a later period it was retained only by the opponents of the work of Concord, to whom "Form of Concord" was very naturally a quite exceptionable term.

2.—Its Nature, Formation of the text, and its Design. The Form of Concord is divided as to its contents into two parts, the "Epitome," and the "Full Declaration." Each of these two principal parts has twelve articles, which are alike in both as to their character, and only differ from each other in form and expression; while the Epitome, in strict conformity with its name, presents the articles in short sentences, and in such a manner, that each first represents the state of the controversy, in the second place enforces the affirmative arguments of the Christian church, and in the third place, the negative, or the antitheses, exposing the false doctrines of the opponents. The "Full Declaration" does not contain this threefold arrangement of articles, but presents the arguments more explicitly and in immediate connection, while at the same time the choice precepts of the holy Scripture, the quotations from the Fathers of the church, from the other

symbols, and from the writings of Luther, are added. Besides the twelve articles, each division has an introduction: "Of the summary, rule, and standard, according to which all doctrines are to be judged, and the errors which have arisen, are to be determined and explained in a pious manner"; and in the Full Declaration, besides the preceding, there is a brief preface.

In the arrangement of the articles, reference was had to the Augsburg Confession; for it was the design of the Form of Concord to furnish an explanation of the first Symbol, and to obviate successfully the objections of certain theologians directed against that Confession. But as the chief design of the authors and promoters of the work of Concord, as well as the most effectual defence of the Augustan System of doctrine, depended upon the settlement of controversies, and upon a mild and gentle correction of existing errors, so all personal insinuations were to be avoided, and distinct reference was only to be made to the doctrines, and not to the teachers of those doctrines. The *Condemnation* in the antitheses, of false doctrine, to which so many violent objections had been made, notwithstanding the full explanation given in the preface,—while to a similar condemnation in the Augsburg Confession and in other Symbols, no objections had been urged, intended no personal assault, much less a determination upon the eternal destiny of any one, but it should be regarded merely as a mode of expression current in the church. And because the suppression of the various dissensions in the Lutheran church, was the main object contemplated in the Form of Concord, so those articles of the Augsburg Confession, which had been expressly directed against the erroneous doctrines of the Roman church, were here no farther discussed, though the opinions in opposition to the articles concerning Original Sin, Justification, Good Works, the Lord's Supper, and some other points, were always mentioned.

Since, as already remarked, the Form of Concord, in the explanation of controverted points, expressly attacks no individual, and, concerning matters of facts themselves, treats so far only as seemed absolutely necessary, circumstances seem to demand some brief explanations. The first article concerning Original Sin is directed against the errors of Mathias Flacius and his followers, as well as against the Pelagian doctrine of the Roman church. The second article concerning Freewill is opposed to the doctrines of the Synergists and the Philippists. The third article concerning the justification by Faith before God, attacks the errors of Osiander and Stancarus, and at the same time it is directed against the friends of the *Interim*, which would not admit that man is justified by faith alone. In the fourth article concerning Good Works, the propositions of Major and Nicholaus are rejected, which are opposed to each other and culpably extravagant on both sides. In the fifth article concerning the Law and the Gospel, the true doctrines on both these subjects are supported in opposition to the views of John Agricola and other extravagant defenders of the Law, and they are even referred to in the course of the sixth article concerning the third use of the Law. The seventh article concerning the Lord's Supper is directed against the public and private Sacramentarians and against the Calvinists, where the papal doctrine of transubstantiation with the abuses resulting from it, are rejected. The eighth article concerning the person of Christ is directly opposed to the Crypto-calvinists, and the doctrine which denies the descent of Christ into hell,—a doctrine not to be found in the Suabian and Saxon Form. The tenth article which describes the usages of the church, which usages are called *Adiaphora* or means, rejects the errors of the so-called Adiaphorists, who took their origin from the adoption and approbation of the *Interim*. The eleventh article concerning the eternal foreknowledge and election of God, is opposed to the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination; and it will guard against all ambiguous expressions, by which,

on the one hand, men are induced to feel a groundless security, and on the other, are thrown into despair through the weakness of their faith,—a provision so much the more necessary, because the earlier Symbols had established no definite opinions on this point, and Luther himself as well as Melanchthon, strongly attached at first to the Augustan theory, yet at a later period had forsaken it. The twelfth article concerning other sects and heresies which never had acknowledged the Augsburg Confession, had no other object than the perfect establishment of the reformation,—that the Lutheran church, in doctrine and practice never had and never would have any conformity with the propagators of commotion and error. A catalogue of Testimonies was added, as an appendix, however without any symbolic force, and merely as a private document prepared by Andrea and Chemnitz, which exhibits the evidences from Scripture and from the Fathers of the church, concerning the union of the two natures in Christ, and the communion of properties resulting from that union, with the positive declaration that the Lutheran church has introduced no new doctrine on this subject. As the elector of Pfalz contended that this document by the appellation of Appendix was characterized as a general division of the Book of Concord, and consequently as a symbolic writing, an authority which it could not assume, it was afterwards entirely omitted in many editions, or else no longer distinguished by the name of Appendix, as it had been in the oldest edition.

On this account, the signatures are not attached to the Appendix, but they stand before it, and immediately after the conclusion of the Form of Concord. The original copy of these subscriptions, which we had the opportunity of seeing, are duplicate, that is, attached to the Epitome as well as to the Declaration.

Like the general divisions of the Form of Concord,—the Suabian and Saxon Confession, the Form of Maulbrun, and the Book of Torgau, the whole work itself was originally composed in the German language. The transcript of the Form of Concord, sent to the evangelical princes and estates, seems to have been composed probably after the first Convention at Closterbergen, March 1577, and sent there. We perceive likewise that it has come down to us under the title "A *general*, plain Repetition," whereas it was characterized originally as "A *radical*, plain Repetition." Since no important alterations were made at the last Convention of Bergen and Tangermünde, this transcript agrees entirely with our printed copy, though it is to be observed that numerous typographical errors were made in the impression. The first Latin translation of the Form of Concord was made by Luke Osiander, and Selnecker used this translation in his first Latin edition of 1580; but, in consequence of numerous errors, especially in his German and Latin edition of 1582, it seemed necessary to undertake another translation. As this, however, especially the portion translated by the theologians of Brunswick, contained also numerous blemishes, at the instance of Chemnitz a convention assembled at Quedlinburg in 1583, and it was there revised and improved; and then it was included in the first authentic edition of 1584. In this form it was added to the Book of Concord, and constitutes the Latin text now received in the church. In 1705 Philip Müller republished the text of Selnecker of 1580; but he could not secure the public approbation to his enterprise. Another translation was to have been made by Jacob Heerbrand for Lewis, the duke of Wittemburg; but if this was completed, it has remained entirely unknown to the public. Pfaff indeed, Walch, and others have asserted that Heerbrand had taken a part in the translation of Osiander; but in opposition to this, it is merly necessary to refer to the evidence of the three delegates of the elector of Saxony to the convention at Quedlinburg; for Pfalz and Brandenburg say expressly, in their report to the elector, that Dr. Luke Osiander was the author of the Latin version of the

Radical Repetition, that he candidly and openly acknowledged it himself, and that it would be an easy matter to defend the assertion.

The Form of Concord, together with the other symbolical writings, has been translated into the dialects of Holland and Sweden.

3. Its Authority and Importance. The authority of the Form of Concord as a symbol, in the Lutheran church, is decided and important both as to its internal and external influence. The internal influences arise from the peculiar nature of this confessional document, from the causes of its origin, and from its relation to the other symbols. For to these it has continual reference, and it makes no further pretensions, than to be an exposition of the church, in relation to the systems of doctrine in her earlier symbols, as the Augustan for instance, and a confirmation of this symbol under temporal emergencies which had endangered its existence,—an expositon which had become indispensable from increasing errors in regard to the doctrine of Faith. We have made reference to this peculiarity in a preceding section; but it would be an egregrious error, however, were we to infer from this circumstance, that the Form of Concord has merely a negative tendency, while it really maintains a very positive character in the controversy. In relation to this character, the reproach has always been urged, that the Form of Concord transgresses the limits of the earlier symbols; that, especially in the articles concerning Freewill, concerning the Lord's Supper, and concerning the person of Christ, it introduces into the church new doctrines, new and ambiguous modes of expression. Now, it is true that we meet with many expressions in the Form of Concord, of which the Augsburg Confession presents no instance, in the same manner as the latter differs widely, in form and expression from the ecumenical symbol; but of new doctrine, in reference to which alone the objection is made, the Form of Concord has introduced as little in opposition to the Augustan Creed, as that Creed has introduced in relation to the Confession of the primitive church; the only difference is that the circumstances of the church required an expansion of her system of doctrines, to which she agreed, as a necessary consequence dependent upon those circumstances. But the Form of Concord has not departed a single step from the radical and elementary doctrines of the church, or to express our meaning more explicitly, from the doctrines of the Word of God. All its definitions, many of which appear at first sight to want simplicity, approve themselves, on a closer and more impartial examination, to be in strict conformity with the Scriptures. And whoever laments that this Form does sometimes advance to the utmost point, let him consider the great importance of driving an artful, a cunning enemy sporting with words, from his last lurking-place, and not leaving him a single foot more room upon the platform of the Lutheran church. The Form of Concord is certainly not intended for such people as know scarcely any thing at all about the doctrines of the church, or else desire these doctrines to remain always in the same conscious state of elasticity and suspense, for fear of being burdened with too much precision. But, the very thing which these men find objectionable, we must approve and explain as a quality altogether indispensable in a confessional writing for the church,—that precision, for instance, with which it unfolds every point of doctrine, under every aspect, so that no one can remain in doubt for a moment about its design, or the relation which it bears to him. It is composed altogether in the spirit of Luther,—a German of clear and keen discriminating powers, one who advances immediately to his point, and is utterly incapable of prevarication. The Epitome, even when viewed in reference to the purity of its doctrine, is decidedly a model form for confessional writings; while both the Epitome and the Declaration deserve to be highly esteemed and diligently studied, not only by every theologian, but by every member of the church, susceptible of knowledge.

The most of those who are turned away full of apprehension at the very name of Form of Concord, have surely never read it with attention, nor compared it with the holy Scriptures.

Nor is the symbolic authority of this work less indubitable on external considerations; for it is not as Planck loves to call it, — the performance of a triumvirate, — Andrea, Chemnitz, and Selnecker, — excessively generous and mild towards the confessions of others, but ungenerous in the highest degree towards its own, but it is the work of a wise and pious prince, acquainted with the sorrows of Joseph from his own experience of many long years, the work of the elector Augustus of Saxony, who was not led by the theologians, as the old and new opponents of the Form of Concord contend, but who directed, under his own supervision, these men as well as his own counsellors. It was not conceived and written in secrecy, nor imposed upon the church by irresponsible men, but it originated from the church herself, was examined by her legitimate organs, subjected to public investigation, before its final conclusion, and frequently revised and improved, by reference to the criticisms which it had received. That a general assembly of the church did not encourage its introduction, as was at first intended, has its reasons partly in external relations, partly in the belief of the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, that the approval of it in the smaller circles or provincial synods might be more advantageous; and it is not true that the so-called Fathers of Bergen prevented a general synod. At last no one was compelled to receive or to subscribe it. The often repeated offences and reproaches of its enemies, were listened to and corrected, with moderation and patience; time was allowed to every one to consider: indeed each one was admonished, in the name of the elector, not to subscribe againt his conscience. Now, although Hutter contends that many may have subscribed with reluctance; yet this is a conjecture, drawn from the mere arrangement of the signatures, which is no proof that the signatures were obtained by force. Andrea confidently asserts, at the same convention of Herzberg, 1578: "I am able to declare most truly that no man was compelled to give his signature, nor subjected to any undue influence. If this is not true, the Son of God has not redeemed me with his blood, nor am I a partaker of his blood." In consequence of this declaration, the opponents were challenged to name only one who had been compelled to subscribe, but they were not able: on the contrary, it was acknowledged by the theologians of Nuremberg themselves, who rejected the Form of Concord, that the signatures were obtained without compulsion. Many had subscribed the Form of Concord, and at a later period recanted; especially is it known in reference to Dr. Urban Pierius, that he was accustomed to number the subscription of this document among his greatest sins. But neither he nor any other person attempted to assert, that he was compelled to subscribe. In all Saxony only three refused their signatures, and one, the superintendent of Koldiz, recanted, when he had obtained a situation at Nuremberg. If we consider how numerous the followers of the Philippists and Cryptocalvinists were in Saxony, we may regard this fact as a proof always as much to be lamented, as it is conclusive, that a great number were entirely influenced by the apprehension of political difficulty. But is this an argument against the work of Concord, and not much rather an evidence of the flexibility of the Philippists as contrasted with the firmness of the Flacians, who preferred to go into exile, rather than subscribe the *Corpus Philippicum?* Nor is the declaration of Andrea against Chemnitz any proof, when he says: "We have been exercising tyranny upon our pastors, as an excellent man, a pious minister of the church once told me in confidence, that he was struck with astonishment when so tyrannical a proposition was made, and seemed to be hearing the promulgation of the Mosaic law from Mount Si-

nai; I do not believe that equal severity was ever exercised in any place." Was it not a work of great moment, and could it be accomplished without the highest degree of earnestness? Or if Andrea and his colleagues expressed themselves with much asperity towards the Cryptocalvinists, was it not their right and their duty, in view of the amount of evil which that sect had brought upon the Lutheran church? What Andrea complains of here as actual *violence*, was really a mere warmth of *expression*, and is there no difference between these? In a word, all the accusations of Hospinianus, Balæus, and others against the mode of introducing the Form of Concord, either amount to nothing of importance, or immediately vanish from the light of Truth. They refer indeed to histories, and appeal to the evidence of "*credible*" men, but they take very good care not to name them; so that Hutter and Selnecker oppose to their falsehoods only a simple denial. This question, moreover, is only of subordinate importance; but all depends upon the enquiry, whether the doctrine of the Form of Concord be in conformity with the Scriptures, and whether it exhibits the analogy of faith or not; the whole is also a contention about principles, which never can be decided by the accumulation of additional circumstances.

That this instrument of Confession was not adopted in a full assembly of the church, is certainly no disadvantage to its symbolic authority. For an overwhelming majority did acknowledge it; three electors, twenty princes, twenty-four earls, the lords of the four free cities, thirty-eight members of the Diet, and about eight thousand holding offices in churches and in schools, had subscribed so early as 1577 and 1578. In other provinces, in and out of Germany, it was adopted at a later period; and those who refused to receive it, did so for reasons which by no means impaired its authority and importance, but only served to corroborate them. Its reception followed successively in the electorate of Saxony, of Pfalz, and of Brandenburg; in the dukedom of Prussia, Wirtemberg, and Mecklenburg; in the margravate of Kulmbach, Baireuth, Anspach and Baden; in Oberpfalz, Neuburg, and Sulzbach, the princedom of Brunswick and Luneburg, in Thuringia, Coburg, and Weimar; in Mömpelgard, in Magdeburg, Meissen, Verder, and Quedlinburg; in the earldoms of Henneberg, Ottingen, Castell, Mansfeld, Hanau, Hohenlohe, Barby, Gleichen, Oldenburg, Hoya, Eberstein, Limburg, Schönburg, Löwenstein, Reinstein, Stolberg, Schwarzburg, Leiningen, and others; in the towns of Lubeck, Hamburg, Luneburg, Regensburg, Augsburg, Ulm, Biberach, Ezlingen, Landau, Hagenau, Rothenburg, Goslar, Mühlhausen, Reutlingen Nördlingen, Halle, Memmingen, Hildesheim, Hanover, Göttingen, Erfurt, Einbeck, Schweinfurt, Brunswick, Münster, Heilbronn, Lindau, Donauwörth, Wimpfen, Gingen, Bopfingen, Aalen, Kaufbeuern, Kempten, Issny, Leutkirk, Hameln, and Nordheim. To those countries which abopted the Form of Concord, have subsequently been added Lauenburg, of Saxony since 1586; Sweden, at the Council of Upsal in 1593, and the diet of Stockholm in 1647; Holstein since 1647; Pomerania, since 1685, and somewhat earlier Krain, Kärnthen, Steiermark, and Ungarn, at the Convention of Eperies in 1593, and of Leutschau in 1597. Its introduction into Denmark was forbidden upon pain of death, by Frederick II; indeed the king is said to have thrown the copy sent to him by his sister, the electress Anna, into the fire: still it obtained, at a later date, a high authority in this country also, and was in reality used as a symbol, though not publicly acknowledged.

A portion of the theologians of Silesia were prevented from subscribing it through the power of the secret Calvinists, especially those in the dukedom of Liegnitz, Brieg, and Wohlau, likewise those in Hesse Cassel, Zweibrück, Nassau, Bentheim, Tecklenburg, and Solms, besides the officers of the churches and schools in the dukedoms of Cleve and Berg; in the earldom of Mark and Ravensberg; in the princedom of Halberstadt, in Osnabrück, Ortenburg, Aus-

tria, and at first in Bohemia, while those in Silesia and Lausitz were prevented by their Roman Catholic liege-lords.

Some Lutheran princes and estates did not adopt the Form of Concord, partly because they were devoted to the doctrines of Calvin,—as Hessia, (at first however, only Lower Hessia, —Upper Hessia having declared in its favor; the landgrave William was from the first entirely in favor with the work of Concord, and so likewise his brothers Lewis, and especially George,) Anhalt, Zweibrück, Dantzic, partly from an excessive attachment to Melanchthon and the *Variata*, from political reasons, or from the reflections of their neighbors, especially from an offence conceived in consequence of not being at first invited to participate in the work of Concord, as Nuremberg, Magdeburg, Strasburg, Frankfort, Spire, Worms, Bremen, most of whom, however, asserted that they coincided in doctrine with the Form of Concord. Of the signers of this Form, Julius, duke of Brunswick, changed his resolution, when he saw himself censured because he had made his son church-warden and prebend in the Romen see; and he was particularly hostile to the Form of Concord, when the controversies of the theologians of Helmstadt occurred with those of Saxony; while John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg, adopted the Reformed Confession, and at the same time declared himself released from the Form of Concord. But Casimir, as administrator, had introduced the Reformed doctrine already in 1583, after the death of his brother, the elector, Lewis.

From this exposition it is evident that the small number of Signatures, as well as the objections of adversaries can not impair, to any considerable extent, the symbolic authority of the Form of Concord; and we can agree with Selnecker in his funeral sermon on the elector Augustus, where he says: "One thing is certain, that so long as we preserve, in our churches and schools, the Cofession and explanation, contained in the Book of Concord, throughout this country and others, so long will the purity of the Word of God, or of doctrine, together with other blessings of God, continue among us without controversy; but so soon as the pure confession be in the least transgressed or violated, will God, who still suffers us to enjoy this great prosperity, withdraw from us, and permit all kinds of difficulties and controversies to rush in upon us."

VIII. The Book of Concord.

The Book of Concord is the collection of all the symbolic Cofessions, the Creeds, and the Doctrines of the Lutheran church. They are—1. The three ecumenical Symbols; 2. the unaltered Augsburg Confession; 3. the Apology; 4. the Articles of Smalcald; 5. the Small; 6. the Large Catechism of Luther; and 7. the Form of Concord. The publication of the Book of Concord was commenced at the command of the elector of Saxony, in 1578, under the direction of Dr. Jacob Andrea, with whom Peter Glaser, the archdeacon, and Casper Fuger the deacon of Kreuzkirk at Dresden were associated as correctors of the press. The issue of this work took place on the same day of the month, June 25th, in 1580, as the delivery of the Augsburg Confession had in 1530.

This is to be understood of the German text, and it is to be remarked particularly of this, that the copies of 1580, exhibit variations which prove that alterations were made, not only during the operation of printing them, but that several editions were made in the same year. Feuerlein enumerates seven editions

of 1580, and it may now be questioned which is the original edition, and whether these seven editions may not be reduced to a smaller number, by observing that alterations were introduced, in consequence of corrections received during the passage of the first edition through the press, while it can still not be admitted, that a work so comprehensive, could have been so often reprinted in less than two years. Köllner, whom we and Franke follow, with great propriety gives much weight to the evidence of Chemnitz, who knows of two editions only; namely, of the first, in which is found an Errata, and of another edition published at Dresden, in which these errata are corrected. If there had been other independent editions, Chemnitz certainly would have mentioned them. So Hutter likewise names only two editions, assigning the want of the Saxon signatures, in the first as the distinctive difference between these two. All the variations which appear in the seven editions enumerated by Feuerlein, can easily be explained as the alterations of a few pages of the two editions,—as nos. 27 and 28 belong to the first editon, nos. 29 up to 33 belong to the second. But the signs by which the *editio princeps* can be distinguished are the following: 1.—It has an Errata appended. 2.—It mentions a period of 25 years, which in other editions is said to be 30 years. 3.—The twentieth article of the Augsburg Confession stands according to the German editions of 1531. 4.—It contains the articles concerning the ceremonies of marriage and of baptism; or where these are wanting, it has the paginal numbers, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, all printed on the last page of the Smaller Catechism, in order to preserve a similarity in the designation of pages with the copies already published. 5.—The Latin text is printed in Italic letters. 6.—The Catalogue of Testimonies is called Appendix. 7.—At the end of the book, after the signatures, is a particular page upon which above are the first and second verses of the ninth Psalm, and then a woodcut, upon which stand, in a circle, the names of the printers Mathes Stöckel and Gimel Bergen, with the date 1579; under this again they are repeated in the following manner: "Printed at Dresden in the Court-residence of the elector of Saxony, by Mathes Stöckel and Gimel Bergen."

Selnecker published the first Latin edition in the year 1580. As he adopted the title from the German Book of Concord, it contains an incorrect statement,—"Communi consilio et mandato eorundem Electorum, Principum, ac Ordinum Imperii". Because the text of the Augsburg Confession was published after the octavo edition of 1531, and also because the translations of the other Symbolic books are more or less disfigured with errors, as we have explained in the present Introduction, this first Latin publication was not acknowledged; and Selnecker is obliged to confess in his second edition, the only authentic one of 1584, that "the Book of Concord had previously been published in Latin, but in a private and hasty manner." A Latin edition was not published in 1581, as was formerly believed, from confounding it with Selnecker's edition of the Form of Concord in that year.

IX. The Saxon Articles of Visitation.

Just as the first system of Cryptocalvinism gave occasions to the Form of Concord, so the second system of Cryptocalvinism gave occasion to the Articles of Visitation. Soon after the death of the elector Augustus, the circulation of the Form of Concord in Saxony was less sought after, the form of exorcism began to be rejected, the introduction of a new Cryptocalvinistic catechism was encouraged, compiled by David Steinbach and John Salmuth,—a false edition of the

Bible was published, and it was forbidden to oppose the doctrine of Calvin from the pulpit. This was effected through the agency of Nicolas Crell whom the general superintendent Pierius, the count-prelate John Salmuth, and the pastor Christopher Sunderman, supported. Christian I. guessed indeed some of these effects, but he could not clearly perceive them, and all was left in the hands of the Chancellor. He died on the 25th of September 1591, and his son Christian II. was only in his ninth year; hence the government of Saxony had to be assumed by a regent, duke Frederick William, and he, in February of the next year, summoned a diet at Torgau, the most important consequence of which was a General Visitation of the churches and schools, ordered by the landgrave, for the suppression of Cryptocalvinism.

With this view, the theologians appointed on the visitation, Dr. Martin Mirus, Dr. George Mylius, Dr. Aegidius Hunnius, Dr. Burchard Hebardus, Dr. Joshua Lonerus, and M. Wolfgang Mamphrasius, were instructed to draw up an instrument of writing, which should contain the principal points in dispute. The Visitation commenced in 1592, on the eighth Sunday after Trinity, upon the principles of the instrument, drawn up by the theologians above mentioned, which was printed in 1593, under the following title: "Articles of Visitation in the whole electorate of Saxony, containing also the *negative* arguments in opposition to the Calvinists, and the form of subscription, according to which both parties should continue to subscribe it."

These articles of Visitation had to be subscribed by all the officiates of churches and schools, according to an edict of the Regent on the 6th of March, 1594, and since that, in Saxony, they have had the force of a symbolic writing. They are four in number, the first of which treats of the Lord's Supper; the second, of the person of Christ; the third, of holy Baptism; and the fourth, of the election and eternal foreknowledge of God, in such order that the pure doctrine and then the opposite doctrine are advanced in short sentences, after the method pursued in the Epitome of the Form of Concord.

In substance, these are the same articles which Dr. Jacob Andrea discussed with Theodore Beza, during their interview at Mömpelgard in 1586, except that, as the occasion required, every thing which was not doctrinal was omitted, especially the paragraphs concerning images, churches, and other external things.

Immeldorf, Bavaria,
December, 1847.

JOHN T. MÜLLER,
Evang. Luth. Minister.

MANDATE OF CHRISTIAN II.

CHRISTIAN II, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, DUKE OF SAXONY, CHIEF MARSHAL AND ELECTOR OF THE HOLY EMPIRE OF ROME, LANDGRAVE OF THURINGIA, MARQUIS OF MISNIA, AND BURGOMASTER OF MAGDEBURG, &c.

To the church dignitaries collectively and individually, to the Counts, Barons, and the whole order of Knighthood subject to our authority, and likewise to that of the Bishops over the people of Misnia, Naumburg, and Merseburg, to the Admirals and subordinate officers, but most especially to the superintendents, the Pastors and Ministers of churches, our salutation and favor.

Right honorable, illustrious, active and noble sirs, and venerable too, faithful and devoted to us,—we have been informed now for several years past, that the churches and schools of our provinces generally have been censured among distant states, as if some change of Confession took place among them almost every seven years. This intelligence was indeed the more grievous to us, the more closely we examined, and the more easily we were able to render it plain, that our most devout and worthy ancestors, of pious and hallowed memory, had never changed their Confession, from the very origin of the reformed doctrine, after God, in this twilight of a declining world, had graciously kindled the light of Gospel truth, by the agency of his chosen instrument, Dr. Martin Luther, and had most kindly diffused it pure and uncorrupted from his indubitable word; but all the electors in order have persisted in the Confession, with that invincible firmness which, in the year 1530, was manifested to the emperor Charles the fifth, and at the same time to the whole Roman empire,—and they have spread it abroad with devout ardor; some have even sustained many injuries, and incurred heavy expenses through their zeal in maintaining it; so that indeed the praise of constancy in the true religion can be or ought to be by no means withdrawn from them.

At the same time we have discovered this also,—that there have been certain false and deceitful men, who deport themselves towards their supreme government with words specious indeed, and even with oaths wickedly conceived declare, that they are devoted to the pure and unaltered Augsburg Confession, in opposition to all corruptions and visionary opinions of the Calvinistic sects as well as of others, who nevertheless have afterwards been detected as cherishing secretly false doctrines and erroneous opinions about the sacraments, and endeavoring by means of their adherents to introduce privately their treacherous schemes and machinations, to disseminate and spread them abroad with all their energies, without the knowledge of their own government regularly and divinely instituted.

This class of men have indeed excited riots sometimes and dissensions in the schools and churches of these territories, which always, however, through the grace of God, have been suppressed and quieted by the Christian magistrate, as soon as he was informed of the wicked movements of these night prowlers.

Since then God himself seriously abhors this indefinite sort of men who are neither cold nor warm, and threatens them that he will cast them out of his mouth, we applied ourselves to this duty, immediately on the commencement of our administration, that all our counsellors, our courtiers, our admirals, our subordinates, and those exercising other functions, observe an oath administered under the sanction of religion, and pledge their faith, that they will, by the assistance of God, resolutely persevere to the end of their lives with us in the first un-

altered Augsburg Confession, as it was transcribed and declared in the year 1580, in the book of Christian Concord, and carefully secured against corruptions of every kind. Having matured our design and deliberated upon it in every aspect, we have undertaken this duty, assuredly for this object, that by this salutary method, it may be successfully protected, through the assistance of God, from the wicked attempts of those treacherous men, who circulate through our provinces by their secret insinuations so foul a stigma among distant states.

We know too (praise and glory be to God) that the illustrious noblemen and rulers Sir John George, and Sir Augustus, dukes of Saxony, our highly esteemed brothers, agree in all things with us in this cause of religion, as in others also.

In order therefore that this pious and truly Christian work may be preserved even as under a shelter repaired, and may be perpetuated to coming posterity, nor that any one may have reason to pretend that occasion and opportunity for reading this symbolic writing were denied him, we have taken care that the Form of Concord, agreeing in every respect with the authentic copy, be printed and published in each language, in Latin and also in German, but in a smaller form, in order that it may be purchased at a lower price as well as more conveniently circulated.

And henceforth in our own name, and first in the guardian name of our most beloved brethren, we devoutly enjoin it upon you individually and collectively as above mentioned, that as you agreed with us in this matter in the last provincial assembly, so let each one still in his own capacity persist resolutely in that determination, for the pledge of his honor once given to us.

And especially we enjoin upon our counsellors delegated to the duties of schools and churches, the doctors and professors of academics, the justices of ecclesiastical courts, upon all superintendents and their subordinates, upon pastors and deacons, likewise upon rectors and fellows of the high schools, and other principals of schools generally, together with our stipendiaries and alumni, that they hold this book very dear to them, that they handle it by night and by day, that they meditate with due assiduity, that they collect their proofs from it, and that they do not promote any one to office, who has not approved this book both by his subscription and by his fidelity pledged upon oath, and that they strive with all their energies, that nothing contrary throughout this famous electorate of ours in schools and in churches, be either taught publicly or introduced privately, as the mercy of Almighty God, our favor, and the health and security of his own life are dear to each. May ye act up to this agreement, which is consistent with your duty, and commensurate with your serious and constant affection towards us, and on our part we shall be most kindly disposed towards you.

Given at Dresden,

August 1, 1602.

PREFACE TO THE BOOK OF CONCORD.

To all who shall read these writings, we who have subscribed our names to them, the Electors, Princes, and Estates of the sacred Roman empire in Germany, attached to the Confession of Augsburg, according to the dignity and rank of each, proclaim and present, our good wishes, the friendship, and salutation connected with our office.

It is a remarkable favor of God, the greatest and best of beings, that in these latter days, even in the old age of the world, he has been willing to cause, according to his unutterable kindness, love, and mercy, the light of the Gospel and of his word, to arise and shine forth upon the human race, pure and serene over Germany, our beloved country, after those dark hours of papal superstition. And for this reason especially, a brief and compendious Confession has been collected from the word of God, and from the sacred writings of the Prophets and Apostles, which was also presented at the diet of Augsburg to the emperor Charles the fifth, of illustrious repute, in the year 1530, by our very pious predecessors, in the German and Latin languages, and submitted to the princes of the empire, and publicly indeed to all men professing the Christian doctrine; and having been disseminated in this manner throughout the world, it has become universally known and begins to be in the mouth and conversation of all.

Besides, many churches and academies have embraced and defended this Confession, as a certain Symbol, of these times, in the chief articles of faith, especially in those arguments against the Romanists, and the various corruptions of divine doctrine; and with constant uniformity they have appealed to it from every dispute and uncertainty.

The doctrine also embraced in that Confession, which they know to be supported by the solid evidences of Scripture, and approved by ancient and acknowledged symbols, they have uniformly considered the special and perpetual source of harmony in the church justly appreciating it, formerly its defence against numerous heresies and errors, and now again restored.

But indeed it can be a secret to no one, that immediately after Dr. Martin Luther, a most excellent man and filled with the deepest piety, was removed from human cares, that Germany, our sweet country experienced the most dangerous times and agitations in her public concerns extremely violent. In these difficulties indeed, and in this deplorable confusion of our country, formerly so flourishing and regulated so well, the enemy of men labored ingeniously to scatter the seeds of false doctrine and divisions in the churches and schools, excited dissensions in conjunction with offence, and by his artifices corrupted the purity of divine doctrine, broke the chain and pious harmony of Christian charity, and to a greater extent obstructed and impeded the progress of the holy Gospel.

It is also known to all in what way those enemies of divine truth, afterwards seized an opportunity to betray our churches and schools, to find pretexts for their errors, to withdraw the timid and erring consciences of men from the purity of Gospel doctrine, and to employ those who were more subservient in bearing and enduring the yoke of papal servitude, and in embracing other corruptions also warring with the word of God.

Doubtless nothing could have happened either more agreeable to us, or which we could consider worthy to be sought with more exertion of mind and with prayers from the Supreme Father of the universe, than that our churches and schools

might have persevered in the pure doctrine of God's word, and in the same pious and desirable unanimity of mind, and as it happened while Luther still survived, that they might have been established and consigned to posterity with piety and distinction according to the Rule of God's word.

But we have observed that just as in the times of the Apostles, corruptions were introduced into those churches in which they themselves had planted the Gospel of Christ, so on account of our sins and the depravity of these times, a similar evil has been permitted by an angry God to befall our churches also.

Wherefore, mindful of our duty which we feel to be enjoined upon us by heaven, we conceive ourselves bound diligently to attend this matter, to guard against the false doctrines in our provinces and dominions, which have been scattered there, and which insinuate themselves secretly more and more as it were into the practice and familiarity of men, and to cause the subjects in our empire to persevere in the right path of piety and in the truth of divine doctrine which is known, and which has hitherto been constantly preserved and defended, and not to suffer them to be withdrawn from it.

For this purpose indeed, our most worthy predecessors in part and we ourselves,—as that opinion prevailed with unanimous consent in the year 1558, an opportunity presenting at the diet which at that time was held by the electors at Frankfort on the Maine,—mutually determined that a special and general convention be held, in which it might be debated in a profound and yet in a friendly manner among ourselves, concerning those matters which have been maliciously in the way of abuse objected by our adversaries against our churches and academies.

And indeed after these deliberations, our predecessors of pious and excellent memory, and we ourselves in part, assembled at Naumburg in Thuringia in 1561, And at that time we took in hand the Confession of Augsburg, of which we have spoken several times, which had been presented to the emperor Charles the fifth, in a full diet of the empire in the year 1530; and we then again with one consent all subscribed to that pious Confession, which is founded upon the solid evidences of immutable truth expressed in the word of God,—in order that we might serve posterity in that way, and as far as lay in our power, become their authors and advisers for avoiding those false doctrines which war with the word of God. And we did this with the design, that a perpetual testimony might be afforded to his majesty the Emperor, our most gracious master, as well as to all men every where, that we never had conceived an intention to defend or to disseminate any new or foreign doctrine, but that we desired constantly to protect and retain, by the assistance of God, that truth which we professed at Augsburg in the year 1530.

We also conceived no slight hope, that in this way not only those who were averse to the purer Gospel doctrine, would desist from their false charges and accusations, but also that other good and benevolent men would be conciliated by this renewed and reiterated Confession of ours, and would examine and investigate with greater zeal and solicitude the truth of divine doctrine, which alone is our guide to salvation, and consulting the welfare of their souls and their own eternal happiness, that they would abide in that Confession, rejecting for the future all controversies and dissensions.

But we have been informed, not without great distress of mind, that this declaration of ours and rescript of the Confession, has had but very little weight among our adversaries, nor that we and our churches were freed from the abuses of prejudices which they had been scattering with the greatest malignity among the people. That in this design, those things which we have done with the best pur-

pose and intention, have been represented by the enemies of true religion, as if we were so uncertain concerning our religion, and were transforming it so often into different and still different formulas, that it was not known either to us or to our theologians, what was the Confession formerly delivered to the Emperor at Augsburg.

These representations of our adversaries have withheld and alienated many virtuous men from our churches, our schools, our Doctrine, our Faith, and Confession.

To these adversities it was also added, that a doctrine conflicting with the institution of the Holy Supper of the body and blood of Christ, and other corruptions also, were introduced extensively both into our churches and schools.

When some pious men, fond of peace and harmony, besides even learned theologians, had observed these things, they believed they could not more effectually oppose those abuses and dissensions in religion which were gradually increasing more and more, than by declaring and explaining the controverted Articles with force and accuracy from the word of God, by rejecting and condemning false doctrines, and on the contrary by representing with learning and eloquence the Truth as delivered down from heaven;—as they were persuaded that in this way they would be able to impose silence upon their adversaries, and to point out to the more simple and virtuous a certain way and method how they might conduct themselves in these dissensions now and in future, and assisted by divine grace, avoid the corruptions of doctrine.

In the first place therefore, these theologians communicated among themselves certain writings sufficiently diffuse and extracted from the word of God, in which they showed with learning and ingenuity, how those controversies connected with the disorder of the churches, might be entirely quieted and suppressed apart from any disturbance of divine truth; for thus it would happen that the opportunities and pretences sought by the adversary for the purpose of abuse, would be cut off and removed.

At last they investigated and proclaimed with religious accuracy the controverted articles which they had received, and in a special treatise they proposed the way and method by which those rising dissensions might be judiciously and piously repressed.

And having been informed of this pious resolution of the theologians, we do not only approve it, but in proportion to the extent of influence and office entrusted to us by heaven, we conceive ourselves bound to promote it.

Accordingly in a council of some other electors and princes, agreeing with us in religious opinion, we, by the grace of God, Duke of Saxony, Elector, &c., summoned to Torga in the year 1576, some of the most distinguished and least suspected theologians, highly cultivated and endowed with eminent erudition.

When these men had assembled, they religiously conferred among themselves concerning the controverted articles and the edict of pacification, of which we have spoken a little while ago.

And first indeed having offered up pious prayers to the great and beneficent God and to his glory and praise, the Spirit of the Lord assisting us with his grace, all those matters which seemed to relate to this deliberation and which seemed to be required, were comprised with remarkable diligence and care, in a certain treatise.

That book was afterwards transmitted to some eminent men, professing the Confession of Augsburg, the electors, the princes and estates; and it was requested that, having assembled the most eminent and learned theologians, they should read it with anxious care and pious zeal, should diligently examine it, and

embody in writing their opinion and censures of it, and finally should freely represent to us the judgment of all and of each of them, and the reasons for it.

When therefore we had received these critical remarks, we found many pious and useful suggestions among them, how that declaration of the pure Christian doctrine, might be fortified and defended by evidences from the sacred writings against all corruptions and distortions, lest perhaps in process of time under cover of this declaration impious doctrines might lie concealed: but by no means should the declaration of pure Truth be transmitted to posterity with a stain upon it.

From these views then, which had come to us extremely well digested, the *Book of Christian Concord*, concerning which we have spoken, has been composed, and that form was adopted in which it is now presented.

Whereupon certain persons of our Order, (for we all, as some others also, for certain reasons which interposed at the time, were not able to do it,) took care to have this book distinctly recited article by article, to the theologians collectively and individually of our regions and jurisdictions, and to the ministers of churches and schools, and to have *them* aroused to a diligent and accurate consideration of those parts of doctrine which are contained in it.

When therefore they observed that the declaration of the controverted articles, agreed first indeed with the word of God, and then with the Confession of Augsburg, with the greatest alacrity and an earnest attestation of their gratitude to God, they approved this *Book of Concord*, as expressing the pious and genuine sentiment of the Augsburg Confession, they received it voluntarily, and indeed having fully and deeply meditated and considered, subscribed to it, and openly testified their assent with heart, and tongue, and hand.

Wherefore that sacred pacification is called and shall ever be the *unanimous and concordant Confession* not only of some few of our theologians, but of *all* and *each* of the ministers of the church and teachers in our provinces and dominions.

But because our conventions and those of our venerable predecessors, first at Frankfort on the Maine, and afterwards at Naumburg, undertaken with a pure intention and comprised in our writings, not only failed to attain that object and reconciliation which were desired, but an excuse has been sought even out of them by some persons for errors and false doctrines,—while however it never entered our minds, either to introduce by this treatise of ours any new and false kind of doctrine, to recommend and establish it by disguises, or even in the least to depart from that Confession exhibited at Augsburg in the year 1530, but rather as many of us as were concerned in the transactions of Naumburg, even then reserved it entirely to ourselves and promised besides, that if in process of time any thing should be wanting in our Confession, or as often as necessity seemed to demand it, we would still further declare all our principles with fullness and solidity;—so for this very reason we have labored in this *Book of Concord* to declare our constancy and unintermitted devotion, and to repeat our Christian faith and Confession with great and pious unanimity.

Lest therefore some may suffer themselves to be disturbed by the misrepresentations of our adversaries, fabricated by their own ingenuity, in which they pretend that we do not even know which is the true and genuine Confession of Augsburg, and in order too that those who are now among the living, and posterity also, may be taught with skill and power which *that* pious Confession is, that we as well as the churches and schools of our dominions have at all times professed and embraced, in the pure and immutable truth of God's word we testify distinctly that we desire to embrace the *first* Augsburg Confession only, which was exhibited to the emperor, Charles the fifth in the celebrated diet of Augsburg in the year 1530, that *only*, we say, and no other, a copy of which deposited in the

Archives of our venerable predecessors who exhibited it themselves to Charles the fifth at the diet, we wish to be compared by men worthy of all confidence, (lest any diligence might be wanting in ourselves to secure the most accurate conclusions,) with the one exhibited to the Emperor himself, and preserved in the Archives of the sacred empire of Rome; and we are sure that ours, the Latin and the German correspond with each other in every sentence. For this reason also we have desired to include the Confession then exhibited with our Declaration or *Book of Concord* which is here presented, that all men may know that we are resolved to tolerate no other doctrine in our dominions, our churches and schools, than that which was approved at Augsburg in the year 1530 by the above mentioned electors, princes and estates of the empire in a solemn Confession.

And this Confession, through the kind assistance of God, we shall maintain to our last breath, when we pass from this life to the celestial land, with an elevated, undaunted spirit and a pure conscience ready to appear before the tribunal of Jesus Christ our Lord.

We hope therefore that our adversaries will spare us hereafter and the ministers of our churches, and not employ their accustomed and bitter charges that we can come to no certainty among ourselves about our faith, and for this reason are forging out new Confessions almost every year, yes indeed every month.

Concerning what relates to another edition of the Augsburg Confession, of which mention is made in the Acts at Naumburg, we remark (a matter which is known to all) that certain persons, under the disguise of expressions in the latter edition, wish to cover and conceal corruptions in the administration of the Supper together with other errors, endeavoring to obtrude them upon the unwary multitude; nor are they influenced by the learned words of the Augsburg Confession which was first exhibited, in which those errors are expressly rejected, and from which a far different sense can be derived from what they wish to see.

It seemed proper, to us therefore, to testify publicly by these letters, and to inform all men, that we did not then, and not even now do we wish by any means to defend or to excuse false and impious doctrines and opinions, which might lie concealed under some disguises of expression, or to approve them as if agreeing with the doctrine of the Gospel.

We indeed never viewed the latter edition under the impression that it differed in any respect from the former which was exhibited.

Nor do we believe that other useful writings of Dr. Philip Melanchthon, of Brentius, of Urban Regius, Pomeranus, and the like, ought to be rejected and condemned, as far as they agree throughout with that rule which is expressed in the *Book of Concord*.

And although some theologians, and Luther himself among them, when they contended about the Lord's Supper, were drawn even unwillingly by their adversaries into a disputation about the personal union of the two natures in Christ, yet our theologians in the *Book of Concord*, and in what is the rule in it of the more wholesome doctrine, forcibly testify, that it is our constant and uninterrupted opinion as well as of this book, that pious men ought to be directed to no other principles in the administration of the Lord's Supper, than those in the words of the institution contained in the Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ; for since he is almighty and infallible, it is necessary for him to observe what he has instituted and promised in his word.

And as this defence indeed was not assailed by the adversary, they did not persist in this kind of argument by other methods of proof; but in the true simplicity of faith, they strongly adhered to the very explicit words of Christ,—a method which is the most secure, and the best adapted for the instruction of unlettered

men; for they do not understand those points in these subjects, which are contested with greater profundity.

But since our assertion and the plain sense of the words of Christ in the Testament, were assailed by the adversary, and rejected as if they were too impious and opposed to the principles of true faith, contrary indeed to the articles of the Apostolic symbol, (especially concerning the incarnation of the son of God, his ascension into heaven, and sitting at the right hand of omnipotent goodness and majesty of God,) and even further were charged with being false, it was to be shown by a true and solid explanation of those articles, that our opinion did not differ from the words of Christ, nor from the articles themselves.

As to the phrases and modes of expression employed in this *Book of Concord*, when it treats of the majesty of the human nature in the person of Christ being elevated and placed at the right hand of God, in order that all injurious suspicions and offences may be entirely removed, which might arise from the ambiguous nature of an *abstract* term, since the schools and Fathers still use this expression, our theologians wish to testify in express and appropriate words, that such majesty of the human nature of Christ independent of its personal union, must by no means be acknowledged; nor must it even be admitted, that the human nature possesses that majesty either as a property or a power (even in the personal union) *essentialiter*, *formaliter*, *habitualiter*, or *subjective*, (for these terms are pleasing to the schools, though not very good Latin.) For if we maintain that mode of speaking and of teaching, the divine and human natures will be confounded with their properties,—the human nature will be equivalent to the divine, in the mode of its essence and properties, indeed the whole will be denied.

Our theologians therefore maintain that it ought to be equal, that this takes place after the mode and dispensation of a union of distinct personalities, just as learned antiquity has cautiously treated this subject; presenting a mystery so great that it surpasses all the powers of our mind and understanding.

As to the condemnation, abandonment, and rejection of impious doctrines, and especially of that which relates to the sacred Supper, all indeed were to be expressly and distinctly presented in our declaration, our profound explanation and determination of the controverted articles, not only for the purpose that all might avoid these condemned doctrines, but for some other reasons also, they were by no means to be omitted. So that it never was our design or resolution to condemn those men who fall into error through an innocent simplicity of mind, and yet are no blasphemers against the truth of divine doctrine, much less indeed to condemn all the churches which are either under the Roman power in the German nation or any place else; but it rather was our design and intention, publicly to reprehend and condemn in this manner all fanatical opinions, and the obstinate teachers of them, and those blasphemers too who we believe ought by no means to be endured in our dominions, our churches, and our schools; because those errors are repugnant to the express word of God, and indeed so much repugnant that they cannot be reconciled with it. For this reason too we undertook this work, that all pious men might be warned to avoid these errors with great circumspection. For we have not the least doubt, that many pious men, the freest indeed from all evil, even in these churches, which have not as yet agreed in all points with us, are influenced merely by their own simplicity, and indeed do not duly understand the subject itself, but by no means approve the blasphemies which are poured out against the sacred Supper, as it is administered in our churches according to the institution of Christ, and taught with the great unanimity of all good men according to the words of the Testament itself.

We are in great hope too, that those men, rightly instructed in all these mat-

ters, and the Spirit of the Lord assisting them, will finally submit with us and with our churches and schools to the immutable truth of God's word. And doubtless the attainment of this result is of the first importance to all theologians and ministers of the church, that these points out of the word of God be taught with the moderation which is becoming to those men who, either through a certain indifference or ignorance, wander from the truth at the risk of their salvation, and that they be fortified against corruptions, lest perhaps, while the blind are leaders of the blind, all may be endangered.

Wherefore, in the sight of Almighty God and before the whole church, we testify in this our writing that it never was our intention, by this Formula of pious reconciliation, to cause disturbance or danger to those devout men, who are at this moment suffering persecution. For, influenced by Christian charity, as we have come at last into companionship of sorrow with them, so do we revolt at the persecution and unrelenting tyranny which are chiefly exercised against those wretched men, and we detest it from our very heart.

In no sense do we acquiesce in the profusion of that innocent blood, which without doubt will be required with great severity from those persecutors in the tremendous judgment of the Lord, and before the tribunal of Christ, and these men most assuredly will then experience the heaviest retributions for their tyranny, and undergo the most dreadful punishments.

In these writings indeed, as we have mentioned above, it was always our design, that *in* our provinces, our dominions, our schools and churches, no other doctrine should be uttered and carefully inculcated, than that which is founded upon the word of God, and contained in the Augsburg Confession as well as in the *Apology*, and that indeed understood in its true and genuine sense,—nor should opinions be admitted which conflict with these; in which design the Formula of this pacification has been instituted and adopted.

We therefore finally profess and testify before God and all men, that, in the declaration of the controverted articles of which mention has been made several times, we do not present any new confession, or different from that which was exhibited to Charles the fifth in the year 1530; but that we have desired to conduct our churches and schools, first indeed to the fountains of sacred letters and symbols, and then to the Confession of Augsburg, of which we have spoken already.

And most pressingly do we advise, that our youth first of all, who are educated for the sacred service of our churches and schools, be instructed faithfully and diligently in this, in order that our pure doctrine and profession of faith, may be retained and propagated to our posterity, the Holy Spirit extending them, until the glorious coming of our only Redeemer and Savior, Jesus Christ.

That such may be the results, and that we, versed in the writings of the Prophets and Apostles, may be assured of our doctrine and our confession, and our minds and consciences filled to a greater extent with the grace of the Holy Spirit, we have resolved to publish this *Book of Concord*.

For it seemed most indispensably necessary, that a pious exposition and arrangement of all those controverted points, deduced from the word of God, should appear in the midst of so many rising errors in our times as well as so many offences, contentions and eternal broils, in order that according to its principles, the pure doctrine might be distinguished and separated from the false.

This design will moreover effect this result, that turbulent and contentious men will not be free in proportion to their inclination, to excite controversies inseparable from offence, nor, as they do not suffer themselves to be attached to any formula of purer doctrine, to propose and propagate enormous errors.

For from these opinions it will at last follow that the purer doctrine will be obscured and lost, and nothing be transmitted to posterity but opinions and academical restrictions.

To this may be added what we know to be due from us in this way to our subjects, in consequence of the duty which God has enjoined upon us, that we carefully regard what may relate to purposes of this life and of that which is to come, and labor to provide with great zeal, as far indeed as it can be done, what may contribute to the extension of the name and glory of God, to the propagation of his word from which alone salvation may be expected, to the peace and tranquility of churches and schools, and to the general composure and consolation of agitated minds, especially when it is well known to us that this salutary work of Christian Concord, has long been sought and expected with serious prayers and fervent ardor by many good and warm hearted men of the highest and lowest order; and not even from the commencement of this work of pacification were we in the belief nor indeed are we now, that this salutary and indispensable work of Concord should be removed and entirely concealed from the eyes of men, and that the light of divine truth should be placed under a bushel or a measure; wherefore, we were bound not to hesitate any longer, in producing an edition of it.

For we do not doubt that pious men who are fond of divine truth and of that harmony which is pleasing to God, will approve in conjunction with us, our salutary, useful, pious, and very necessary undertaking, and will not permit that any thing even to the utmost exertion shall be wanting in them to the extension of the glory of God, and to the public benefit which may result in eternal or temporal respects.

To mention that again of which we have spoken so often already, we certainly by no means have desired to mingle new principles with this work of Concord, or in any manner to depart from the truth of the divine doctrine which our ancestors most venerable for their piety, as ourselves also, have acknowledged and professed.

But we know that this doctrine which is deduced from the writings of the Prophets and Apostles, is comprised in the *three ancient Symbols*,—the *Confession of Augsburg* exhibited to the emperor Charles the fifth, then the *Apology* which has been connected with this, in the *articles of Smalcald*, and lastly the *two Catechisms* of the excellent Dr. Luther.

Wherefore we have determined not to depart a finger's breadth either from the subjects or the phrases employed in them, but assisted by the Spirit of God, to persist constantly with the greatest concord in this pious conformity, examining all controversies by this true rule and declaration of the purer doctrine.

And then we resolved to cultivate peace and harmony with the other electors, princes, and estates of the sacred Roman empire, and with other kings, princes and nobles of a Christian commonwealth, according to the constitutions and ratified treaties of the Sacred empire, which exist between them and ourselves, and to tender and present our services with our good wishes to each one in proportion to the degree of his dignity and rank.

Having communicated our designs, we shall moreover attend most industriously to this also, that we may defend with great strictness and zeal this work of Concord in our dominions, by careful examinations of churches and of schools, and inspection of printing offices, and finally by other judicious means, observing the occasions and circumstances which may contribute to our use or that of others.

If the controversies now quieted should revive, or new ones arise on the subject of religion, we shall labor, for a timely prevention of offences, to have them entirely dispelled or composed without long and dangerous agitations.

In full evidence of all this, we have subscribed our names with great unanimity, and affixed our signatures.

Lewis, Palatine of the Rhine, Elector.
Augustus, Duke of Saxony, Elector.
John George, Marquis of Brandenburg, Elector.
Joakim Frederick, Marquis of Brandenburg, Administrator of the Archbishopric of Magdeburg.
John, Bishop of Misnia.
Edward, Bishop of Luben.
Philip Lewis, Palatine of the Rhine.
Tutor of Frederick William and John, Dukes of Saxony.
The Tutors of John Casimir, and John Ernest, Dukes of Saxony.
George Frederick, Marquis of Brandenburg.
Julius, Duke of Brunswick and Luneburg.
Otho, Duke of Brunswick and Luneburg.
Henry the Younger, Duke of Brunswick and Luneburg.
William the Younger, Duke of Brunswick and Luneburg.
Wolfgang, Duke of Brunswick and Luneburg.
Ulric, Duke of Megalopurg.
The Guardians of John and Sigismund Augustus, Dukes of Megalopurg.
Lewis, Duke of Wirtemburg.
The Guardians of Ernest and Jacob, Marquises of Baden.
George Ernest, Count and Lord of Henneburg.
Frederick, Count of Wirtemburg and Mumpelgarten.
John Gunter, Count of Schwartzenburg.
William, Count of Schwartzenburg.
Albert, Count of Schwartzenburg.
Emic, Count of Leiningen.
Philip, Count of Hanawen,
Godfrey, Count of Oetingen.
George, Count and Lord in Castel.
Henry, Count and Lord in Castel.
Otto, Count of Hoien and Bruchusen.
John, Count of Oldenburg and Delmenhorsten.
John Hoier, Count of Manswelden.
Bruno, Count of Manswelden.
Hoier Christopher, Count of Manswelden.
Peter Ernest (junior,) Count of Manswelden.
Christopher, Count of Manswelden.
Albert George, Count of Stolburg.
Wolfgang Ernest, Count of Stolburg.
Lewis, Count of Glichen.
Charles, Count of Glichen.
Ernest, Count of Reinstein.
Boto, Count of Reinstein.
Lewis, Count of Leonstein.
Henry, Baron of Limburg.
George, Baron of Schonburg.
Anarc Frederick, Baron of Wildenfeld.
The Mayor and Aldermen of Lubek.
The Mayor and Aldermen of Luneburg.
The Mayor and Aldermen of Hamburg.

The Aldermen of Brunswick.
The Mayor and Aldermen of Landau.
The Mayor and Aldermen of the Province of the Monastery in the Valley of Gregory.
The Aldermen of Goslar.
The Mayor and Aldermen of Ulmen.
The Mayor and Aldermen of Eslingen.
The Aldermen of Ritlingen.
The Mayor and Aldermen of Nordlingen.
The Mayor and Aldermen of Rotenburg near Tuber.
The Mayor and Aldermen of Seveor.
The Mayor and Aldermen of Heilbron.
The Mayor and Aldermen of Memmingen.
The Mayor and Aldermen of Lindau.
The Mayor and Aldermen of Schweinfurten.
The Aldermen of Donawerden.
The Financiers and Aldermen of Ratisbon.
The Mayor and Aldermen of Wimpfen.
The Mayor and Aldermen of Giengen.
The Mayor and Aldermen of Bopfingen.
The Mayor and Aldermen of Allen.
The Mayor and Aldermen of Kaufbeuen.
The Mayor and Aldermen of Isnen.
The Mayor and Aldermen of Campiden.
The Aldermen of Gottingen.
The Mayor and Aldermen of Leutkirch.
The Aldermen of Hildesheim.
The Mayor and Aldermen of Hamelen.
The Mayor and Aldermen of Hanover.
The Aldermen of Mulhusin.
The Aldermen of Erfurden.
The Aldermen of Eimbek.
The Aldermen of Northeim.

THE

THREE CHIEF SYMBOLS,

OR

CONFESSIONS OF CHRISTIAN FAITH,

UNANIMOUSLY TAUGHT IN THE CHURCH.

I. THE APOSTOLICAL CONFESSION OR SYMBOL,

CONTAINING THE BASIS OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH.

I BELIEVE in God the Father, Almighty Maker of heaven and earth. And in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died and was buried. He descended into hell; on the third day he rose again from the dead; he ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of God the Father Almighty, from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

I believe in the Holy Ghost, in a holy Christian church, in the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and life everlasting. Amen.

II. THE NICENE CONFESSION OR SYMBOL OF FAITH.

I believe in one God only, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible.

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of his Father before all worlds; God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, consubstantial with the Father, by whom all things were made; who for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man, and was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate. He suffered and was buried, and the third day he rose again, according to the Scriptures, ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of the Father; and he

shall come again, with glory, to judge both the living and the dead; whose kingdom shall have no end.

And I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life, who proceeds from the Father and the Son; who with the Father and the Son, is worshipped and glorified, who spoke by the prophets. And I believe in one holy Christian Apostolic church. I acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins; and I look for the resurrection of the dead, and life in the world to come. Amen.

III. THE ATHANASIAN CONFESSION,

OR SYMBOL OF FAITH, DIRECTED AGAINST THE ARIANS.

Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the true Christian faith.

Which faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.

But this is the true Christian faith: That we worship one God only, in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity.

Neither confounding the Persons, nor dividing the essence.

For there is one Person of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost.

But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one: the Glory equal, the Majesty co-eternal.

Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such is the Holy Ghost.

The Father is uncreated, the Son uncreated, the Holy Ghost uncreated.

The Father is incomprehensible, the Son incomprehensible, and the Holy Ghost incomprehensible.

The Father is eternal, the Son eternal, the Holy Ghost eternal.

And yet there are not three eternals, but one eternal.

As also there are not three uncreated Beings, nor three incomprehensible Beings: but one uncreated, and one incomprehensible.

So likewise the Father is Almighty, the Son Almighty, and the Holy Ghost Almighty.

And yet there are not three Almighties, but one Almighty.

So the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God.

And yet there are not three Gods, but one God.

So likewise the Father is Lord, the Son Lord, and the Holy Ghost Lord.

And yet not three Lords, but one Lord.

For as we are compelled by the Christian verity to acknowledge every Person by itself to be God and Lord;

So we are forbidden by the Christian religion to say, there are three Gods, or three Lords.

The Father is neither made of any one, nor created, nor begotten.

The Son is of the Father alone; not made, nor created, but *begotten*.

The Holy Ghost is of the Father and of the Son; neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but *proceeding*.

So there is one Father, not three Fathers; one Son, not three Sons; one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts.

And in this Trinity none is afore, or after the other; none is greater, or less than another;

But the whole three Persons are co-eternal together, and co-equal.

So that in all things, as aforesaid, the Unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity is to be worshipped.

He therefore that will be saved, must thus think of the Trinity.

Furthermore, it is necessary to everlasting salvation, to believe rightly also in the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.

For the right faith is, that we believe and confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man.

God, of the essence of the Father, begotten before the worlds; and Man, of the substance of his mother, born in the world.

Perfect God, and perfect man of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting.

Equal to the Father as touching his Godhead, and inferior to the Father as touching his humanity.

Who, although he be God and man; yet he is not two, but one Christ.

One, not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the humanity into God.

One altogether; not by confusion of substance but by Unity of Person.

For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and man is one Christ;

Who suffered for our salvation, descended into hell, and rose again the third day from the dead.

He ascended into heaven, he sits at the right hand of the Father, God Almighty: from whence he shall come to judge the living and the dead.

At whose coming all men shall rise again with their bodies and shall give account for their works.

And they that have done good shall go into life everlasting, and they that have done evil into everlasting fire.

This is the true Christian faith; which, except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.

THE UNALTERED AUGSBURG CONFESSION;

OR

CONFESSION OF THE FAITH

OF

SEVERAL PRINCES AND ESTATES, DELIVERED TO HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY CHARLES V.,

AT

THE DIET OF AUGSBURG,

A. D. 1530.

ADDRESS TO THE EMPEROR, CHARLES V.

Most invincible Emperor, imperial Majesty, and gracious Sir:—WHEN your Majesty proclaimed a diet of the Empire at Augsburg, to consult about the best means of defence against the Turk, that ancient, inveterate, and most bitter enemy of the Christian name and religion,—how it might be possible to resist the ambitious purposes of that enemy, by strong and inexhaustible munitions of war;—and then to consult also about the dissensions in reference to our holy religion and Christian faith,—how the opinions and sentiments of contending parties on the subject of religion, might be mutually expressed, explained, and considered among themselves in your presence, with moderation, mildness, and affection; that the errors which have been discussed or avowed by each party in their writings, being abandoned or corrected, those opinions might be settled and reduced to one plain standard of truth and Christian harmony; that one pure and true religion being cherished and preserved among us, we may be able to live in harmony and concord in one Christian church also, in the same manner as we subsist and serve under one Christ. And as we, the undersigned Elector and Princes, with others who have adhered to us, and other electors, princes, and estates besides, were summoned to the appointed diet, that we might obediently observe your Majesty's order, we have come with haste to Augsburg, and, we wish it said without boasting, have appeared here among the first.

When therefore your imperial Majesty, among other things, caused it to be proposed to the electors, princes, and other estates of the empire, at the very commencement of the diet here at Augsburg, that the several estates, in conformity with your imperial edict, should prepare and submit their opinions and sentiments in the German and Latin languages,—having held a consultation on Wednesday, we returned our answer, that we on our part would present the articles of our Confession to your imperial Majesty on the succeeding Friday. So in obedience to your Majesty's demand, we now offer in defence of our religion, the Confession of our adherents and ourselves, the doctrine of which, drawn from the Holy Scriptures and the pure word of God, we have hitherto continued to deliver in our provinces, dukedoms, principalities, and cities, and have discussed in our churches.

For if the other electors, princes, and estates of the empire, by similar writings in Latin and German, according to the above-mentioned proposition of your Majesty, shall produce their opinions on the subject of religion, we, here in the presence of your imperial Majesty, as our most gracious master, shall present ourselves ready to consult on friendly terms with those princes and our adherents, about the possible methods and means by which we may come to an agreement, so far as it can be honorably done; and having peaceably discussed the subjects of difference between ourselves and the opposition free from odious strife, the dissension may be suppressed, through the grace of God, and rendered subservient to one true, harmonious religion;—that, as we all subsist and serve under one Christ, and ought to acknowledge one Christ, according to the tenor of your Majesty's edict, all opinions likewise may be conformed to the standard of divine truth,—an event which we implore from God in our most fervent supplications.

But relative to the other electors, princes, and estates, as the opposite party, if this conference on the subject of religion, conducted after the manner in which your Majesty wisely required it to be,—by a mutual exhibition and deliberate comparison of written opinions among ourselves,—shall not conduce to a reconciliation, nor be attended with any other beneficial result, we at least shall leave the clearest evidence, that we have withheld no effort which might contribute to the restoration of Christian harmony, consistent with the will of God and the dictates of conscience, as your imperial Majesty, other electors, and estates of the empire, and all, whoever are influenced by a pure love and zeal for religion; whoever may have heard this discussion with an impartial spirit, will hold it hon-

orable to know, and graciously to acknowledge this Confession of our adherents and ourselves.

Your imperial Majesty graciously intimated, not on a single occasion but frequently, to the electors, princes, and other estates of the empire, and caused it to be publicly read and recited from a copy of your Majesty's instructions, written and communicated to them at the diet of Speyer, held in the year 1526, that your imperial Majesty, for certain reasons then specified, was neither willing nor able to make any decision or determination as to this difficulty in religion, but that your Majesty desired, as a matter of duty, to use your best exertions with the Roman Pontiff for convening a general council. The same likewise was more fully declared, a year ago, in the last public diet which was held at Speyer. At that time your imperial Majesty, through lord Ferdinand, king of Bohemia and Hungary, our friend and gracious master, and also through your Majesty's speaker and commissaries, caused this to be declared among other things, that your Majesty had considered the resolution of the deputy, counsellors, and officers of the imperial government, and of those delegated by other estates, who had assembled at Ratisbon, and that your Majesty deemed it expedient to convene a diet; and because the subjects then under negotiation between your Majesty and the Roman Pontiff, were near an amicable adjustment, your Majesty did not doubt but that the Pope might be induced to convoke a general diet. So earnestly did your Majesty strive that the chief Pontiff above-mentioned might agree with your Majesty to assemble such a diet, proclaimed by letters issued on the earliest occasion.

In the event, therefore, that the dissensions between us and the opposition, shall not be settled in a friendly and affectionate manner, we propose in all obedience, that we appear before your imperial Majesty, numerously attended, and plead our cause in such a general, free, and Christian council, the convocation of which has always been solicited with one consent, and voted for with unanimous voices, by the electors, princes, and other estates of the empire, in all the imperial diets which have been held during your Majesty's reign. Long ago in a becoming manner and in legal form, have we challenged them to a general conference of this kind, and appealed at the same time to your imperial Majesty in this great and momentous design. In this appeal to your Majesty for a general diet we continue to persist; nor do we intend nor are we able to abandon it, in this or any other address, unless the difficulty between us and the opposition, according to your Majesty's last proclamation, shall be

settled, allayed, and subdued to Christian harmony. And here too do we solemnly and publicly attest the truth of this declaration.

ARTICLES OF FAITH AND DOCTRINE.

ARTICLE I.—OF GOD.

First.—With unanimity it is held and taught, agreeably to the decree of the council of Nice, that there is one divine essence only, which is called, and truly is, God, but that there are three persons in this one divine essence, equally powerful, equally eternal, God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, who are one divine essence, eternal, incorporeal, indivisible, infinite in power, wisdom, and goodness, the Creator and preserver of all things visible and invisible. And by the word *person*, is not understood a part or quality of another, but that which subsists of itself, precisely as the Fathers have employed this term on this subject.

All heresies are, therefore, condemned, which are in opposition to this Article: as those of the Manichæans who have adopted two gods, the one good, the other evil. Likewise those of the Valentinians, Arians, Eunomians, Mahomedans, and the like; also those of the ancient and modern Samosatenians, who adopt but one person, and sophistically explain these two, the Word and the Holy Spirit, and assert, that they must not be distinct persons, but that the Word signifies the oral word or voice, and that the Holy Ghost is the motion created in the creatures.

ARTICLE II.—OF ORIGINAL SIN.

We teach, that since the fall of Adam all men who are naturally engendered, are conceived and born in sin; that is, that they all are from their mother's womb, full of evil desires and propensities, and can have no true fear of God, no true faith in God, by nature; and that this innate desease, or original sin, is truly sin, and condemns all those under the eternal wrath of God, who are not born again by baptism and the Holy Spirit.

Hence, we condemn the Pelagians and others, who deny that original corruption is sin, by which, to the disparagement of the merits and sufferings of Christ, they assert, that the nature becomes pious through its natural powers,

ARTICLE III.—OF THE SON OF GOD.

Likewise, it is taught, that God the Son, became man, was born of the blessed Virgin Mary; and that the two natures, human and divine, inseparably united in one person, are one Christ, who is true God and man, was really born, truly suffered, was crucified, died, and was buried, that he might be a sacrifice, not only for original sin, but also for all other sins, reconciling the wrath of God. Further, that this same Christ descended into hell, and truly arose from the dead on the third day, ascended to heaven, and sits at the right hand of God, that he may perpetually reign over all creatures, and govern them; and through the Holy Spirit sanctify, purify, strengthen, and console all those who believe in him; and may give unto them life, and various gifts and blessings, and protect and defend them against the devil and the power of sin.

Also, that finally this same Christ will return visibly, to judge the living and the dead, &c., according to the Apostolic Creed.

ARTICLE IV.—OF JUSTIFICATION.

It is taught further, that we cannot obtain righteousness and the forgiveness of sin before God by our own merits, works, and atonement; but that we obtain the remission of sins, and are justified before God, by grace, for Christ's sake, through faith; if we believe that Christ suffered for us, and that sins are remitted unto us for Christ's sake, and righteousness and eternal life are bestowed on us. For, God accounts and imputes this faith to us as righteousness before himself, as Paul says, (Rom. chap. iii. and iv.)

ARTICLE V.—OF THE MINISTRY.

For the purpose of obtaining this faith, God has instituted the ministry, and given the Gospel and the sacraments, by which, as through means, he gives the Holy Spirit, who in his own time and place, works faith in those that hear the Gospel, which teaches, that through the merits of Christ, and not through our own merits, we have a merciful God, if we believe these things.

By this are condemned the Anabaptists and others, who teach, that we receive the Holy Spirit through our own preparation, thoughts, and works, without the external word of the Gospel.

ARTICLE VI.—OF NEW OBEDIENCE.

It is also taught, that such faith must bring forth good fruits and

good works, and that we must do all manner of good works, as God has commanded, for God's sake; yet must not put any confidence in those works, as if they merit favor in the sight of God; for we receive forgiveness of sins and justification through faith in Christ, as Christ himself says, Luke, 17, 10. "When ye shall have done all those things, say, we are unprofitable servants." Thus do also the Fathers teach. For Ambrose says. "Thus it has been ordained by God, that whosoever believes in Christ shall be saved, and not through works, but without merit through faith alone, has he forgiveness of sins."

ARTICLE VII.—OF THE CHURCH.

It is taught likewise, that there ever shall be and continue one holy Christian church, which is the congregation of all believers, among whom the Gospel is preached in purity, and the holy sacraments are administered according to the Gospel. For this is sufficient for the true unity of the Christian church, that the Gospel is preached therein, according to its pure intent and meaning, and that the sacraments are administered in conformity with the Word of God. And for the true unity of the Christian church it is not necessary, that uniform ceremonies instituted by men, should be every where observed. As Paul says, Eph. 4, 4, 5. "There is one body, and one spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism."

ARTICLE VIII.—WHAT THE CHURCH IS.

Further: although the Christian church is properly nothing else than the congregation of all believers and saints, yet, as in this life there are many hypocrites and false Christians,—open sinners remaining even among the pious, the sacraments however, are effectual, even if the preachers, by whom they are administered, be not pious. As Christ himself says, Matt. 23, 2. "The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat," &c.

On this account are condemned the Donatists, and all such as teach contrary to this principle.

ARTICLE IX.—OF BAPTISM.

Respecting baptism it is taught, that it is necessary; that grace is offered through it; and that children also ought to be baptized, who through such baptism are presented to God, and become pleasing to him.

Therefore the Anabaptists are condemned, who teach that infant baptism is not proper.

ARTICLE X.—OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

Concerning the holy Supper of the Lord it is thus taught, that the true body and blood of Christ are truly present under the form of bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, and there administered and received. The opposite doctrine therefore is rejected.

ARTICLE XI.—OF CONFESSION.

In reference to confession it is thus taught, that private absolution ought to be retained in the church, and should not be discontinued; it is, however, not necessary to enumerate all transgressions and sins in confession, as this, indeed, is not possible. Psalm 19, 12. "Who can understand his errors?"

ARTICLE XII.—OF REPENTANCE.

Concerning repentance it is taught, that those who have sinned after baptism, may at all times obtain the forgiveness of sins, if they repent; and that the church should not refuse to grant absolution unto them. And genuine and true repentance properly consists in feeling contrition and regret, or dread on account of sin; and besides, in having faith in the Gospel and absolution that the sins are forgiven, and that through Christ grace is obtained,—a faith which again consoles and pacifies the heart.

Afterwards improvement of conduct also should follow, and abstinence from sin; for these should be the fruits of repentance, as John says, Matt. 3, 8, "Bring forth fruits meet for repentance."

Here are condemned such as teach, that those who have once been justified, cannot fall again.

On the other hand, the Novatians also are here condemned, who refused absolution to those who had sinned after baptism.

In like manner are condemned those who teach, that forgiveness of sin is obtained, not through faith, but through our own meritorious deeds.

ARTICLE XIII.—OF THE USE OF THE SACRAMENTS.

Concerning the use of the sacraments, it is taught, that the sacraments have been instituted not only in order that they may be marks by which Christians may be known externally, but that they may be signs and evidences of the divine Will towards us, for the

purpose of exciting and strengthening our faith; therefore they also require faith, and then are they properly used, when they are received in faith, and when faith is strengthened by them.

ARTICLE XIV.—OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

Concerning church government it is taught, that no one should teach or preach publicly in the church, or administer the sacraments without a regular call.

ARTICLE XV.—OF CHURCH RITES AND ORDINANCES.

Concerning ecclesiastical rites instituted by men, it is taught, that those should be observed which may be attended to without sin, and which contribute to the promotion of peace and good order in the church: as, certain holy-days, festivals, and the like. Respecting these things, however, instruction is given, lest our consciences be encumbered with the idea that such observances are essential to salvation. It is taught, moreover, that all ordinances and traditions instituted by men, for the purpose of reconciling God and meriting grace, are contrary to the Gospel and the doctrine of faith in Christ; wherefore, monastic vows, and traditions concerning the difference of meats, days, &c., intended for the purpose of meriting grace, and making satisfaction for sins, are impotent and contrary to the Gospel.

ARTICLE XVI.—OF POLITICAL AND CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

Concerning polity and civil government, it is taught, that all authority in the world and established governments and laws, are good arrangements created and instituted of God; and that Christians may hold either legislative, judicial, or executive offices, without sin; and may decide cases, pronounce judgments, and punish transgressors, agreeably to imperial or other customary laws; may wage just wars, and serve in them; make lawful contracts; take oaths, when required; may hold property; marry and be married, &c.

Here are condemned the Anabaptists, who teach, that none of these things just mentioned, are congruous with christianity.

Those likewise are condemned, who teach, that Christian perfection consists in deserting house and property, wife and children, personally, and abstaining from them; whereas in these alone consist true perfection, true fear in God, and true faith in God. For the Gospel does not teach an external, temporal, but an internal, everlasting manner and righteousness of heart, nor does it invalidate civil government, polity and matrimony, but it requires

the observance of all of these, as true ordinances of God. And in such stations each one according to his vocation should manifest Christian love, and genuine good works. Christians are, for that reason, under obligation to submit to government and to obey its commands in all things that may be performed without sin; but if government should command something that cannot be obeyed without sin, "We ought to obey God rather than men," Acts 4, 19, and 5, 29.

ARTICLE XVII.—OF CHRIST'S RETURN TO JUDGMENT.

It is also taught, that on the last day our Lord Jesus Christ will come to raise and to judge all the dead, to give unto the elect and faithful eternal life and endless joys, but to condemn impious men and devils to hell and everlasting punishment.

The Anabaptists are therefore condemned, who teach that devils and condemned men shall not suffer everlasting pain and torment.

Here are condemned in like manner certain Jewish doctrines, which are circulated even now, that prior to the resurrection of the dead, the holy and pious alone will occupy a temporal kingdom, and that all the wicked will be exterminated.

ARTICLE XVIII.—OF FREE WILL.

Concerning free will it is taught, that to some extent man has freedom of will to live apparently honest, and to choose between things which reason comprehends; but without grace, assistance, and the operation of the Holy Spirit, he is unable to become pleasing to God, or to fear God in heart, or to believe in him, or to cast out of his heart the innate evil propensity; but these things are effected through the Holy Spirit, which is given through the word of God; for Paul says, 1 Cor. 2, 14. "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God."

And in order that it may be known, that nothing novel is taught in this Article, the expressive words of Augustine, concerning free will, are introduced here, as now transcribed from the third book Hypognosticon:—"We acknowledge, that in all men there is a free will; for they all, indeed, have natural innate understanding and reason; not that they are able to act in something pertaining to God, as to love and fear God from the heart, but only in external works of this life have they freedom to choose good or evil. By good I mean, that which nature is able to perform, as to labor in the field, or not, to eat, to drink, to visit a friend, or not, to clothe or unclothe,

to build, to take a wife, to carry on a trade, and to do any similar act that is useful and good; all of which, however, neither take place nor subsist without God, but all take place of him and through him. On the contrary, from his own choice man may also take evil in hand, as to bow down before an idol, to commit murder," &c.

ARTICLE XIX.—OF THE CAUSE OF SIN.

Concerning the cause of sin it is taught among us, that, although God, the Almighty, has created and preserves all nature, yet the perverted will, however, works sin in all evildoers and despisers of God, even as the will of the devil and of all wicked men, which, as soon as God withdraws his aid, turns itself from God unto evil, as Christ says, John 8, 44. "When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own."

ARTICLE XX.—OF FAITH AND GOOD WORKS.

Our party are falsely accused of having prohibited good works; but their writings on the ten commandments and other subjects, show that they have given good and useful instructions and admonitions upon true Christian duties and works, concerning which prior to this time little had been taught, but almost in every sermon was urged continually the necessity of puerile and needless works, as rosaries, worship of saints, monastic vows, pilgrimages, stated fasts, holy-days, brotherhoods, &c. Works so needless, even our adversary do not extol so highly now any more as formerly, besides they have also learned to treat of faith now, concerning which in former times they had preached nothing at all; they teach now however, that we are not justified before God by works alone, but add faith in Christ, saying faith and works justify us before God,—a doctrine which may afford more consolation than a doctrine teaching confidence in works alone.

Now since the doctrine concerning faith, which is the principal article in the Christian creed, has not been inculcated for so long a time, as all must confess, but the doctrine concerning works alone having been preached everywhere, the following instructions are offered by our divines on this subject:—

First, that our works cannot reconcile us to God, and merit favor, but these things are effected through faith alone, if it is believed, that our sins are forgiven us for Christ's sake, who alone is the Mediator reconciling the Father. He, therefore, that expects to effect

these things by works, and to merit grace, contemns Christ, and seeks a way of his own to God, contrary to the Gospel.

This doctrine concerning faith, is clearly and explicitly inculcated by Paul in many places, especially in Ephes. 2, 8, 9. "By grace ye are saved, through faith; and that not of yourselves: *it is* the gift of God; not of works, lest any man should boast," &c. And that no new signification is introduced here, may be shown from Augustine, who has treated this subject profoundly, and in like manner teaches, that we obtain grace and are justified before God through faith in Christ, and not by works; as his whole book "*De Spiritu et Litera*," clearly shows. Although this doctrine is despised very much among the inexperienced, yet it will be found, that it is very consoling and salutary to timid and alarmed consciences; for our consciences cannot attain tranquility and peace by works, but through faith alone, when they feel in themselves an assurance that for Christ's sake they have a merciful God, as Paul says, Rom. 5, 1. "Being justified by faith, we have peace with God." Heretofore this consolation was not administered in sermons, but our poor consciences were driven upon works of their own, and various works were taken in hand; for conscience drove some into monasteries, with the hope of acquiring grace there by a monastic life, others devised works of another kind for the purpose of meriting grace, and of making satisfaction for sins. Many of these have experienced, that peace could not be attained by these things. It was, for this reason, necessary to preach and enforce with diligence this doctrine concerning faith in Christ, that it might be known that through faith alone, without merit, the grace of God is secured.

It is also inculcated, that such faith is not here spoken of, as even devils and the ungodly possess, who likewise believe the history, that Christ has suffered and arisen from the dead; but *true* faith is spoken of,—that which believes that we obtain grace and the forgiveness of sins through Christ. And he, then, who knows that he has a merciful God through Christ, thus knows God, calls upon him, and is not without God, as the Gentiles. For the devil and the ungodly do not believe this article concerning the remission of sins; for that reason they are enemies to God, are unable to call upon him, or to hope for any thing good from him; and thus, as just now shown, the Scripture speaks of faith, and does not style faith such a knowledge as devils and wicked men possess; for thus it is taught concerning faith in Hebrews 11, 1. It is not faith to have merely a knowledge of the histories, but to have confidence in God, to receive his promises. And Augustine also reminds us, that we should un-

derstand the word faith in Scripture, to be a confidence in God, that he is merciful to us, and not a mere knowledge of such history,—a knowledge which devils also possess.

It is taught further, that good works should and must be performed; not that we should place confidence in them, in order to merit grace, but to the glory of God and in accordance with his will. Faith alone ever secures grace and forgiveness of sins. And because the Holy Spirit is given through faith, the heart becomes qualified to perform good works. For before this, while it is without the Holy Spirit, it is too weak; besides it is in the power of Satan, who urges frail human nature to many sins. As we see among the philosophers, who undertaking to live honorably and unblameably, did not effect it however, but fell into many great and open sins; so it happens with man, if he is without true faith and without the Holy Spirit, and governs himself alone by his own human powers. Wherefore, the doctrine concerning faith is not deserving of censure for the prohibition of good works, but should much rather be applauded for teaching the performance of good works, and for offering assistance by which good works may be performed. For without faith and out of Christ, human nature and ability are much too weak to do good works, to call upon God, to have patience in sufferings, to love our neighbor, to execute with assiduity commanded offices, to be obedient, to avoid evil lusts. Such exalted and righteous works cannot be performed without the assistance of Christ, as he himself says, John 15, 5, "Without me, ye can do nothing."

ARTICLE XXI.—OF THE WORSHIP OF SAINTS.

Concerning the worship of saints, it is taught by our party that we should remember the saints, so that we may strengthen our faith, when we see how favors were conferred on them, and how assistance was afforded them through faith. Besides, that examples may be had from their good works for each one according to his vocation; even as your imperial Majesty in waging war against the Turks, may follow successfully and devoutly the example of David; for both are royal offices, whose shelter and protection subjects require. But by Scripture it cannot be shown, that we should invoke the saints, or seek help from them. For there is but one Reconciler and Mediator appointed between God and man, Jesus Christ, 1 Tim. 2, 5, who is the only Savior, High Priest, Propitiator, and Intercessor before God, Rom. 3, 25 and 8, 34. And he alone has promised that he will hear our prayers. And this is the highest worship according to the Scripture, that from the heart we

seek and call on this Jesus Christ, in every necessity and affliction, 1 John 2, 1. "If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous."

This is about the substance of the doctrine which is preached and taught in our churches, for the rightful Christian instruction and comfort of conscience, and for the improvement of believers. For, as we did not feel willing to place in the highest and greatest danger before God our own souls and consciences, by the abuse of the Divine name and word, or to entail and transmit upon our children and descendants any other doctrine than that commensurate with the pure divine word and Christian truth; and as these doctrines are clearly grounded in the Holy Scripture, and besides, are also neither contrary nor in opposition to the universal Christian, or to the Roman church, so far as may be observed from the writings of the Fathers, we think that our adversaries cannot disagree with us in the foregoing articles. Those therefore act altogether unfriendly, hastily, and contrary to all Christian unity and love, who resolve in themselves, without any invariable grounds of divine command or writing, to exclude, reject, and avoid all of our party as heretics, because their errors and contentions are principally about certain traditions and misuses. If, then, there is no real error or deficiency in the principal articles, and if this our Confession is divine and Christian, with reason the bishops should demean themselves more mildly, even if there *might* be a deficiency among us on account of traditions; and yet we hope to assign indisputable grounds and reasons, why some traditions and abuses have been corrected among us.

ARTICLES,

CONCERNING WHICH THERE IS DISSENSION, AND IN WHICH ARE RELATED THE ABUSES WHICH HAVE BEEN CORRECTED.

Since, then, with respect to these Articles of faith, there is nothing taught in our churches contrary to the Holy Scripture, or the universal church, but merely some abuses have been corrected, some of which in the course of time, have crept in of themselves, others have been established by force, necessity requires of us to relate these, and to allege reasons why alteration was permitted in them, in order that your imperial Majesty might know, that in this matter we have not acted in a manner unchristian or malicious, but that we were urged to permit such alteration by the command of God, which should justly be esteemed higher than all customs.

ARTICLE XXII.—OF BOTH ELEMENTS IN THE SACRAMENT.

Among us both elements in the sacrament, are administered to the laity, because this is a clear command and precept of Christ, Matt. 26, 27. "Drink *ye all* of it." Here Christ commands with clear words concerning the cup, that they all should drink out of it.

And in order that no one shall be able to cavil at these words, and explain them, as if they pertained to the priests alone, Paul informs us, 1 Cor. 11, 25, that the whole congregation of the Corinthian church, used both elements. And this custom continued in the church for a long time, as can be shown by history and the writings of the Fathers. Cyprian mentions in many places, that in his time the cup was administered to the laity. Thus says St. Jerome, the priests who administer the sacrament, distribute the blood of Christ to the people. And pope Gelasius himself commands, that the sacrament should not be divided, *Distinct. 2, de Consecrat. cap. Comperimus.* Neither can any canon be found, which commands that one element alone should be received. Nor can it be ascertained by any one, when or by whom the custom of receiving one element was introduced, although cardinal Cusanus mentions the time when this method was approved. Now it is evident that such custom, introduced contrary to the command of God, and in opposition to the ancient canons, is wrong. Wherefore, it was improper to oppress the consciences of those who wished to use the holy sacrament according to the institution of Christ, by compelling them to act contrary to the order of Christ our Lord.

And since the dividing of the sacrament is contrary to the institution of Christ, the usual processions* with the sacrament are discontinued among us.

ARTICLE XXIII.—OF THE MARRIAGE OF PRIESTS.

There have been very great complaints in the world, among individuals both of high and low rank, concerning the excessive lasciviousness, the dissolute conduct, and life of the priests, who were unable to observe continence, and who had also arrived at the highest excess with such abominable vices. For the purpose of avoiding such gross and detestable offences, adultery, and other acts of sensuality, several priests among us have entered the matrimonial state. These allege that, in taking this step, they have been urged and ac-

*These processions have reference to the processions with the host, on the festival of the Holy Body.—TRANS.

tuated by the dictates of conscience, as the Scripture clearly enjoins, that marriage was instituted of the Lord God to prevent fornication, as Paul says, 1 Cor. 7, 2. "To avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife." Again, "It is better to marry than to burn," Cor. 7, 9, and according to the declaration of Christ, that not "all men can receive this word," Matt. 19, 11. In this passage Christ himself, who well knew what was in man, declares that few persons have the gift to live continent; "for God created them male and female," Gen. 1, 27. Now experience has abundantly shown, whether it is within human power or ability, without a special gift or grace of God, to alter or modify the creatures of God the high Majesty, by *human* purposes or vows. For it is clear, what *good*, what *decent*, *chaste* lives, what *Christian*, *honest*, or *blameless* conduct, have followed from this in many individuals,—what abominable, hideous disquietudes and torment of their consciences, many have experienced in the close of their lives; and many of them have confessed it themselves. Since, then, the word and law of God cannot be altered by any human vows or enactments, from these and other reasons and authorities, the priests and other ecclesiastics have entered into the conjugal state.

So it may be shown likewise from history and the writings of the Fathers, that formerly in the Christian churches, it was customary for priests and deacons to have wives; wherefore Paul says, 1 Tim. 3, 2. "A bishop then must be blameless, the husband of one wife." It is but four hundred years since the priests in Germany were driven by force from a state of matrimony to vows of continence, and they opposed that measure so generally, so very earnestly and rigorously, that the archbishop at Mayence, who published this new papal edict, was well nigh being murdered in a throng in an insurrection of the whole priesthood. And directly in the beginning, in a manner so precipitately and arbitrarily was that decree taken in hand, that the pope at that time did not only forbid unto the priests future marriage, but also dissolved the marriage of those who had already been in that state for a long time,—an action which was not only contrary to all divine, natural, and civil rights, but in opposition also to the canons which the popes themselves made, and to the most celebrated councils.

In like manner among individuals of high standing, piety, and intelligence, have similar opinions and sentiments been heard frequently,—that this compulsory celibacy and prohibition of matrimony, (which God himself instituted and left optional,) has never been productive of any good, but has been the source of many great and per-

nicious vices, and of many provocations. And even one of the popes, Pius II., himself, as his history shows, often mentioned these words, and permitted them to be written: "There may be some reasons, indeed, why marriage should be forbidden the ecclesiastics; but there are much higher, greater, and weightier, reasons why marriage should be left optional with them." And doubtless, pope Pius, as an intelligent and wise man, spoke these words from mature consideration.

Wherefore we would in submission to your imperial Majesty, comfort ourselves with the hope, that your Majesty, as a Christian and highly esteemed Emperor, will reflect that now in these latter days, of which the Scripture makes mention, the world becomes still more degenerate, and mankind weaker and more defective.

For these reasons it is highly necessary indeed, useful, and Christian, to be mindful lest by the prohibition of marriage, lasciviousness and vices more wicked and shameful be promoted in the German states. For no one is able to remedy or ameliorate these matters better or more wisely than God himself, who has instituted marriage for the purpose of assisting human weakness, and of restraining licentiousness. Thus say the ancient canons too, that severity and rigor must on some occasions be mitigated and relaxed, on account of human weakness, and for the purpose of guarding against, and of avoiding greater evils.

Now such a course would in this case be Christian and very necessary. For what injury could result to the Christian church in general, especially to the ministers and others, who are to serve in the church, from the marriage of priests and ecclesiastics? There will indeed, be a want of priests and ministers hereafter, should this rigorous prohibition of marriage be continued longer.

Now, since it is founded upon the divine word and commandment for priests and ecclesiastics to enter into a state of matrimony, besides since history shows that the priests did live in a state of matrimony; since also the vows of continence have produced a very great number of offences so detestable and unchristian, adultery so excessive, licentiousness so terrible and unheard of, and vices so abominable, that even some of the courtesans among the dignitaries at Rome, have often confessed these things, and admitted with sorrow that as these vices in the clergy were so abominable and predominant, the wrath of God would be excited;—it is indeed lamentable, not only that the Christian state of matrimony has been forbidden, but even in some places subjected to the most severe punishment, as if it were a heinous crime.•

Matrimony is moreover commended highly, in the laws of your imperial Majesty, and in every empire in which justice and law prevail. But in the present time innocent people are beginning to be tortured on account of their marriage alone, priests likewise who should be spared in preference to others,—a thing which is not only contrary to divine laws, but also to the canons. The apostle Paul denominates that a doctrine of devils, which forbids marriage, 1 Tim. 4, 1, 3. And Christ himself says, John 8, 44. "The devil is a murderer from the beginning." All these things concur well to prove *that* to be a doctrine of devils, which forbids marriage, and attempts to enforce the prohibition by the shedding of blood.

But as no human law is able to abrogate or change a command of God, so also no vow is able to change his command. Wherefore Cyprian advises, that those women who do not keep their vowed chastity, should marry, and he says, L. I. Epist. II. thus: "But if they will not preserve their chastity, or if they are unable, it is better to marry, than to fall into the fire through their lusts; and they should *conduct* themselves well, that they may not occasion offence to the brothers and sisters."

In addition, all the canons extend more lenity and justice to those who have taken vows in youth, the priests and monks for the most part having entered into such state in their youth, through ignorance.

ARTICLE XXIV.—OF THE MASS.

It is alleged unjustly against our party, that they have abolished the mass. For it is evident that the mass (not to boast) is celebrated with greater devotion and seriousness among us, than among the adversaries. So the people also are repeatedly instructed with diligence concerning the holy sacrament, with regard to the purpose for which it was instituted, and the manner in which it is to be used, viz. to comfort alarmed consciences, by which means the people are drawn to communion and mass. Besides, instruction is also given against wrong doctrines concerning the sacrament. Nor has any perceptible change taken place in the public ceremonies of the mass, except that at several places German hymns (for the instruction and exercise of the people) are sung besides the Latin songs; as all ceremonies should especially serve the purpose of teaching the people what is necessary for them to know concerning Christ.

But as the mass prior to this time, was abused in various ways; as it is clear, that a fair was made out of it, that it was bought and sold, and that it has been celebrated for the most part in all churches

for the sake of money,—such abuse, even before this time, has been repeatedly censured by individuals of learning and piety. Now as the ministers among us have preached concerning this thing, and the priests have been reminded of the terrible menaces, which should justly move every Christian, that, whoever partakes of the sacrament unworthily, is guilty of the body and blood of Christ, 1 Cor. 11, 27, thereupon these mercantile and solitary masses, which hitherto have been celebrated out of compulsion for the sake of money and the prebends, have ceased in our churches.

Besides, the abominable erroneous doctrine that Christ our Lord by his death has atoned for original sin only, is also repressed, and that he has instituted the mass as a propitiation for other sins. And thus the mass has been converted into an oblation for the living and the dead, in order to take away sins and reconcile God. From this it further followed, that it was called in question, whether a mass held for many merits as much as if a particular one is held for each individual. Thence originated the numberless multitudes of masses, as men wished by that work to obtain from God all that they needed, and thereupon the faith in Christ and the true divine service were neglected.

Wherefore instruction is given on this subject, as necessity undoubtedly required, in order that it may be known, how the sacrament would be rightly made use of. And first, the Scripture testifies in many places that there is no sacrifice for original sin or for other sins, but only the death of Christ alone. For thus it is written, Heb. 9, 26–28, and ch. 10, 10–14. "For by one offering Christ hath perfected forever them that are sanctified." It is an unheard of innovation, to teach in the church, that the death of Christ atoned only for original sin, and not also for other sins; hope is therefore entertained, that it will be generally perceived that such error was not unjustly censured.

Secondly, St. Paul teaches, Rom. 3, 25, that we obtain grace before God, through faith, and not by works. This abuse of the mass is evidently opposed to this doctrine, if by that work we expect to obtain grace; as it is well known that the mass has been used for the purpose of removing sins, and of obtaining grace and favor before God, not only in behalf of the priest for himself, but also for the whole world, for the living and the dead.

Thirdly, this holy sacrament was instituted, not for the purpose of making a sacrifice for sins, (for the sacrifice has already been made,) but for the purpose of exciting our faith, and of consoling the consciences, which are admonished through the sacrament, that grace

and the forgiveness of sins are promised to them by Christ. Wherefore this sacrament requires faith, and without faith it is used in vain.

Since, then, the mass is not a sacrifice for others living or dead, to take away their sins, but since it should be a communion, in which the priest and others receive the sacrament for themselves, this custom is observed among us, that on holy-days (and also at other seasons when communicants are present) mass is celebrated, and unto those who desire it the sacrament is administered. Thus the mass continues among us in its proper application, as it was observed originally in the church, as may be shown from St. Paul, 1 Cor. 11, 33, and likewise from many writings of the Fathers. For Chrysostom mentions how the priest stands daily, requesting some to come to communion, and forbidding others to approach. The ancient canons also show, that one officiated, and the other priests and deacons communed. For thus read the words of the canon of Nice: "The deacons in order after the priests, should receive the sacrament from the bishop or the priest."

Now since no innovation has been introduced, inconsistent with the custom of the primitive church, and no perceptible change has taken place in the public ceremonies of the mass, except that the unnecessary masses celebrated perhaps through abuse,—the parish masses too, have discontinued, this manner of holding masses should not in justice be condemned as unchristian and heretical. For in former times mass was not celebrated daily in large churches in which a great number of people had assembled, on the days the people congregated; as *Tripartita historia lib.* 9, testifies, that in Alexandria, on Wednesdays and Fridays the Scriptures were read and explained, and all other divine services were held, without the mass.

ARTICLE XXV.—OF CONFESSION.

Confession is not abolished by the ministers of our party. For the custom is retained among us, not to administer the sacrament unto those who have not been previously examined and absolved. The people moreover are diligently instructed with regard to the comfort afforded by the words of absolution, and the high and dear estimation in which it is to be held; for it is not the voice or word of the individual present, but it is the word of God, he who forgives sins; for it is spoken in God's stead, and from his command. Concerning this command and power of the keys, how comfortable, how useful they are to alarmed consciences, is taught with the greatest assiduity, besides how God requires confidence in this abso-

lution, no less than if the voice of God resounded from heaven, to comfort us and to assure us, that through such faith we obtain the remission of sins. Concerning these useful points, the priests, who taught respecting confession, have not uttered a single word heretofore, but merely tormented our consciences with long enumerations of sins, with expiations, with indulgences, with pilgrimages, and the like. And many of our adversaries have acknowledged themselves, that this party write and discourse concerning true Christian repentance, with greater propriety than had been done before for many years.

And thus it is taught respecting confession, that no one should be forced to enumerate sins by name; for that would be impossible, as the Psalmist says: "Who can understand his errors?" Psalm 19, 13. And Jeremiah says: Jer. 17, 9. "The heart is deceitful above all things: who can know it?" Poor, frail human nature is rooted so deeply in sin, that it is unable to perceive or to acknowledge all of them; and should we be absolved of those only, which we are able to enumerate, it would avail us but little. It is, therefore, unnecessary to urge people to enumerate their sins by name. Thus the Fathers also maintained, as may be shown from *Distinct.* 1, *de Pœnitentia*, where the words of Chrysostom are quoted:—"I say not that thou shouldest betray thyself publicly, or accuse thyself before another one, or present thyself as culpable, but obey the prophet, who says: 'Commit thy way unto the Lord,' Ps. 37, 5. Therefore confess unto God the Lord, the righteous judge, in thy prayer, do not relate thy sins with the tongue, but in thy conscience." Here it may be seen clearly, that Chrysostom does not urge sins to be enumerated by name. The *Glossa in Decretis de Pœnitentia, Distinct.* 4, also teaches that confession is not commanded in the Scriptures, but *it* was instituted by the church. Yet by the ministers of our party it is taught with diligence, that confession because of absolution, which is the chief part in it, should be retained for the purpose of consoling alarmed consciences, and for some other reasons.

ARTICLE XXVI.—OF DIVERSITY OF MEATS.

Formerly it was held, preached, and written, that the diversity of meats and the like ceremonies instituted by men, were useful, in order to merit grace and to make satisfaction for sin. Hence new fasts, new ceremonies, new orders, and the like, were daily devised and strenuously insisted upon, as if they were necessary services to God, through which grace might be merited if they were observed, but that the neglect of them was attended with great sin. From this many scandalous errors originated in the church.

In the first place, by this means, the grace of Christ and the doctrine concerning faith were obscured, which doctrine with great solemnity the Gospel inculcates, and urges with earnestness that the merit of Christ should be highly and dearly esteemed, and that it should be known that faith in Christ is to be placed far above all works. St. Paul, for that reason, inveighs bitterly against the Mosaic law and human traditions, in order that we might learn, that we are not justified before God by our works, but alone through faith in Christ, and that we obtain grace for Christ's sake. This doctrine was almost entirely suppressed, by teaching that grace must be merited by laws, fasts, diversities of meats, habits, &c.

Secondly, such traditions even obscured the command of God. For these traditions were elevated far above his command. Those alone were believed to live as Christians, who observed these holy-days, and prayed, and fasted, and dressed in this peculiar manner, which was styled a spiritual, Christian life.

Moreover, other useful good works were regarded as worldly and sensual, *viz.* those which each one according to his vocation, is under obligation to do: as, the father laboring to support his wife and children, and to bring them up in the fear of God, the mother bearing children and attending to them, the prince and other authorities ruling the country and the people, &c. Such works commanded of God, had to be considered a mere worldly and imperfect matter, but these traditions had to be styled by the magnificent name, of being holy and perfect works only. For these reasons there was neither limit nor end to the making of such traditions.

Thirdly, these traditions became exceedingly cumbrous to the consciences of men. For it is not possible to observe all traditions, and yet the people were of opinion, that they are necessary services to God. And Gerson asserts in his writings that by this many were driven to despair, and some put an end to their own existence; because they heard no consolation from the grace of Christ. For, how the consciences of men were entangled is seen from the Summists and theologians, who attempted to sum up the traditions, and sought ἐπιεικείας* in order to assist those consciences. So complicated an undertaking did they find it, that in the meantime the salutary Christian doctrines of subjects more important, of faith, of consolation in affliction, and the like, were totally neglected. Accordingly ma-

*The word *Epieikeia* properly signifies: equity, moderation, forbearance, reasonable condescension. This word was employed by the monks, to express the mitigation of the rigor of the precepts or traditions.—TRANS.

ny pious men of those times complained that these traditions excited much contention in the church, and by that means prevented pious men from attaining the true knowledge of Christ. Gerson and several others have uttered bitter complaints on this subject. And it also met the displeasure of Augustine, that men encumbered their consciences with so many traditions; for that reason he advises on this subject, that they should not be regarded as necessary things.

Wherefore we did not treat on these matters, through malice or in contempt of ecclesiastical power, but necessity required instruction concerning the errors aforementioned, which had grown out of the misapprehension of these traditions. For the Gospel enforces, that the doctrine concerning faith should and must be inculcated in churches, which cannot, however, be understood where the opinion prevails that men merit grace by works of their own appointment. And with respect to this subject, it is taught that no one is able by the observance of devised human traditions, to merit grace or to reconcile God, or to atone for sins; and for that reason no necessary service of God should be made out of them. Reasons in addition, are alleged from the Scripture. Christ excuses the apostles for not observing the usual traditions, saying: Matt. 15, 3–9. "In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." Now as he calls this a vain service, it cannot be necessary. And immediately afterwards he says: verse 11. "Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man." Again Paul says, Rom. 14, 17. "The kingdom of God is not meat and drink." Col. 2, 16–20. "Let no man, therefore, judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a holy-day," &c. Acts 15, 10, 11. Peter says: "Why tempt ye God to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear? But we believe that through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ we shall be saved." Here Peter forbids that the consciences of men should be burdened any further with external ceremonies, either those of Moses or of others. And 1 Tim. 4, 1, 3. Those prohibitions which forbid meats and matrimony are called, "doctrines of devils." For it is diametrically contrary to the Gospel, either to institute or perform such works for the purpose of meriting the remission of sins, or under the impression that no one can be a Christian without these services.

The charge, however, alleged against our party, that they forbid discipline and mortification of the flesh, as Jovian did, will be disproved by their writings. For they have ever given instruction concerning the holy cross, which Christians are under obliga-

tion to bear; and this is true, sincere, and not fictitious mortification. Moreover it is taught in like manner, that each Christian is under obligation to restrain himself by bodily exercise; as fasting and other exercises, so that he give no occasion to sin, not meriting grace however by these works. This bodily exercise should be urged not only on certain fixed days, but continually. On this subject Christ says: Luke 21, 34. "Take heed to yourselves, lest at any time your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting." Again, Matt. 17, 21. "The devils are not cast out but by fasting and prayer." And Paul says: 1 Cor. 9, 27. "I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection." By this he shows, that mortification is designed, not for the purpose of meriting grace, but for the purpose of keeping the body in a suitable condition, that it might not impede what each one according to his calling is commanded to perform, and thus fasting is not rejected, but the making of a necessary service out of it, upon fixed days and particular meats, to the confusion of the consciences of men.

Many ceremonies and traditions are likewise observed by our party; as, the order of the mass, and other hymns, festivals, &c., which are calculated to promote order in the church. But relative to this subject the people are instructed, that such external service does not make them pious before God, and that it should be observed without encumbering the consciences, so, that if any one omit it without giving offence, he does not sin in that case. This freedom in external ceremonies the ancient Fathers have likewise retained. For in the East, the Easter-feast was held at a different time from that at Rome; and when some were disposed to consider this want of uniformity as a division in the church, they were reminded by others, that it was not necessary to observe uniformity in such customs. And thus says Irenæus: "Want of uniformity in fasts does not divide the unity of faith." So also in *Distinct.* 12, it is written concerning the want of uniformity in human ordinances, that it is not contrary to the unity of Christendom. And *Tripartita Hist. lib.* 9, sums up many dissimilar church customs, and forms a useful Christian saying: "It was not the intention of the Apostles to institute holy-days, but to teach *faith* and *charity*."

ARTICLE XXVII.—OF MONASTIC VOWS.

In order to speak of monastical profession, it is necessary, in the first place, to consider how it has been viewed hitherto; what regulation they had in monasteries, and that very many things are daily done in them not only contrary to the word of God, but also in op-

position to the papal directions. In the time of St. Augustine monastic life was optional; subsequently, when the right discipline and doctrine were corrupted, monastic vows were devised, and by these as by a devised incarceration, they wished to re-establish discipline.

In addition to these monastic vows, many other things were introduced, and with these burdens and fetters many persons were oppressed, even before they had arrived at years of maturity.

So, many persons likewise entered into such monastic life through ignorance, who, although they were not of years too immature, did not sufficiently consider and weigh their abilities. All these, thus involved and ensnared, are urged and forced to remain in such bonds, although even the papal regulations would liberate many of them. And it was more oppressive in nunneries than in monasteries, yet it would seem fit that females, as the weaker, should have been spared. This severity likewise met the displeasure of many pious persons in former times; for they well knew that both boys and girls were often thrust into these monasteries merely for the purpose of being supported. They saw also how evil this course of procedure proved, what offences, what burdens of conscience it produced, and many people complained, that in a matter so perilous the canons were not regarded at all. Besides this, an opinion obtained concerning monastic vows, which was very prevalent, and which was displeasing even to many monks, who were possessed of some little reason.

For they allege, that monastic vows are equal to baptism, and that by monastic life remission of sins and justification may be merited before God, yea, they add still farther, that by monastic life not only righteousness and holiness are merited, but also that by it the commands and counsels comprehended in the Gospel, are kept; and thus monastic vows were commended more highly than baptism. Again, that men merit more by monastic life than by all other offices which God has ordered; as that of parson and minister, government, prince and lord, and the like, all of whom according to the command, word, and precept of God, serve in their vocations without fictitious sanctimoniousness. None of these things can be denied, for they are extant in their own books. Moreover, he that is thus ensnared and enters into convent, learns but little concerning Christ.

Schools were kept once in monasteries, for the purpose of teaching the holy Scriptures and other arts which are useful to the Christian church, so that ministers and bishops could be selected from them. But now there is a different custom. For formerly they assembled in monastic life with a view to learn the Scripture, but

now they falsely pretend that monastic life is of such a nature, that men merit the grace of God and holiness before God by it, yea, that it is a state of perfection, and they exalt it far above other states which God has instituted. We cite all these things, free from all calumniation, in order that it may be the better understood and comprehended how, and what our party preach and teach.

First, among us they teach concerning those who contract in marriage, that all those who are not constituted for a single state, have power and legal authority to marry. For vows cannot annul the order and command of God. Thus reads the command of God, 1 Cor. 7, 2. "To avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband." And not only the command of God, but also his creation and order, urge and enforce all those to a state of matrimony, who are not endowed with the gift of continence, by a peculiar work of God, agreeably to this declaration of God himself: Gen. 2, 18. "It is not good for man to be alone, I will make him an help meet for him."

Now, what can be alleged against this? They may applaud vows and duty as highly as they please, and adorn them as much as possible, yet it cannot be maintained that God's command can thus be annulled. The doctors say, that vows, even in opposition to the authority of the pope, are not binding, how much less, then, should they bind, and have power and effect against the commands of God?

If the obligation of vows had no other reason for their being annulled, the popes would not have granted dispensations against them; for it is not proper for any man to annul obligations which grow out of divine rights. Wherefore the popes have considered well, that in these obligations equity should be employed, and have often granted dispensations; as with the king of Arragon, and many others. Now, if for the preservation of temporal things, dispensations have been granted, more justly should they be granted on account of the necessity of souls.

Secondly, why do the opposite party urge so strenuously that vows must be kept, and do not first consider whether the vow is of a proper nature? For vows should in possible cases be free and unconstrained. But how far perpetual chastity exists in human power and ability, is well known. Nor are there many, either of males or of females, that have taken monastic vows of themselves, freely and with due consideration. Before they arrive at a proper understanding, they are persuaded to monastic vows. Sometimes they are also urged and forced to them. For that reason it is not just, to insist so obstinately and strenuously about the obligation of vows, seeing that

all must confess, that it is contrary to the nature and essential character of a vow, to vow it unwillingly and without due counsel and consideration.

Some canons and papal regulations rescind the vows which were made previous to the fifteenth year. For they maintain, that before that age no one has knowledge sufficient to enable him to determine upon the order and regulation of a whole life.

Another canon allows still more years for human weakness. It forbids the taking of monastic vows under the eighteenth year. From this the greater part would have excuse and reason to withdraw from monasteries; for the greater part in their childhood entered them before that age. Finally, if even the breaking of monastic vows might be censured, yet it could, however, not follow from this, that their marriages should be dissolved. For St. Augustine says, 27 *Quæst.*, 1 *Cap.*, *Nuptiarum*, "that such marriages should not be dissolved." Now, St. Augustine stands in high repute in the Christian church, although some have since maintained otherwise.

Although the command of God concerning marriage, absolves very many from their monastic vows, yet our writers allege many other reasons, why monastic vows are ineffectual and frangible. For every species of worship, chosen and instituted by men, without the precept and command of God, in order to obtain righteousness and divine grace, is contrary to him, and in opposition to his command and to the Gospel. As Christ himself says: Matt. 15, 9. "But in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." So St. Paul also teaches everywhere, that men should not seek righteousness from services of God, devised by men, but that righteousness and holiness in the sight of God come from the faith and trust in which we believe, that God accepts us graciously for the sake of Christ his own Son. Now, it is clear, that the monks have taught and preached that their fictitious sanctimoniousness atones for sin, and obtains righteousness and the grace of God. What else is this, but diminishing the glory and honor of the grace of Christ, and denying the righteousness of faith? Wherefore it follows that such customary vows are unjust and false services of God. For that reason they are also not binding. For an ungodly vow, and this taken contrary to the command of God, is void, and the canons teach also that an oath shall not be a bond to sin.

St. Paul says: Gal. 5, 4. "Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the law: yea are fallen from grace." Therefore those also who wish to be justified by vows, are

apart from Christ, and fail to obtain the grace of God. For these rob Christ of his honor, who alone justifies, and thus they bestow such honor on their vows and monastic life.

Nor can it be denied, that the monks have taught and preached that by their vows and monastic habits and conduct they are justified and merit the forgiveness of sins, and, indeed, they have invented things still more absurd, and have asserted, that they impart their good works to others. Now, if some one would press the matter and bring all these in array against them, how many things could be collected, of which the monks themselves are now ashamed and which they do not desire to be done! Besides these things they have also persuaded the people, that their self-devised spiritual orders, are Christian perfection. This is, indeed, commending works as a justifying source. It is not a small offence in the Christian church, to appoint for the people a species of worship, which men have devised without the command of God, and to teach that such worship makes men pious and just before God. For the righteousness of faith, which should be chiefly inculcated in the church, becomes obscured, when the eyes of the people are bedazzled with this strange, angelic spirituality and false pretence of poverty, meekness, and chastity.

Moreover, by this means the commandments of God and the rightful and true service of God, are obscured, when the people hear that the monks alone are in a state of perfection. For Christian perfection consists in fearing God from the heart and with earnestness, and also in preserving sincere reliance, faith, and trust, that for the sake of Christ we have a gracious and merciful God, that we may and should ask and desire of him what is necessary for us, and confidently expect help from him in every tribulation, according to each one's calling or station in life; that we also should in the meantime perform good works towards others with diligence, and attend to our occupations. In this consist true perfection and rightful service of God, not in mendicancy, or in a black or gray hood, &c. But the common people are led into many pernicious views by false commendation of monastic life. If they hear a single state applauded beyond measure, it follows that they are perplexed with cumbrous consciences in their matrimonial relations. For from this, if the common man hears that the mendicants alone are perfect, he is not able to perceive that he may possess property, and carry on an occupation without sinning. If the populace hear that it is merely an admonition not to exercise revenge, it follows that some will think it no sin to exercise revenge without a legal process. Others are

of opinion that revenge does not at all become a Christian, not even the government. Many examples are on record, of persons who abandoned their wives and children and business, and shut themselves up in monasteries. This they said, was fleeing out of the world, and seeking a life more pleasing to God than their previous one. Nor were they able to understand, that men should serve God in those commandments which He has given, and not in the commandments devised by men. Now this is a good and perfect state of life, which is founded on the command of God, but that is a dangerous state of life, which is not founded on his command.

Concerning these things it was necessary to instruct the people properly. Gerson, in former times, has also censured the error of the monks, concerning perfection, and he intimates that in his day it was a new doctrine that monastic life should be a state of perfection. Many ungodly views and errors attach to monastic vows, that they justify and make holy in the sight of God; that they are exalted as Christian perfection; that by them both the counsels and commands of the Gospel are fulfilled; that they have a superabundance of works which men do not owe to God.

Since, then, all these things are false, vain, and fictitious, monastic vows are invalid and void.

ARTICLE XXVIII.—OF THE POWER OF THE BISHOPS OR CLERGY.

Concerning the power of bishops much has been written in former times, and some have improperly mingled together civil and ecclesiastical power. From this inordinate commixture extensive wars, rebellions, and insurrections have been produced, by the pontiffs having, under pretence of their power, given unto them by Christ, not only established new modes of worship, and oppressed the consciences of men with reservations of certain cases and with violent excommunications, but also presumed to dethrone kings and emperors at pleasure, and to place others in their stead. This presumption has long since been censured by learned and pious men. Hence our party, for the purpose of consoling the consciences of men, have been compelled to point out the lines of distinction between civil and ecclesiastical power. And they have taught, that both civil and ecclesiastical power, on account of God's commandment, ought to be honored and observed with all due devotion, as the two highest gifts of God on earth.

Accordingly they teach, that the power of the keys or of the bishops, according to the Gospel, consists in a power and commission from God to preach the Gospel, to remit and retain sins, and to

attend to and administer the sacraments. For Christ sent forth the apostles with the command, "As my Father hath sent me, even so I send you. Receive ye the Holy Ghost: Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained." John 20, 21–23. This power of the keys or of the bishops is to be exercised and carried into effect alone by the doctrine and preaching of the word of God, and by the administration of the sacraments to many or to individual persons, according to the call. For by this means are conferred, not corporeal, but eternal things and treasures; as, eternal righteousness, the Holy Spirit, and eternal life. These blessings cannot be obtained otherwise than by the office of the ministry, and by the administration of the holy sacraments. As St. Paul says: Rom. 1, 16, "The Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." Inasmuch then as the power of the church or of the bishops confers eternal gifts, and is exercised and exerted only by the ministry, it cannot by any means interfere with polity and civil government. For the latter relates to matters entirely different from the Gospel, and protects with its power not the souls of men, but their bodies and possessions against external violence, by the sword and bodily penalties.

For that reason these two governments, the civil and ecclesiastical, ought not to be mingled and confounded. For the ecclesiastical power has its command to preach the Gospel and to administer the sacraments, and it ought not to interfere with a foreign office, it ought not to dethrone or make kings, it ought not to abolish or disturb civil laws and obedience to government, it ought not to make and appoint laws for civil power concerning political matters. As Christ himself also has said: John 18, 36. "My kingdom is not of this world." Again: Luke 12, 14. "Who made me a judge, or a divider over you?" And St. Paul says to the Philippians, 3, 20. "Our conversation is in heaven." And in 2 Cor. 10, 4. "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds; casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God."

In this manner our party distinguish between the two powers, the civil and ecclesiastical, and recommend both of them to be held in honor as the highest gifts of God on earth. But if bishops have any civil power, they possess it not as bishops from divine rights, but from human imperial rights, conferred by emperors and kings, for the civil management of their own possessions, and it has nothing at all to do with the office of the Gospel. Wherefore the episcopal office, according to divine rights, is to preach the Gospel, to remit

sins, to judge of doctrine, and to reject that doctrine which is contrary to the Gospel, and to exclude from the Christian community, the wicked, whose impious conduct is manifest, without human power, but by the word of God alone, and in that case the parishes and churches are under obligation to be obedient to the bishops, agreeably to the declaration of Christ, Luke 10, 16. "He that heareth you, heareth me." But if they teach, appoint, or establish any thing contrary to the Gospel, we have the command of God in such case, not to be obedient, Matt. 7, 15. "Beware of false prophets." And St. Paul to the Gal. 1, 8. "Though we or an angel from heaven, preach any other Gospel unto you, than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed." And in 2 Cor. 13, 8. "For we can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth." Again, verse 10. "According to the power which the Lord hath given me to edification, and not to destruction." Thus the ecclesiastical law commands in like manner 2 *q.* 7 *in cap. Sacerdotes* and *in cap. Oves.* And St. Augustine writes in the epistle against Petilia, that "We should not obey those bishops who have been duly elected, if they err, or teach or ordain any thing contrary to the holy, divine Scripture."

But, since the bishops have other power and jurisdiction in certain matters, as those relating to marriage or tithes, they derive it from the power of human laws. But if the ordinaries are negligent in such office, the princes, though they do it freely or reluctantly, are under obligation in that case, for the sake of peace, to put into execution the law on their subjects, for the prevention of discord and disturbance in the countries.

Further, it is called in question, whether bishops have power also to establish in the church, ceremonies and the like ordinances concerning meats, holy-days, and concerning different orders of ministers. Those who attribute that power to bishops, cite this passage of Christ, John 16, 12–13. "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit, when he, the Spirit of truth is come, he will guide you into all truth." In addition they introduce the example also, Acts 15, 20, where they have forbidden "things strangled and blood." So it is alleged also, that the Sabbath was changed into Sunday, contrary to the ten commandments, as they regard it, and no example is urged and alleged more strenuously, than the change of the Sabbath, and they wish to maintain by that, that the power of the church is great, since it dispensed with a precept of the ten commandments, and has effected somewhat a change in them.

But relative to this question our party teach, that the bishops have no power to appoint and establish any thing contrary to the Gospel, as has already been stated, and as the ecclesiastical laws throughout the ninth Distinction teach. Now it is evidently contrary to the command and word of God, to enact or command laws with a view to atone for sins and to merit grace by them; for it calumniates the honor of Christ's merit, if we presume to earn grace by such ordinances. It is also clear, that on account of this opinion human traditions innumerable have prevailed in Christendom, and by this means the doctrine of faith and the righteousness of faith, were entirely suppressed—new holy-days, new fasts were daily commanded, new ceremonies, and new reverences of the saints were instituted, in order to merit grace and all blessings from God, by such works. Again, they who establish human traditions, act contrary to the command of God, by placing sins in meats, in days, and the like things, and by thus encumbering Christendom with the servitude of the law, even as if there must be among Christians such a divine service, to merit the grace of God, as the Levitical service of God, which He should have commanded the Apostles and bishops to establish, as some write concerning it. And there is no doubt, but that some of the bishops have been deceived by the example of the law of Moses; hence originated those innumerable traditions, that it is a mortal sin, to do any manner of work on holy-days, even without offence to others; that it is a mortal sin to neglect the canonical hours; that certain meats pollute the conscience; that fasting is a work, by which God may be reconciled; that sin in a case reserved, will not be forgiven, except the reserver of the case be first entreated; notwithstanding, the ecclesiastical laws do not speak of the reservation of the sin, but of the reservation of the church-penalty.

Whence, then, have the bishops power and authority to impose such traditions upon Christendom, to ensnare men's consciences? For St. Peter in the Acts of the Apostles, forbids the "yoke to be put upon the neck of the disciples," Acts 15, 10. And St. Paul to the Corinthians, says, "that power was given to him to edification, and not to destruction," 2 Cor. 13, 10. Why, then, do they multiply sins by such traditions? We have clear declarations from the divine writings, which forbid the establishment of such traditions, in order to merit the grace of God, or as if they were necessary to salvation. Thus says St. Paul, Col. 2, 16. "Let no man, therefore, judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a holy-day, or of the new-moon, or of the Sabbath-days; which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ." Again, verse 20. "Where-

fore, if ye be dead with Christ, from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances, which say, (touch not; taste not; handle not; which all are to perish with the using;) after the commandments and doctrines of men? Which things have indeed a show of wisdom." Again, St. Paul to Titus, 1, 14, forbids publicly, the "giving heed to Jewish fables, and commandments of men that turn from the truth."

So also Christ himself speaks of those who urge the people to human commandments: Matt. 15, 14. "Let them alone, they be blind leaders of the blind," and rejecting such service, says: "Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up," verse 13. Now, if the bishops have power to encumber the churches with incalculable traditions, and to ensnare men's consciences, why then does the holy Scripture so often forbid the making and observing of human traditions? Why does it style them the doctrines of devils? Shall the Holy Ghost have forewarned all these things in vain?

Wherefore, since such ordinances, instituted as necessary, in order to reconcile God and to merit grace, are in opposition to the Gospel, it is by no means suitable for the bishops to enforce such services. For the doctrine of Christian liberty must be retained in Christendom, that the servitude of the law is not necessary to justification, as St. Paul writes to the Galatians, 5, 1. "Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage." For the chief article of the Gospel, that without our merit we obtain the grace of God through faith in Christ, must be maintained, and that we do not merit it by services instituted by men.

What, then, should be held concerning Sunday and other similar church ordinances and ceremonies? To this our party make the following reply:—That the bishops or pastors may make regulations, in order that things may be carried on orderly in the church, not in order to obtain the grace of God, nor yet in order to atone for sins, or to bind the consciences of men with them, to hold them as necessary services of God, and to regard them, as if they commit sin, if they break them without offence to others. Thus St. Paul to the Corinthians ordains, that the women in the congregation should cover their heads, 1 Cor. 11, 5. Again, that the preachers should speak in the congregation not all at the same time, but in order, one after another.

It is proper for the Christian congregation to observe such regulation for the sake of peace and love, and in this case to be obedient

to the bishops and pastors, and to observe it so far, that one offend not another, in order that there may be no disorder or unseemly conduct in the church; yet so that the consciences of men be not encumbered with the idea that these things are held as necessary to salvation, and that they commit sin, if they violate them even without offence to others; as, no one says that a woman commits sin, who goes abroad bareheaded, without offending the people. In like manner is the regulation concerning Sunday, concerning Easter, concerning Pentecost, and the like holy-days and rites. Those, then, who are of opinion, that the regulation of Sunday instead of the Sabbath, was established as a thing necessary, err very much. For the holy Scripture has abolished the Sabbath, and it teaches that all ceremonies of the old law, since the revelation of the Gospel, may be discontinued. And yet as it was of need to ordain a certain day, so that the people might know when they should assemble, the Christian church ordained Sunday for that purpose, and possessed rather more inclination and willingness for this alteration, in order that the people might have an example of Christian liberty, that they might know, that neither the observance of the Sabbath, nor of any other day, is indispensable.

There are many injudicious disputations relative to the change of the law, relative to the ceremonies of the New Testament, relative to the alteration of the Sabbath; all of which have sprung from the false and erroneous opinion, that there must be in Christendom a divine service commensurate to the Levitical or Jewish service of God, and that Christ had commanded the apostles and bishops to devise new ceremonies, which might be necessary to salvation. These errors obtained in Christendom when the righteousness of faith was not clearly and purely taught and preached. Some argue thus concerning Sunday, that it must be kept, although not from divine authority, prescribing form and measure how far labor may be performed on that holy-day. But what else are such disputations, but snares of conscience? For although they presume to modify and mitigate human traditions, yet no ἐπιείκειαν (epieikeian) or mitigation can be attained, so long as the opinion exist and continue, that they are necessary. Now this opinion must remain, if men know nothing of the righteousness of faith, and of Christian liberty. The Apostles have commanded to abstain from *blood* and *things strangled*. But who observes it now? Yet they do not, however, sin, who do not observe it; because even the Apostles themselves did not wish to burden the conscience with such servitude, but they have prohibited it for a time, on account of offence. For we must have

regard in this ordinance to the chief article of the Christian doctrine, that it be not abrogated by this decree.

Scarcely any of the ancient canons are observed agreeably to their purport, and many of these ordinances are going out of use daily, even among those who maintain such traditions with the greatest diligence. The consciences of men can neither be advised nor helped, where this alleviation is not observed, that we know that such observance of traditions is not held as necessary, and that it is harmless to the conscience, even if such traditions cease. But the bishops might easily preserve obedience, if they would not urge upon the keeping of those traditions, which cannot be observed without sin. But now they do this thing, they forbid the administration of the holy sacrament in both elements: again, they forbid marriage unto the priests, and receive no one, unless he has first taken an oath, that he will not preach this doctrine, which without doubt is commensurate with the holy Gospel.

Our churches do not request the bishops to make peace and union, at the expense of their honor and dignity, (though this would be fit for the bishops to do in a case of necessity,) but they entreat only, that the bishops discontinue certain unjust burdens, which did not exist in the church formerly, and which are received contrary to the custom of the universal Christian church. There might, perhaps, have been some reasons for these when they were first established, but they are not suitable for our times. It is likewise undeniable, that some ordinances were received through ignorance. Wherefore the bishops ought to have the kindness to mitigate these ordinances, since such change would not be injurious to the preservation of the unity of the Christian church; for many ordinances instituted by men, have ceased of themselves in the course of time, and were unnecessary to be observed, as the papal laws themselves testify. But if it cannot be granted, or obtained from them, that these human ordinances may be moderated and abolished, which cannot be observed without sin, we must follow the rule of the Apostles, which commands, that "We ought to obey God rather than men," Acts 5, 29.

St. Peter, 1 Pet. 5, 3, forbids the bishops to dominate, as if they had power to force the churches in whatever measure they please. Now, it is not our design to deprive the bishops of their power, but we desire and entreat, that they would not force the consciences of men to sin. But if they will not desist but contemn this entreaty, they may consider that they shall, therefore, be under obligation to render an account unto God, since by this obstinacy of theirs, they

give occasion for disunion and schisms, which they ought justly to help to prevent.

CONCLUSION.

These are the principal articles, which are regarded as controverted. It were easy indeed to enumerate many more abuses and errors, but in order to be brief, and to prevent prolixity, we have mentioned only the principal ones, by which the others will be easy to judge of. For in former times much complaint existed concerning indulgences, pilgrimages, and the abuse of excommunications. The clergy have also had endless disputes with the monks about hearing confessions, about burials, funeral sermons, and numberless other subjects. All such we have thought proper to pass over in mildness, so that the more important subjects in this matter, might be the better perceived. Nor should it be considered, that any thing has been said or intimated here against any one out of hatred or disrespect; but we have related these subjects only, which we have considered as necessary to cite and announce, in order that it might be the more clearly perceived, that by us nothing is received either in doctrine or ceremonies, which might be contrary to the holy Scripture, or opposed to the universal Christian church. For it is clear, indeed, and evident, that with the greatest sedulity by the help of God (without boasting) we have been cautious that no new and ungodly doctrine insinuate itself, spread, and prevail in our churches.

The foregoing articles we have, in conformity with the edict, desired to submit, as an indication of our Confession, and of our doctrine. And if any one should be found who has an objection to them, we are ready to give him further information with reasons from holy Writ.

Your imperial Majesty's most humble subjects.

JOHN, Elector of Saxony.
GEORGE, Margrave of Brandenburg.
ERNEST, Duke of Luneburg.
PHILIP, Landgrave of Hesse.
WOLFGANG, Prince of Anhalt.
THE IMPERIAL CITY of Nuremburg.
THE IMPERIAL CITY of Reutlingen.

APOLOGY TO THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION,

BY

PHILIP MELANCHTHON.

PREFACE.

After the Confession of our princes had been publicly recited, certain monks and theologians drew up a Confutation of our articles, which his imperial Majesty caused to be read in a convention of the princes, and required *our* princes to give their assent to the Confutation. *But* our princes, having heard that many articles were censured, which they could not reject without great violation of conscience, desired a copy of the Confutation to be shown them, in order that they might see what the opposition condemned, and be able to refute their arguments. And in a cause like this, relating to the regulation of conscience and the principles of religion, they supposed that their adversaries would not obstinately withhold their manuscript. But this reasonable request our princes were not able to obtain, except under the most dangerous terms, which they could not accept. A reconciliation, however, was afterwards attempted, when it appeared that our princes declined no proposition however burdensome, with which they could comply without a violation of conscience. But our adversaries pertinaciously demanded that we should approve certain manifest errors and abuses; and when we declared our utter inability to comply, his imperial Majesty again demanded that our princes should give their assent to the Confutation. This our princes refused to do. For how could they agree to objections on the subject of religion which they had never seen? And they had heard that some articles were condemned, concerning which they could not, without conscious guilt, coincide with the determinations of their adversaries. They directed me, however, and some others, to prepare an Apology to our Confession, in which should be explained to his imperial Majesty the reasons why we could not embrace the Confutation, and in which many objections of our adversa-

ries should be repelled. For some of us had heard the general heads and points of argument while the Confutation was being read. This Apology they submitted to his imperial Majesty, in order that he might know that we were prevented by very great and weighty reasons, from approving the Confutation. But his Majesty would not receive the manuscript. Afterwards a certain edict was published, in which our adversaries boasted that they had confuted our Confession from the Scriptures.

Accordingly, my reader, you now have our Apology, from which you will learn what determinations our adversaries have made;—that they have condemned several articles contrary to the plain declaration of the Holy Spirit, though they have been far from shaking our convictions by the evidences of Scripture. And although we commenced the Apology, by conferring at first with others, yet during its preparation I have added some things. For this reason I have prefixed my name, that no one may complain that the book has been published without a definite author. It has always been my custom in these controversies, as far as I could consistently, to retain the ordinary forms of doctrine, that harmony might at some time be the more easily re-established. Nor would I now pursue a different course though I might with propriety draw the men of this age farther from the opinions of our adversaries. But these adversaries are so conducting the dispute, that they prove themselves to be not in search either of truth or harmony, but thirsting for our blood.

And now having written in a spirit as moderate as possible, if any thing be said here which may seem too harsh, I must premise that I am contending, not with the emperor or the princes, whom I reverence as I ought, but with the theologians and the monks who have written the Confutation. But I have recently seen the Confutation, and I have observed that it is written in a spirit so insidious and vituperative, that on some points it might deceive even the most vigilant. I have not touched, however, all the subjects of dispute; for the task would be endless;—but I have examined the principal arguments, for the purpose of leaving an evidence among all nations, that we have maintained just and pious views in reference to the Gospel of Christ. Discord is by no means agreeable to us, nor are we alarmed at our own danger, though we easily perceive the bitterness of those odious passions with which we see our adversaries inflamed. But we cannot resist the clear convictions of truth, or disregard the exigency of the church; for we believe that every difficulty and every danger should be sustained, for the glory of Christ and the advancement of the church. We are confident that God

will approve our obedience, and we await with patient hope the more equitable decisions of posterity. For it cannot be denied that many points of Christian doctrine, which it is essential to keep apparent before the church, and which had lain for ages with canonists, monks, and fallacious theologians, buried in opinions more pernicious and dangerous than we are allowed here to portray, have been elicited and explained by our adherents. We have the public testimonials of many virtuous men, who render thanks to God for the inestimable blessing in teaching them on many essential points, more valuable things than our adversaries generally maintain. We therefore recommend our cause to Christ who will finally decide these controversies, and we entreat him to regard his wasted and afflicted churches, and restore them to pious and perpetual harmony.

APOLOGY TO THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

I.

The adversaries approve of the first article of our Confession, in which it is indicated that we believe and teach, that there is one eternal, individual, undivided, divine essence, and yet, that there are three distinct persons in this divine essence, (or being) equally powerful, equally eternal, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. This article we have ever taught and defended in its purity, and we maintain and feel certain, that it has a foundation in the holy Scriptures, so firm, good, and infallible that no one can censure or refute it.

Wherefore we conclude without hesitation, that all those who hold or teach otherwise, are idolaters and blasphemers and aliens from the church of Christ.

I. CONCERNING ORIGINAL SIN.

Nor do the adversaries object to the second article concerning original sin; yet they censure our definition, in which we assert what original sin is; though we merely spoke of it incidentally in that place.

Immediately in the outset your imperial Majesty will perceive, that our opponents, while they frequently comprehend or understand scarcely any thing relative to this all important subject, they often

pervert our words maliciously and intentionally, or misconstrue our meaning. For although we have stated in the most simple and clear manner, what original sin is, or is not, yet however, they have out of malice and ill-will, given an improper construction, intentionally, to the plainest and most simple language.

For thus they say: you declare original sin to be this, that we are born with a mind and heart, in which there is no fear of God, or confidence in Him,—but this is real guilt, and an act itself, or *actualis culpa;* therefore it is not original sin.—It is by no means difficult to perceive and to judge, that such cavils proceed from the theologians, and not from the counsels of the emperor. Now although we are able to confute very easily these envious, dangerous, and wanton constructions; yet, in order that all upright and honorable persons may understand that we teach nothing improper in this respect, we request them to examine our former German Confession, presented at Augsburg,—this will sufficiently prove that we teach nothing new or unheard of. For thus it is written in that Confession:—*Weiter wird gelehret, dass nach dem Fall Adã alle Menschen, so natürlich gebohren werden, in Sünden empfangen und gebohren werden; das ist, dass sie alle von Mutterleibe an, voll böser Lust und Neigung sind, keine wahre Gottesfurcht, keinen wahren Glauben an Gott von Natur haben können.

From this it is evident, that we maintain, with respect to those that are born of flesh, that they are unfit for all things pertaining to God; do not sincerely fear Him and cannot either believe or trust in Him. We here speak of the inborn evil character of the heart, not only of actual guilt, or of real crimes or sins; for we say, that in all the children of Adam there are evil inclinations and desires, and that it is not in the power of any one to prepare his heart of himself, to know God, or sincerely to confide in, or fear Him.

We are, however, desirous of hearing what can be censured here. For pious and upright individuals, loving the truth, perceive, without any doubt, that we are sufficiently clear and correct in our views. In this sense we say also in our Latin Confession, that in natural man there is not *potentia*, i. e. not sufficient virtue, or ability, even in innocent children, who are incapable from Adam, ever to fear and to love God sincerely. But in adults or grown persons, besides the innate evil disposition of the heart, there are acts and actual sins.

Wherefore, when we mention innate evil desires, we mean not

*For a translation of these words, see Article II. of the Augsburg Confession.

only the acts, the evil works, or fruits, but the evil inclinations within, which continue so long as we are not born anew through the Spirit and faith. But we shall hereafter show more fully, that we have described original depravity, viz. what it is and is not, according to the ancient and usual manner of the scholastics, and that we have made no innovation. I must however, first show for what reason in this place, I have preferred these terms particularly, and not others.

Thus our adversaries themselves speak upon this subject in their schools, and acknowledge that evil desires constitute the material or *materiale* of original sin, as they term it. Wherefore, as I wished to define what original sin is, I could not pass over this, especially at this time; since some treat of these innate evil desires more in an unchristian manner, according to their knowledge of philosophy, than according to the divine word or holy Scriptures. For some declare that original sin in human nature is not an innate inclination to sin, but merely a defect and an imposed charge or burden, which all the descendants of Adam must bear on account of *his sins*, (not their own,) and that therefore all are mortal, but not that they themselves by nature inherited sin from their mothers' womb.

They say, moreover, that no one is condemned eternally on account of original sin or depravity alone; but precisely as bondmen and bondservants are born of a bondmaid, not on account of any fault in themselves, but because they must sustain and bear the misfortunes and misery of their mother, though they are born as other people without blemish; so original sin likewise is not an inborn evil or sin, but merely a defect, an incumbrance which we bear from Adam, but of ourselves we do not exist in sin and inherit displeasure.

In order, then, to show that a doctrine so unchristian did not meet our approbation, I have employed these words:—*All men from their mothers' womb are full of evil desires and inclinations.* And therefore I also call original sin a disease, for the purpose of showing that not a part merely, but the whole man with his whole nature, is born with this disease constitutionally inherent. Wherefore we denominate it likewise not merely an evil desire, but also maintain that all men are born in sin, without fear of God and without faith. Nor do we add this without sufficient grounds. The scholastics treat of original sin, as if it were but a loose, slight defect, and do not understand what original depravity is, or in what light the holy Fathers (ecclesiastical writers) considered it.

When the sophists endeavor to define what original sin is, what the *fomes* or evil propensity is, they say, among other things, in their usual superficial manner, that it is a defect in the body, and propound the questions: "Whether this defect was first communicated to Adam by poison from the forbidden fruit in Paradise, or by the affation of the serpent?" Again, "Whether the defect is the more increased by the poison the longer it operates?" With such litigious questions they have quite confounded and suppressed the principal point, and the most important question relative to what original sin is.

Wherefore in speaking of original sin, they omit the most essential and necessary part, and in no respect consider our principal misery, namely, that we human beings are all born in such a manner, that we neither know, see, nor observe God or his works,—that we despise him—that we do not fear and trust in him sincerely, and that we hate his judgments. Again, that all of us by nature flee from God, as from a tyrant, and are displeased with, and murmur against his will; and that we do not confide in, or venture any thing upon, the goodness of God, but ever rely more upon our wealth, our property, our friends. This active hereditary contagion by which our whole nature is corrupted, by which we all inherit such hearts, minds, and thoughts from Adam, as are immediately opposed to God and to his first and greatest commandment, the scholastics pass over in silence.

And they speak of this subject, as if human nature were uncorrupted and capable of greatly reverencing God, of loving him above all things, of keeping his commandments, &c., and do not see that they contradict themselves. For if we were able from our own strength to do these things, viz. to reverence God greatly, to love him sincerely, to keep his commandments, what would this differ from being a new creature in Paradise, entirely pure and holy? If we are capable, by our own strength and power, of accomplishing so great a thing as to love God above all things, to keep his commandments, as the scholastics boldly assert, what then is original depravity? And if, by our own power, we can become righteous, then is the grace of Christ unnecessary. What need would we have of the Holy Spirit, could we, by human ability, love God above all things, and keep his commandments?

Here every individual perceives how absurdly our adversaries treat upon this important subject. They acknowledge the minor defects of sinful nature, but do not consider the greater hereditary miseries and calamities of which all the Apostles complain, of which all the prophets and the holy Scriptures every where speak, as the 14th Psalm and several others say:—"There is none that is

just, no not one; there are none who seek after God; there is none that doeth good, no, not one;" Psalm 5, 9, "Their throat is an open sepulchre; they flatter with their tongues; the fear of God is not before their eyes." And certainly the holy Scriptures show plainly that all this has not suddenly flown to us upon wings, but is inherent in us from our birth.

But while the scholastics mingle much philosophy with the Christian doctrines, and speak a great deal about the light of reason and the *actibus elicitis*, they place too much confidence in free will and our own works. Upon this subject they have taught that men become justified before God, by a life externally honest; and have not perceived the innate impurity within the heart, which no one discovers, except through the word of God alone; of which the scholastics have very sparingly and rarely treated in their books. We also say that it is within our power to lead a life to some extent externally honest; but to become just and holy in the sight of God, does not lie in our power.

These are the reasons, for which, in defining original sin, I made mention of innate evil desires, and stated that by his own natural powers no man is able to fear God, or to trust in him. For I desired to show that original sin embraces within itself this depravity also, viz. that no man knows or reverences God, that none can confide in him sincerely, none can fear and love him. These are the chief characteristics of this hereditary contagion, by which through Adam, we all are purposed and determined directly against God, against the first table of Moses, and the greatest and highest divine commandment.

And we have here taught nothing new. The old scholastics, if we understand them correctly, have said precisely the same thing. For they say that original sin is a want of the original purity and righteousness of Paradise. But what is *justitia originalis*, or original righteousness in Paradise? Righteousness and holiness in the Scriptures, are not only to observe the second table of the Decalogue, to do good works, and to serve our neighbor; but the Scriptures call him pious, holy, and righteous, who keeps and observes the first table—the first commandment—that is, who sincerely fears and loves God, and trusts in him.

Therefore, the purity and incorruptness of Adam did not consist only of perfect physical health and purity of blood, or of unimpaired powers of the body, as they speak, but the greatest property of this noble first creature was a light shining in the heart, by which a knowledge of God and of his works was communicated—a real fear of God—a truly sincere confidence in him, and in all respects a genu-

ine correct understanding, and a heart overflowing with love, goodness, and joyfulness towards God and all divine things.

And this the holy Scriptures also testify, where they say, that man was created after God's own image and likeness. Gen. 1, 27. For what else is this, but that the divine wisdom and righteousness, which are of God, were formed in man? Through which we know God, through which the brightness of God was reflected in us, that is, that these gifts, a truly clear knowledge of God, real fear of and confidence in him, etc., were given to man when he was first created.

For Irenæus and Ambrose, who speak in the same sense as the above, of the image and similitude of God, say among other things: "The soul in which God is not always, is not formed after his image." And Paul in his epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, shows sufficiently clear, that nothing else is meant in the Scriptures by the image of God, but knowledge or perception of God—and true integrity and righteousness before God.

And Longobard says distinctly, that "The righteousness first created in Adam, is the image and the likeness of God, which God formed in man." I recite the opinions and sentiments of the ancients, which causes no difficulty in the interpretation of Augustine respecting the image of God. Wherefore, when they say what original sin is, and declare that it is a want of the righteousness first created in man, they mean that man is not only corrupted in body, or the lower and less important faculties; but that he has also lost by it those higher gifts, a real knowledge or perception of God, true love and confidence in him, and the power, the light in his heart which creates in him love and desire for all this. For the *scholastici* or theologians themselves teach in the schools, that this same inborn righteousness would have been impossible for us, without special gifts and the aid of grace.

And in order to be plainly understood, these gifts we call, the fear of God, the knowledge of and confidence in him. From all this it appears sufficiently clear, that in defining what original sin is, the ancients coincide with us precisely; and that it was their opinion, that through it we are not only disqualified for a pure or good work, but that we are also born in the melancholy state of being destitute of a good heart, a heart inclined to God and truly loving him.

Precisely the same, is the opinion of Augustine, where he states in like manner, what original sin is, and which he is accustomed to denominate an evil desire; for he designed showing that since the fall of Adam, instead of righteousness, evil desires are innate in us. For since

the fall, as by nature we are born in sin, not fearing, or loving God, or trusting in him, we do nothing else, but that we trust in ourselves, despise God, or become obstructed and flee from him.

And the words of Augustine embrace and contain the meaning of those who say, that original depravity is a want of the original righteousness; that it is the evil desires which, instead of this righteousness, attach to us. And these evil desires are not merely a corruption or disorganization of the original perfect physical health of Adam in Paradise, but also an evil desire and inclination through which, according to the very best and highest powers and light of reason, we are nevertheless carnally minded and alienated from God. Nor do those know what they say, who teach that man is able by his own strength to love God above all things, and who must at the same time acknowledge, that so long as this life continues, evil desires still remain, so far as they are not entirely mortified by the Holy Ghost.

We have, therefore, in our description of original sin, been thus particular in describing and expressing, both the evil desire and the want of original righteousness in Paradise; and we add that this want is in consequence of the descendants of Adam not trusting sincerely in God, not fearing and loving him: and that the evil desire results from our being by nature opposed to God with our whole heart, mind, and strength; in consequence of which we do not only seek after all kinds of sensual enjoyments of the body, and trust to our own wisdom and righteousness, but entirely forget God, and feel for him but little, indeed, no reverence at all. And not only the ancient Fathers, as Augustine and others, but the latest teachers, and scholastics, maintain that these two conditions together constitute original sin, viz. evil desire and the want of righteousness. For thus says St. Thomas, that "Original sin is not only a want of original righteousness, but an inordinate desire or lust in the soul. Therefore it is," continues he, "not only a mere want, but also *aliquid positivum*." And Boneventura also says plainly: "If it is asked, what original sin is, this is the right answer, that it is an unrestrained evil desire. The right answer also is, that it is a want of righteousness,"—the one including the other.

Hugo also intends the very same thing, where he says, that "Original sin is blindness in the mind, and evil desire in the flesh." For he wishes to show, that we descendants of Adam are all born in such a manner that we do not know God—that we despise him and do not trust in him—yea, that we flee from, and hate him. For Hugo desired to comprise this briefly in the words, "*ignorantia in mente*," blindness or ignorance in the mind. And these passages of the latest teachers

harmonize with the holy Scriptures. For Paul often speaks clearly of original sin, as a want of *divine light*, &c.,—as in 1 Cor. 2, 14: "But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God;" and in other places he calls it evil desire, as in Rom. 7, 5, 23, where he says: "But I see another law in my members," &c. Which evil desire brings forth all kinds of evil fruit.

Here I could adduce many more passages from the Scriptures, upon these two points, but on a truth so evident I deem it unnecessary. Every intelligent individual will readily perceive, that, to be without the fear of God, and confidence in him in our hearts, is not only *actus*, or actual sin, but an innate want or destitution of divine light and of every thing good—a want or destitution which continues, so long as we are not born anew through the Holy Ghost and enlightened by him.

The manner, then, in which we have hitherto written and treated of original sin, is not new, or adverse to what the holy Scriptures and the universal Christian church teach; but we are bringing to light again, the good, clear, necessary passages of the holy Scriptures and of the Fathers, which were suppressed by the imprudent cavils of the sophists; and we earnestly desire to restore the Christian doctrines to their purity. For it is evident that the sophists and scholastics did not understand what the Fathers meant by the words, "want or destitution of the first righteousness."

It is, however, very necessary to treat properly and correctly of this subject, and to define what original sin is; and no one can sincerely long for or desire Christ, and the inestimable treasures of divine grace and favor of which the Gospel speaks, who does not know and acknowledge his wretchedness and his disease; as Christ says, Matt. 9, 12,—Mark 2, 17. "They that be whole need not a physician." All holy, honorable life or conduct, all the good works that ever can be performed by man upon earth, are mere hypocrisy and abomination before God, if we do not first perceive and acknowledge that we are miserable sinners by nature, in the displeasure of God, neither fearing nor loving him. Thus says the prophet Jeremiah 31, 19. "After that I was instructed, I smote upon *my* thigh;" and Psalm 116, 11, "All men *are* liars;" that is, they are not rightly disposed towards God.

Here our adversary decry Dr. Luther with vehemence, because he has written, that *original sin remains also after baptism;* and they say besides, that this article was justly condemned by Leo X.

But your imperial Majesty will perceive clearly here, that they treat us with the greatest injustice. Because our adversaries under-

stand perfectly, in what sense Dr. Luther desires this to be understood, where he says: *original sin remains after baptism.* For he has ever taught clearly, that holy baptism extirpates and removes the entire guilt and hereditary debt (Erbpflicht) of original sin; although the material (as they call it) of the sin, namely the evil desire and lust, remains.

Besides, in all his writings respecting this same *material*, he adds, that the Holy Ghost, which is given through baptism, begins internally to mortify and to blot out the remaining evil desires daily, and brings into the heart a new light, a new mind, and spirit. In the same sense Augustine also writes, where he says: "Original sin is forgiven in baptism, not that it becomes extinct, but that it is not imputed."

Here Augustine openly acknowledges, that the sin remains in us, although it is not imputed unto us. And this passage of Augustine met the approbation of the teachers afterwards so well, that it was cited in the Decree. And in opposition to Julian, Augustine says: "The law, which is in our own members, is put away through spiritual regeneration; and yet remains in the flesh, which is mortal. It is put away, for the guilt is entirely remitted through the sacrament, through which the believers are born anew; and yet it remains—for it produces evil desires, against which the believer strives."

That Dr. Luther thus believes and teaches, our adversaries know full well; and as they cannot assail the doctrine itself, but must acknowledge its truth, they maliciously pervert his words, and interpret his meaning falsely, in order to suppress the truth and to condemn it without a cause.

But the adversaries, moreover, deny that evil desires are a burden imposed, and a penalty inflicted upon us, and contend that they are not a sin which merits death and condemnation. On the contrary, Dr. Luther says, that they are a sin thus condemnable. I have stated above that Augustine also speaks to the same intent, that original sin is innate evil desire. If this is spoken erroneously, they may settle the point with Augustine.

Upon this subject Paul says, Rom. 7, 7, 8. "I had not known sin but by the law: for I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet." Here Paul plainly says, that he did not know that lust or evil desire is sin, &c., Again, Rom. 7, 23. "I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin, which is in my members."

These are the pure and clear declarations of Paul, against which

no gloss, no artful contrivance can avail—and which all devils, all men cannot overturn. Here he clearly calls evil desires, sin; nevertheless, he says that this sin is not imputed unto those who believe in Christ.—Yet of itself, it really is a sin, deserving death and eternal condemnation. And there is no doubt, but that this was the opinion of the ancient Fathers also. For Augustine disputed with, and contended earnestly against, those who maintained that evil desires and inclinations in man were not sin, and were neither good nor bad; as, having a black or white body, is also neither good nor bad.

And if the adversaries contend that the *fomes*, or evil inclinations are neither good nor bad, they do it in opposition not only to many passages in the Scriptures, but also to the doctrines of the whole church and all the Fathers. For every experienced Christian heart knows and feels alas, that these evils, namely,—that we esteem gold, property, and all other things more highly than God, and proceed and live on in imagined security in them,—are innate with us and exist in our bodies. And they know and feel, further, that according to the nature of our sensual security, we are always inclined to think that God's wrath and severity regarding sin are not so great, as they really are; again, that we do not sincerely esteem the noble, inestimable treasures of the Gospel and the reconciliation of Christ so dear and so excellent as they are; again, that we murmur against the will and dispensation of God, when he does not immediately help us in afflictions, and comply with our desires—and finally, that we experience daily a feeling of dissatisfaction at the prosperity of the ungodly in this world,—a feeling which David also, and all the saints lamented in themselves.

Besides, all men know how easily their hearts are inflamed—now with ambition,—now with anger and hatred,—and again, with impurity and unchastity.

Now if our adversaries themselves must acknowledge that there is such infidelity, such disobedience to God in the human heart, even although there is not entire consent, (as they speak of it,) but only an inclination and a desire, who will have the boldness to assert, that these gross propensities are neither good nor bad? For the psalmist and prophets, in the clearest terms, confess that they experienced these feelings.

But the sophists of the schools, having treated this subject contrary to the clear evident meaning of the Scriptures, and devised out of the writings of the philosophers their own dreams and sayings, declare that we are neither good nor bad—blameworthy or praiseworthy on account of these evil desires. Again, that the evil desires and

thoughts in our hearts are not sins, if we do not fully consent to them. These doctrines and words in the books of the philosophers must be understood relative to external honesty before the world, and also to external punishment before the world. For there it is true, as the jurists say, *L. Cogitationis*, thoughts are free, and exempt from punishment. But God searches into the heart; his judgments and his sentence are different.

In the same manner, they have also connected with this subject other absurd sayings, namely, that God's creatures, and nature itself, cannot be intrinsically bad. To this assertion I do not object, when used where it is applicable. But it must not be employed to underrate the sin of original depravity. And these same sayings of the sophists have done unspeakable injury, by mingling with the Gospel, *that* philosophy and *those* doctrines which relate to our external conduct before the world; and they have not only taught these things in their schools, but without shame have preached them publicly before the people. And these ungodly, false, dangerous, and injurious doctrines had prevailed throughout the world: nothing was preached, but our own merit every where, through which the knowledge of Christ and the Gospel were entirely suppressed.

Wherefore, Dr. Luther desired to teach and to explain from the Scriptures, how deadly a crime original sin is before God, and how great is the calamity to which we are born; and that the part of original sin remaining after baptism is, of itself, not indifferent, but needs the mediator Christ, in order that God may not impute it unto us, and also, without intermission, the light and operation of the Holy Spirit, through whom it is mortified and removed.

Now, although the sophists and scholastics teach differently, and teach contrary to the Scriptures, both concerning original sin and its penalty, when they say, that by his own powers man is able to keep the commandments of God; yet the penalty imposed upon the children of Adam by God, on account of original depravity, is described in a very different aspect in Genesis. For *there* human nature is not only doomed to death and other physical evils, but is also subjected to the dominion of the devil. For there the dreadful sentence is passed; "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed:" &c. Gen. 3, 15.

The want of original righteousness and evil lusts themselves, are sins and punishments. But death and other physical ills, the tyranny and dominion of the devil, are properly, the punishments (*pœnæ*) of original sin. For through original sin human nature is given into the power of the devil, and is consequently brought captive under

his dominion; who confounds and misleads with horrible errors, heresies and other blindness, many great and wise men in this world, and in other respects impels mankind into all manner of vices.

But as it is impossible, then, to overcome this subtle and powerful spirit, Satan, without the aid of Christ; so, by our own strength, we cannot exempt ourselves from this imprisonment.

It is manifest, and may be seen in all history from the beginning of the world, how unspeakably great a power the kingdom of the devil is. We see, that from the highest to the lowest, the world is full of blasphemy, full of gross errors, and of impious doctrines against God and his word. In these strong chains and fetters the devil holds miserably captive many wise people, many hypocrites who appear holy before the world. He leads others into other gross vices, avarice, pride, &c.

Now, since Christ has been given unto us, in order that he might take away these sins and the punishments of sins, and for our benefit overcome sin, death, and the kingdom of the devil, no one can sincerely rejoice in this great treasure, no one can conceive and estimate the abundant riches of grace; except he first feel this burden, our great inborn misery and calamity. Wherefore, our preachers have taught with the greatest diligence this necessary article, and have taught nothing new, but the plain words of the holy Scriptures, and the undeniable sayings of the Fathers,—Augustine and others.

This, we think, ought to suffice to your imperial Majesty, against the loose, puerile, and unfounded assertions of our adversaries; by which they assail our article unjustly and without cause. But let them continue caviling as much and as long as they please, this we know to be true and certain, that we teach correctly and in a Christian manner, that we precisely agree and coincide with the universal Christian church. Should they introduce further wanton contentions, they shall find, that there shall not be wanting here, if it be the will of God, men who will reply to them and maintain the truth.

Our adversaries, for the most part, do not know what they maintain. How often do they speak and write contradictory to themselves? They understand not even their own dialectics, (*dialectica,*) concerning the formal of original sin; that is, what original sin properly is in its essence, and also what the want of original righteousness is. We do not, however, propose at this time, to speak more in detail of their quarrelsome disputations; but merely to recite in clear, common, and intelligible language, the sayings and opinions of the holy Fathers, whose doctrines we also teach.

The third article our adversaries approve, in which we confess, that in Christ there are two natures; namely, that the Son of God assumed human nature, and thus became God and man, one person, one Christ; and that this same Christ suffered and died for us, to reconcile us unto the Father; that he arose from the dead, possesses an eternal kingdom, justifies and sanctifies all believers &c., &c., as is taught in the Apostolic creed and the symbol of Nice.

II. OF JUSTIFICATION.

The adversaries condemn the doctrine taught in the fourth, fifth, sixth, and twentieth articles of our Confession, that believers obtain remission of their sins through Christ, by faith alone, without any merit of their own; and reject insolently these two tenets: first, that we deny that man can obtain remission of his sins through his own works; and secondly, that we believe and teach that no one is reconciled to God and no one obtains remission of his sins, but through faith in Christ alone.

Now, since this contention concerns the highest and most important article of all the Christian doctrines, and as much indeed depends upon this article which especially contributes to a clear, correct apprehension of all the holy Scriptures, and shows the only way to the unspeakable treasure and the true knowledge of Christ; and opens the only door into the whole Bible, without which article the poor conscience can have no hope, true and invariably fixed, or conceive the riches of the grace of Christ; we therefore pray your imperial Majesty to hear us graciously concerning those great, sublime, and all-important subjects, according to the necessary nature of the case. For as our adversaries do not perceive or know what is to be understood by these words in the Scriptures—what remission of sin, what faith, what grace, what righteousness is; they have miserably contaminated this noble, indispensable, and chief article, without which no one can know Christ; they have entirely suppressed the invaluable treasure of the knowledge of Christ, or of what he, his kingdom, and his grace are; and robbed our poor consciences of this noble and great treasure and eternal comfort, so valuable and important to them.

But in order to confirm our Confession, and to refute what our adversaries have adduced, we shall, in the first place, show the foundation and reasons upon which both doctrines rest, so that each may be the more clearly understood.

All the Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testaments, ought to be divided into these two parts, and there we find inculcated,

the law and the divine promises. For in some places they present to us the law, and in others they offer us grace through the glorious promises of Christ; as, when in the Old Testament they promise the coming Christ, and offer through him eternal blessings, eternal salvation, righteousness, and eternal life; or in the New, when Christ, after his advent, promises in the Gospel the remission of sins, eternal righteousness and eternal life.

In this place, however, the ten commandments of God we call the law, as they appear in the Scriptures. It is not our purpose here to speak of the ceremonies and the judicial laws.

Now, of these two parts our adversaries choose for themselves the law. For since the laws of nature, which agree with the law of Moses or the ten commandments, are inborn and written in the hearts of all men, and thus human reason being able, in some measure, to comprehend and understand the ten commandments, they imagine that the law is sufficient, and that through the law remission of sin can be obtained.

But the ten commandments require not only an honorable life, or good works externally, which reason may to some extent be able to observe; but they require something much higher, which is beyond all human power, and out of the reach of reason; namely, the law requires of us, that we shall fear and love God with all our strength, and from the bottom of our hearts; that we call upon him in every time of need, and place our trust in nothing else.

Again, the law requires of us, that we should neither doubt nor waver, but conclude with the utmost certainty in our hearts, that God is with us, hears our prayers, and grants our petitions; and further, that in the midst of death we should expect life and all manner of consolation from God; that in all our troubles we should conform entirely to his will; that we should not flee from him in death and affliction, but be obedient to him, and bear and suffer willingly every thing that may befall us.

Here the scholastics have followed the philosophers; and when they attempt to define, how man is justified before God, they teach only that kind of righteousness and piety, embraced in a correct external deportment before the world, and the performance of good works, and in addition devise this dream, that human reason without the aid of the Holy Ghost, is able to love God above all things. For it is true, undoubtedly, that when the human heart is at ease and free from trouble and temptation, and when it does not feel the wrath and judgment of God, it may imagine to itself, that it loves God above all things and does much good and many works for God's

sake; but it is mere hypocrisy. Yet in this manner our adversaries have taught, that men *merit* the remission of sins, if they do as much as lies in their power; that is, when reason consents to regret sin, and creates for itself a will to love God.

And this opinion and erroneous doctrine, since men are naturally inclined to the idea that their merits and works are of some value in the sight of God, has created and caused innumerable and abusive methods of worship in the church; as, monastic vows, the misuse of masses, and the like without number; ever devising new modes of worship out of this misconception. And in order that such confidence in our merits and works might be still farther disseminated, without shame they have dared to say and to conclude, that the Lord God must of necessity give grace unto those who do good works; not indeed, that he is compelled, but that this is the order which God will not pass over or alter.

And in these opinions, even in these doctrines, there are many other gross and disgraceful errors, and horrid blasphemies against God, embraced and hidden; to relate all of which separately, would require too much time for the present purpose. But this alone will every Christian reader consider for God's sake: can we be justified before God and become Christians through such works? I would like, however, to hear, (and do all of you make every effort to reply,) what the difference between the doctrines of the philosophers and of Christ would be; if we can obtain the remission of sins through such works of ours, what benefit, then, is Christ to us? If through natural reason and our own good works we can become holy and pious in the sight of God, what need have we then of the blood and death of Christ, or to be born anew through him? as Peter in his first epistle 1, 3, says. And from this dangerous error (taught publicly in the schools and from the pulpit) it has come to pass, that even eminent theologians at Lyons, Paris, and other places, have known of no other Christian piety or righteousness, than that taught by the philosophers; although every letter and syllable of Paul teaches differently; and while this ought reasonably to surprise us, and we should justly ridicule their views, they ridicule us, yea deride Paul himself.

So very much has this shameful, abominable error prevailed. I myself have heard a reputable minister preach, who did not treat of Christ and the Gospel, but preached (*Aristotelis ethicos,*) the ethics of Aristotle. Is not such preaching puerile and foolish among Christians? But if the doctrine of our adversaries be true, then are these ethics, (*ethici,*) an invaluable sermon book, and a fine new

bible. For, with regard to external honorable life, it is not easy for any one to write better than Aristotle.

We see, that some learned individuals have written books, in which they endeavor to show that the words of Christ and the sayings of Socrates and Zeno harmonize beautifully. Precisely as if Christ had come to give us good laws and commandments, through which we might merit the remission of our sins; instead of proclaiming to us the grace and peace of God and imparting the Holy Spirit, through his own merits and blood.

Wherefore, if we receive the doctrine of our adversary, that we can merit the forgiveness of our sins, by the powers of natural reason and our own works, we are Aristotelians and not Christians, and there is no difference between an honorable heathen or Pharisaic life and a Christian life, between philosophy and the Gospel.

Now although our adversaries, in order that they may not entirely imitate the rude impious heathens by burying in silence the name of Christ, speak of faith as being a knowledge of the history of Christ; and although they do tell us something of Christ—namely, that he has gained for us a *habitum*, or, as they term it, *primam gratiam*, the first or original grace, which they regard as an inclination or a desire through which we are enabled to love God more easily than we could otherwise do; yet it would be a very weak and insignificant influence which Christ would thus exert or which would be created by this *habitum*.

For they nevertheless say, that the operations of our reason and will, before this *habitus* exists, as well as afterwards, when the *habitus* is present, *ejusdem speciei*, that is, before as well as after, are one and the same thing.

For they say that our reason and human will is of itself able to love God; but that the *habitus* creates a desire, by which reason can accomplish with greater ease and pleasure what it before had the power to do.

Wherefore they also teach, that this same *habitus* must be merited or earned by our previous works, and that through the works of the law we merit eternal life and an increase of such good inclination.

Thus these people conceal Christ from us, and bury him anew, so that it is impossible for us to recognize him as a Mediator; for they not only bury in silence the doctrine, that we obtain remission of our sins through him by grace alone, without any merit of our own; but introduce their dreams, that we can merit forgiveness of our sins by good works and the works of the law; although the whole Bible teaches that we are unable to keep or fulfil the law. And as human

reason performs no part of the law, except the doing of external works, but does not really fear God, so also this reason does not believe that it is observed of God; and although the adversary may thus speak concerning the *habitus*, yet it is certain that without faith in Christ, real love to God cannot exist in the human heart; nor can any one comprehend what love to God is, without faith.

In devising a distinction however between *merito congrui** and *merito condigni*,† they are playing with and contending about words only, in order that they may not appear openly as Pelagians. For if God is compelled of necessity to confer his grace as a reward for *congruity*, then it is not really a *congruity*, but a real duty and *justice* or *condignity*. They themselves do not know, however, what they say; for they imagine and dream, that if the "*habitus*" of the love of God (of which mention is made above) is present, then a man merits the grace of God *de congruo;* and yet they admit that no one can be certain of the presence of this *habitus*.

Pray, how then do they know, or when do they know to what extent they earn from the Lord our God his grace; whether by *congruity* or by *condignity*, in part or in whole?—But, merciful God! These are vain, cold imaginings and dreams of idle, wicked, and inexperienced men, who do not often make use of the Bible; who have never known or experienced what a sinner feels; what the attacks of death and the devil are; and who do not know how entirely we forget all our merit and works, when the heart feels the wrath of God, or when the conscience is filled with anxiety. These secure, inexperienced people constantly pass on in the conceit, that they merit grace by their works *de congruo*.

For it is implanted in us by nature, to esteem ourselves and our works too high. But when the heart truly feels its sins and calamity, then all jesting and fine imaginings are at an end, and real and great seriousness takes their place.—Then the heart and conscience will not be quieted or rest in peace, but seek works upon works, and they would have certainty, would know the foundation upon which they stand, and with entire certainty build and rest upon something. But these alarmed consciences deeply feel, that they can merit nothing either *de condigno* or *de congruo*, and soon sink into

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*Congruity, in *school divinity*,—The good actions which are supposed to render it meet and equitable that God should confer grace on those who perform them. The merit of congruity is a sort of imperfect qualification for the gift and reception of God's grace.—MILNER.

†Condignity, in *school divinity*,—The merit of human actions which claims reward, on the score of justice.—MILNER.

hopelessness and despair, if a different doctrine, to that of the law, namely, the Gospel of Christ, that he was given for us, is not preached to them.

Thus it is related of certain Barefoot monks, that they, after vainly praising for a long time their orders and good works to some good persons in the hour of death, were at last obliged to be silent about their orders and St: Francisco, and to speak these words, "*Dear friend, Christ hath died for thee.*" This afforded refreshment and relief from anxieties; this alone brought peace and consolation.

Thus our adversaries teach nothing but an external piety of external good works, which Paul calls the piety of the law; and thus, as the Jews see the veiled face of Moses, do nothing but strengthen security and hardness of heart in some secure hypocrites; lead men to rely upon a sandy foundation—upon their own works, by which means Christ and the Gospel are despised, and give to many miserable consciences cause for despair; for they do good works upon uncertain conceits, and never experiencing what a powerful thing faith is, they at last sink into despondency.

Thus we hold and speak of external piety, that God requires and demands such an external correct life, and that on account of God's commandment, we must perform those good works which are prescribed in the ten commandments. For the law is our teacher, and is given for the unrighteous. It is the will of the Lord our God that gross sins should be restrained by external discipline; and to effect and maintain this, he has given laws, established governments, provided men of learning and wisdom who are fitted to govern; and thus human reason may to some extent, by its own powers, be able to observe a correct external deportment and life; nevertheless it is often hindered in doing so by innate weakness and the arts of the devil.

Now although I willingly allow to such external deportment and good works all praise that is properly due them;—for in this life and in worldly matters, there is nothing better than honesty and virtue, as Aristotle says, "Neither the morning star nor the evening star is more lovely and beautiful than honesty and righteousness;" for God himself rewards such virtue with temporal gifts;—yet, we should not extol good works and such a deportment to the contumely of Christ. For I conclude and am confident, that the opinion is feigned and false that we must merit the remission of our sins by our works.

It is likewise false and untrue, that a man can become righteous and pious before God by his own works and external piety.

Nor is it well founded or true, that human reason is able of itself

to love God above all things, to keep his commandments, to fear him, to be certain that he hears our prayers, to thank him, and in afflictions and in other things, to obey him according to his law, as not to covet the goods of others, &c., &c. For all this, human reason is not able to accomplish; although it may be able in some degree to observe an honorable life externally, and to perform good works.

To say that those are without sin who keep God's commandments externally only, without the Spirit and grace in their hearts, is also feigned and untrue, and a blasphemy against Christ.

Of the truth of this my conclusion I have evidence, not only in the holy Scriptures, but also from the ancient Fathers of the church. Augustine has treated this subject in the most copious manner, and contended against the Pelagians, that grace is not given on account of our own merits. And in his book on Nature and Grace, (*de Natura et Gratia,*) he thus says: "If the power of nature is sufficient by free will, both to teach us how we should live, and also to enable us thus to live correctly, then did Christ die in vain."

And why should I not here exclaim with Paul, Gal. 5, 4, Romans 10, 3, 4?—Yea, I may justly exclaim with him: "Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the law: ye are fallen from grace." "For they, being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God." For as Christ is the end of the law, so also is Christ the Savior of corrupted nature. Again, John 8, 36: "If the Son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed."

Therefore we cannot become free from, or merit remission of our sins through reason or good works. Again, it is written, John 3, 5: "Except a man be born of water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."

If then, it is necessary that we should be born again of the Holy Ghost, our good works or our own merit will not justify us before God; nor can we keep or fulfil the law. Again, Rom. 3, 23: "For all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God;" that is, they are wanting in the wisdom and righteousness which avail in the sight of God, and through which they should obtain a true knowledge of God, and greatly honor and praise him. Again, Rom. 8, 7, 8: "Because the carnal mind is enmity against God: for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be. So then, they that are in the flesh cannot please God."

These are passages of Scripture so exceedingly clear and plain, that they do not require a very keen intellect to understand them,

but only that they be read, and the clear words well observed; as Augustine says on this subject: "If human reason and being carnal-minded is enmity against God, then without the Holy Ghost no man can love God with his whole heart. Again, if to be carnal-minded is against God, then indeed are the best works which a descendant of Adam is able to do, impure and sinful; for if the flesh cannot be obedient to the law of God, then in truth does a man commit sin, even if he perform noble, lovely, and excellent works which the world greatly esteems."

Our adversaries consider only the commandments of the second table of Moses, which treats of external honesty, which human reason more readily comprehends; and they imagine, that by performing external good works, they keep God's law. But they do not consider the first table, which demands and requires of us that we should love God with our whole heart; that we should not waver or doubt that God becomes angry on account of sin; that we should sincerely fear God; that we should believe in our hearts with entire certainty, that God is not far from us, and that he hears our prayers, &c.

Now we are all so constituted from Adam, that previous to our being born again through the Holy Ghost, our heart in security despises God's wrath, judgment, and threats; and bears a hatred and hostility to his judgments and penalties. Now as all children of Adam are born so deeply in sin, that we all from our nature despise God, and doubt his word, his promises, and his threats; then indeed must all of our best works, which we perform previous to our being born anew through the Holy Ghost, be sinful and condemned works in God's sight, although to the world they may appear lovely; for they proceed out of a bad, ungodly, and impure heart; as Paul says, Romans 14, 23: "Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin." For all such self-righteous persons perform works without faith, despise God in their heart, and believe as little that God takes care of them, as Epicurus believed it. Their contempt of God internally, must necessarily make their works impure and sinful, although these may appear beautiful before men; for God searches the hearts of men.

Finally, it is extremely foolish and inconsistent on the part of our adversaries to contend, that even those persons who deserve eternal wrath, obtain forgiveness of sin through love, or *actum elicitum dilectionis*, self-selected works of love; when it is clearly impossible to love God, if the heart has not first felt conscious of the remission of sins through faith.

For a heart filled with anxiety, and truly feeling the wrath of God, cannot love God, unless he relieve it of its anxiety, and comfort

and assure it of his grace. For while he terrifies us, and appears unto us as if he would cast us off from grace into eternal death, poor feeble nature must lose all courage and hope, and tremble before such great anger, which terrifies and punishes so severely; and until God himself comfort and relieve, it cannot feel a spark of love.

Idle and inexperienced people may indeed devise for themselves a dream of love; and hence contend so frivolously, that one who is guilty even of a fatal sin, can yet love God above all things. For they have never realized what a burden sin is, nor how great a torment it is to feel the wrath of God.

But pious hearts, who, in real strife with Satan, and in real distress of conscience, have experienced this, know well that such words and thoughts are vanity and idle dreams. Paul, Rom. 4, 15, says: "The law worketh wrath." He does not say that through the law men obtain remission of their sins; for the law always accuses the conscience and terrifies.

Wherefore, the law justifies no one in the sight of God; for an alarmed conscience flees from before God and his judgments. Therefore those err, who hope to merit the remission of their sins through their works, or through the law.

Let what has been said, concerning the righteousness of reason, or of those who esteem themselves holy on account of their works, suffice: a righteousness which the adversaries teach. For, hereafter, when we shall come to speak of that piety and righteousness, which are acceptable in the sight of God, and which proceed from faith, the subject will of itself lead to the quotation of more passages from the Scriptures, which will effectually serve to overturn the above-named errors of our adversaries.

Since no man is able, then, of his own powers, to keep the law of God, and since all, being under sin, are exposed to eternal wrath and death, we cannot through the law be released from sin or become pious in the sight of God; but remission of sins and righteousness are promised through Christ, who was given for us that he might atone for the sins of the world, and he is the only Mediator and Redeemer. And this promise is not, that through Christ we shall have grace, salvation, &c., *if we merit it;* but that through grace alone he offers the remission of sins, as Paul says, Romans 11, 6: "If the remission of sins be of works, then it is no more grace." And in another place, Rom. 3, 21: "But now the righteousness of God without the law is manifest;" that is, remission of sins is offered gratuitously, or without price.

And, therefore, it is not through our merit that we are reconciled

to God; for if it depended upon our merit, and reconciliation to God and remission of sin were of the law, then were all lost, and we would indeed be but poorly united and reconciled to God. For we do not keep the law, nor have we power to keep it; consequently it would follow, that we should also never obtain the promised grace and reconciliation.

For thus Paul concludes, Romans 4, 14: "For if they which are of the law be heirs, faith is made void, and the promise made of none effect." Now, were the promise founded upon our merit and the law, it would follow, since we cannot keep the law, that the promise would be vain.

But if we become just and pious in the sight of God solely through grace and mercy, which are promised in Christ, it follows that we do not become pious through our works. For what would otherwise be the necessity of the glorious, divine promises, and why should Paul so highly praise grace and exalt it?

Wherefore the Gospel recommends, preaches, and applauds *that* righteousness, which proceeds from faith in Christ, and which is not the righteousness of the law. The law does not teach such a righteousness, and this righteousness is far superior to that of the law. For the law requires of us our works, and demands that we should be internally upright at heart, walking in the fear of God.

But the divine promises offer to us, as to those who are overcome by sin and death, help, grace, and reconciliation for Christ's sake; which grace no man can obtain through works, but alone through faith in Christ. *This faith* does not offer or present to the Lord God any works, any merit of its own, but builds upon pure grace only, and knows of no other consolation or trust, than in the mercy alone which is promised in Christ. Now this faith, as each one believes for himself that Christ is given for him, obtains remission of sins solely for Christ's sake, and justifies us in the sight of God.

And since this faith exists wherever there is true repentance, and raises up our hearts when sunk in the terrors of sin and death, we are regenerated through it; and through it is received into our hearts the Holy Ghost, who renews our hearts, so that we are enabled to keep the law of God, to fear and love him truly, and not to waver or doubt that Christ was given for us, and that he hears our cries and prayers, so that we can commend ourselves joyfully to God's will, even in the midst of death. That faith, then, is true and genuine, which receives and obtains remission of sins without price, through grace, and which does not oppose to the wrath of God its own merits and works, which, at best, would be but as a feather,

against a tempest, but presents Christ the Mediator; and this faith is the true knowledge of Christ.

He, therefore, who thus believes, realizes the great benefit of Christ, and becomes a new creature; and prior to the existence of such faith in the heart, no one can fulfil the law. Of this faith and knowledge of Christ, there is not a syllable, not a tittle in all the books of our adversaries.

Wherefore, we censure our adversaries for teaching only the law concerning our works and not the Gospel, which teaches that we are justified if we believe in Christ.

What that faith is, through which we are justified before God.

Our adversaries pretend that faith consists in a knowledge of, or an acquaintance with the history of Christ; wherefore they teach that we can believe, if even we are sunk in fatal sin.

Therefore they neither know nor say any thing of the true Christian faith, of which Paul every where so often speaks, and through which he declares we are justified before God. For they who are esteemed just and holy in the sight of God, are not in fatal sin. Therefore the faith which makes us pious and just in the sight of God, consists not only in a knowledge of the history of Christ, his birth, sufferings, &c., (for this knowledge the devils also have,) but it is that conviction, that certain, firm, inward confidence, with which, from our hearts, we hold the promises of God as certain and true, in consequence of which, without our merit, are offered unto us grace, entire salvation, and the remission of sin, through Christ the Mediator. And in order that no one may think that it is only a mere knowledge of the history of Christ, I add, that faith is the accepting of this treasure with our whole heart, and that this is not of our own doing, not of our own presenting or giving, not of our own work or preparing; but that the heart should draw consolation from, and entirely trust in this, that it is God who presents and gives to us, and not we to *him;* that *he* pours out upon us the whole treasure of grace in Christ.

From this it is easy to discern a difference between faith, and that piety which originates through the law. For faith is that kind of divine worship and (*latria*) religious service, in which we consider ourselves the participants and recipients. But the righteousness of the law, is that kind of divine worship which offers to God our works. Thus God requires of us to revere him through faith, by receiving from him what he promises and offers.

Faith, however, is not a mere acquaintance with the history of

Christ, but a conviction, which firmly cleaves to the divine promises, as Paul sufficiently testifies, where he says, Romans 4, 16: "Therefore it is of faith, that it might be by grace; to the end the promise might be sure to all the seed."

Here Paul so connects and binds the two together, that where there are promises, there also must be faith, &c. And again, correlatively, where there are promises, there God also requires faith.

It can be shown, however, still more clearly and plainly, what that faith is which justifies, if we consider our own Creed and Faith; for in the Symbol this article is contained: that we must believe in the "*Remission of sin.*" Wherefore it is not enough, that we know or believe that Christ was born, that he suffered and rose from the dead, if we do not also give credence to that article for which all this was finally done, viz. "I believe that my sins are forgiven me." To this article ought all the others to be referred, viz. that our sins are forgiven for Christ's sake, and not on account of any merit of our own. For what would be the necessity of God's giving Christ for our sins, if our merit could atone for them?

Therefore, whenever we speak of that faith which justifies, or *fide justificante*, these three subjects present themselves together: first, the divine promises; secondly, that these offer to us grace freely and without our merit; thirdly, that the blood of Christ and his merits are the treasure from which recompense is made for our sins. The promises are received through faith; but as these offer grace unto us without our merit, all our worthiness and merit are excluded and sink to the ground, and the grace and boundless mercy alone are praised. But the merit of Christ is the treasure; for that must indeed be a treasure and a noble pledge, through which the sins of the whole world are paid.

The whole of the Scriptures, both of the Old and the New Testaments, when speaking of God and of faith, often make use of these expressions—goodness and mercy; and in all of their writings the holy Fathers teach that we are saved (blessed) through grace, goodness, and remission. Wherever, then, we find the word *mercy* in the Scriptures, or in the writings of the Fathers, we are to know that *there* that faith is taught which embraces the promise of such mercy. Again, as often as the Scriptures speak of faith, they mean that faith which is based upon grace alone. For faith does not make us just and pious in the sight of God because it is a work of our own, but because it receives, without merit, the promised, offered grace which is presented from rich treasures.

And such faith and trust in the mercy of God, are extolled, particularly in the Prophets and Psalms, as the highest and the most holy worship of God. For although the law does not *chiefly* preach grace and the remission of sin, as does the Gospel; yet the promises respecting the coming Christ are handed down from one patriarch to another, and they knew and believed, that through the blessed seed, God would give blessings, grace, comfort, and salvation, through Christ.

Therefore as they understood, that Christ was to be the treasure, by which recompense was to be made for our sins; they knew that our works could never pay off so great a debt. Therefore they have received grace, salvation, and remission of sin, without any merit of their own; and through faith in the divine promises and the Gospel of Christ, they were saved, as well as ourselves, or the saints in the New Testament.

Hence the frequent repetition of the words mercy, goodness, faith, in the Psalms and Prophets; as, in Psalm 130, 3-6: "If thou, LORD, shouldst mark iniquities, O LORD, who shall stand?" Here David confesses his sins, and does not boast of much merit, but continues: "But *there is* forgiveness with thee, that thou mayest be feared." Here he feels consolation again, and relies on grace and mercy; relies on the divine promises, and says: "My soul waiteth for the LORD, and in his word do I hope." And again: "My soul waiteth for the Lord;" that is, as thou hast promised forgiveness of sin, I will hold to thy promise; I will trust and rely upon thy gracious promises. Wherefore the holy patriarchs also were not justified in the sight of God by the law, but through God's promises, and through faith.

It must indeed be surprising to every one, that the adversaries teach so little, (or nothing at all,) of faith, when they see in almost every syllable of the Bible, that faith is applauded and extolled as the most noble, holy, acceptable, the greatest and the best service of God. Thus in Psalm 50, 15, he says: "Call upon me in the day of trouble; and I will deliver thee." In this way, then, would God become known to us; thus he would be honored, that we should receive and accept from him grace, salvation, and every thing good, as the gift of grace, and not as a reward for our merit.

This, indeed, is a most exalted knowledge of this sweet, unfailing, this exalted consolation in every affliction, bodily and spiritual, in life or in death; as pious hearts know. And of this certain, dear, and noble consolation, our adversary rob anxious consciences, when they speak and teach of faith so coldly and contemptibly, and instead of it

deal with God, the high Majesty, through their own miserable, beggarly works and merits.

That through faith in Christ we are justified.

In the first place, in order that no one may think we are speaking of a mere knowledge of the history of Christ, we must state in what manner the heart begins to believe, and how it attains to faith. Afterwards we shall show, that this same faith justifies before God, and how this is to be understood; and we shall endeavor, with clearness and precision, to refute the arguments of our adversaries. Christ (Luke 24, 47,) commands the preaching of repentance and remission of sins. The Gospel also charges all men that they are born in sin, and that they are all worthy of eternal wrath and death, and offers to them remission of sin and righteousness through Christ. And this same remission, reconciliation, and righteousness is received through faith.

For the preaching of repentance, or the voice of the Gospel—*reform,—repent,*—when it truly penetrates into the heart, strikes the conscience with alarm, and is not a jest, but a great terror, in which the soul feels its calamity and its sins, and God's wrath. In this terror, the heart should again seek consolation. This takes place, if it believes in the promise of Christ that, through him, we have remission of sin. The faith which in such fear and terror, elevates the heart and consoles it, receives and experiences remission of sin, justifies and brings life; for this strong consolation is a new birth and a new life.

This is simple and clear language; this pious hearts know to be true; such have been the examples; thus has it been with all the saints from the beginning in our own church, as may be seen in the conversion of Paul and Augustine. Our adversaries are uncertain, nor can they correctly tell us, or state, in clear and intelligible terms, how the Holy Spirit is imparted unto us. They devise dreams unto themselves, that through a simple physical reception and use of the sacraments, *ex opere operato*,* we obtain grace and receive the Holy Ghost, although the heart may be entirely alien from the service, as if the light of the Holy Ghost were a thing so poor, so weak, and inefficient.

But when we speak of a faith, which is not an idle fancy, but such a new light, life, and power in the heart, as renews the heart and mind and courage—makes of us another man and a new crea-

*That is, when merely the external act is performed.

ture, viz. a new light and work of the Holy Ghost—then every man understands, that we do not speak of such a faith as stands side by side with fatal sin, as our adversaries speak of faith. For how should light and darkness exist together?—For faith, wherever it exists, and because it exists, bears good fruit, as we shall hereafter show.

What can be spoken more clearly and simply than this, concerning the conversion of a sinner and the mode of regeneration? Now we bid defiance to all the Sententiaries, to produce from their innumerable commentaries, glossaries, and writings on doctrinal opinions, one, that teaches correctly a word or tittle concerning the conversion of a sinner. When they speak of love, or of their *habitu dilectionis*, they introduce their own dreams, that men earn or merit this *habitum* by their works; they do not however say a word about God's promises and word; as also the Anabaptists at the present time teach.

Now we cannot confer with God; and he will not permit himself to be known, sought, or comprehended, except alone in and through his word; as Paul says, Rom. 1, 16: "The Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth;" again, Rom. 10, 17: "Faith cometh by hearing." And from this alone it ought to be sufficiently clear, that alone through faith we are justified before God. For if we come to God and are justified alone through his word, and no one can comprehend that word, except through faith, it follows that faith justifies. There are other considerations, however, which better illustrate this subject.

Thus much I have said, in order to show how we are born anew, and that it may be understood what that faith of which we speak, *is* and what it *is not*.

And now we shall show, that this same faith, and nothing else, justifies us before God. And first I shall here warn the reader, that precisely as the truth that *Christ is our only Mediator*, must and shall always stand, and no one can overturn it; so also no one can overturn this fact, that *through faith we are justified without works*. For how will Christ be and remain the Mediator, if through faith we do not hold to him as the Mediator, and thus become reconciled to God; if we do not believe with certainty in our hearts, that for his sake we are esteemed just before God? Now this is faith, thus to confide, thus to console ourselves with the merits of Christ, that for his sake, God will assuredly be merciful unto us. For as it is clear in the Scripture, that besides the law, the promises of Christ are necessary for salvation, so it is also clear that faith justifies; for the law does not preach remission of sin through grace. And again we cannot fulfil or keep the law before we have received the Holy Ghost.

Wherefore this truth must stand, that the promises of Christ are necessary for salvation. And these no one is able to comprehend or receive, except alone through faith. What else, then, do those do who teach that we do not become just and pious before God through faith, but suppress Christ and the Gospel, and teach the law?

But some persons perhaps, when we say that faith justifies before God, understand it relative to the beginning merely; viz. that faith is only the beginning of, or a preparation for justification; and not, that faith should of itself be held in this consideration, that through it we please God and become acceptable to him; but that we become acceptable to him on account of love and works, and that it follows, not on account of faith. And such persons imagine, that faith is praised in the Scriptures, solely because it is a *beginning* of good works, as much always depends upon the beginning.—But this is not our opinion. We teach concerning faith, that we become acceptable to God through it alone.

And as the word *justificari* (justified, made just,) is used in two different ways, namely for converted or being born anew, and again for being esteemed just, we shall take up the first, and show that we are converted from evil, impious ways, born anew, and become just, by faith alone.

Some contend greatly against the word *sola*, (alone;) yet Paul clearly says to the Romans, 3, 28: "Therefore we conclude, that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law." Again, Ephesians 2, 8: "It is the gift of God, not of yourselves, not of works, lest any man should boast;" and the like in Rom. 3, 24.

Now if this *word*, and this *exclusiva sola*, (the expression *alone*, which excludes every thing else,) are so much opposed to some, and so displeasing, they may erase *these* words also, wherever found in the epistles of Paul, "*through grace;*" then, "*not of works;*" again, "*the gift of God,*" &c., and again, "*lest any man should boast,*" and the like; for these are very strong excluding words (*exclusivæ*.) The words, "*through grace*" exclude merit and all works, whatever name they may have.

And by the word *sola*, when we say faith alone makes us pious, we do not exclude the Gospel and the sacraments, and thus by holding that faith alone accomplishes it, render vain and useless the word and sacraments, as our adversaries interpret dangerously our views on all subjects; but *we exclude* our *own* merit. For we have stated plainly above, that faith comes through the word; and thus, we extol the ministry and the word more frequently and more highly than our adversaries do; and we say also that love and works should follow faith.

Therefore we do not thus exclude works by the word *sola*, that they should not follow; but it is the confidence in our own merit and works that we exclude; and we do say that *they* do not merit remission of sins. And this we shall hereafter show more accurately and clearly.

That we obtain remission of sins through faith alone in Christ.

We hold, and our adversaries must acknowledge, that above all things, remission of sins is necessary to justification; for we are all born in sin. We therefore conclude:

That to obtain and enjoy the remission of sin, is being righteous and pious in the sight of God; as asserted in Psalm 32, 1: "Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven."

But through faith in Christ alone, not through love, not on account of love or works, do we obtain the remission of sin; although love follows wherever there is faith.

It must follow therefore, that we are justified by faith alone. For to be justified, is the fact of a sinner's becoming pious and being born anew through the Holy Ghost.* But that we do obtain remission of sin by faith alone (as the minor says,) and not through love we shall presently endeavor to make evident.

Our adversaries treat of these important things in a very trifling manner. They ask, whether the remission of sin and the imparting of grace are one change, or two. It seems impossible for these idle, inexperienced people to treat these things properly; for, to have a real sense of sin and of the wrath of God, is not an unimportant and uninteresting matter; nor is the consciousness of the remission of sin a slight consolation.

For thus says Paul, 1 Cor. 15, 56, 57: "The sting of death is sin; and the strength of sin is the law. But thanks be to God who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ." That is, sin alarms the conscience—this occurs through the law, which shows unto us the earnest zeal and wrath of God against sin; but through Christ we conquer. How is this effected? If we believe—if our hearts are lifted up and rely on the promises of grace through Christ. Thus, then, we show this also, that through faith in Christ, and not through works, we obtain remission of sins; that is, God cannot be reconciled or his wrath appeased by our works, but Christ alone is

*This is the first or *major* proposition; and now follows the *minor*, i. e., the other proposition of the preceeding argument.

the Mediator and Conciliator, and for his sake alone is the Father merciful to us.

Now, no one can embrace Christ as a Mediator, by works; but alone by believing the word, which preaches him as a Mediator.

Therefore, when our souls are comforted and lifted up by the divine promises, which are offered to us for Christ's sake, we obtain the remission of sin by faith only. For Paul, Rom. 5, 2, teaches, that through him we have access to the Father; and he adds expressly—*by faith*.

In this way then, and in no other, are we reconciled to the Father and obtain remission of our sins, when we are encouraged to hold fast to the promise in which grace and mercy are held out to us through Christ.

Our adversaries understand this subject, relative to Christ the Mediator and Conciliator, thus: that he earns for us love or the *habitum dilectionis;* and they do not say that we must use him as the only Mediator, but bury him again, and they devise the sophism that we have access to God through our works, and that through these works we merit the *habitum*, and afterwards are enabled through love to come to God.

This is indeed burying Christ anew, and taking away the whole doctrine of faith. But Paul, on the contrary, teaches clearly that we have access, that is, reconciliation to God, through Christ. And in order to show how this is effected, he adds, that we have this access *through faith*, and by faith we obtain remission of our sins, through the merit of Christ, and we cannot appease God's anger, except through Christ. It is therefore very clear, that we do not merit remission by our works or by our love.

Secondly, it is certain, that sins are remitted, for the sake of the Propitiator Christ, Romans 3, 25: "Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation" or Conciliator; and it is expressly added—"through faith." Thus then, the Conciliator is beneficial to us, when we, through faith, embrace the word in which mercy is promised us, and oppose it against the wrath and judgment of God. And the like is written in Hebrews 4, 14, 15: *We have a High Priest Christ, &c. Let us go to him with joyfulness.* The Apostle tells us to approach God, not with reliance upon our own works, but trusting in the high priest Christ. He therefore clearly requires faith.

Thirdly, Peter says, Acts 10, 43: "To him give all the prophets witness, that through his name, whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins." How could Peter have expressed himself more clearly? He says, we receive remission of sins through

his name; that is, we receive it through *him*, not through *our* merit, not through *our* repentance (or attrition,) not through *our* love, not by *our* own service of God, not by our own human ordinances or works; and he adds—*if we believe in him.*

He therefore requires that faith shall exist in the heart. For that reason he says: "To him give all the prophets witness." This, it seems to me, is truly allegorizing the Christian or universal church; for if all the holy prophets witness, this is then truly glorious, great, excellent, and strong evidence or testimony; but of this passage we shall speak more hereafter.

Fourthly, remission of sin is promised for Christ's sake. Therefore, no one can obtain it, unless by faith alone. For no one is able to comprehend the promise or to participate in it, except through faith only. Rom. 4, 16: "Therefore it is of faith, that it might be by grace; to the end the promise might be sure." Precisely as if he should say, that if our salvation and righteousness depended on our own merit, the promise of God would be uncertain and useless to us; for we never could know with certainty when our merits would suffice. And this, pious hearts and Christian consciences understand full well, and would not for a thousand worlds that our salvation depended upon ourselves. Paul accords with this view, Gal. 3, 22: "The Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe." Here Paul casts aside all our merit; for he says, we are all worthy of death, and concluded under sin; and he calls to mind the divine promise by which alone we can obtain the forgiveness of sin; and further adds, how we become participants of the promise, namely by faith. And these grounds, this argument, drawn by Paul from the very nature of the divine promise, namely, that as God's promise is certain and must remain sure, (as it will not fail to do,) remission of sin cannot proceed from our merit; else it would be uncertain, and we could not know when our merits would suffice; yes, I say, this argument and this foundation is a firm rock; it is almost the strongest in the whole of Paul's writings, and is very often repeated and adduced in all the epistles.

No one upon earth will ever be able to devise, invent, or contrive any thing by which *this* argument alone, if there were no other, can be overthrown. Nor will pious hearts and Christian consciences, by any means, permit themselves to be led away from this position: that we have remission of sins by faith alone, for the sake of Christ's merits. For in this they have a sure, firm, and an eternal consolation against the terrors of sin, against the devil, death, and hell;

while every thing else rests on a sandy foundation, and is insufficient in the hour of temptation.

Now, as we obtain remission of sin, and receive the Holy Ghost, through faith only, then faith alone justifies us in the sight of God. For those, who are reconciled to God, are pious in his sight, and are his children; not on account of their purity, but on account of God's mercy, if they accept and embrace it through faith.

Wherefore the Scriptures testify, that we are justified before God by faith. We shall therefore cite passages, which clearly prove that faith makes us pious and righteous—not that our faith is a work so precious and pure; but solely because by faith, and by no other means, we receive the mercy offered.

In the epistle to the Romans, Paul treats particularly on the subject relative to the manner in which we are justified before God; and he concludes that all those who believe that they have a merciful God through Christ, are justified in the sight of God by faith, without merit. And this forcible conclusion, this proposition in which is comprehended the main subject of the whole epistle, yea of the entire Scriptures, he lays down clearly and unequivocally in the third chapter to the Romans and the 28 verse: "Therefore we conclude, that a man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the law."

Our adversaries will here contend that Paul has excluded only the Jewish ceremonies, not other virtuous works. But Paul does not speak of ceremonies only, but particularly and assuredly does he speak of all other works, and of the whole law, or ten commandments also. For in the 7th verse of the 7th chapter he afterwards adduces the passage from the Decalogue: "Thou shalt not covet;" and if we could obtain remission of sin by works which are not embraced in the Jewish ceremonies, and thus merit righteousness, what need then would there be of Christ and his promises? Here all that Paul has said in various places concerning the promises, would be overthrown at once. Thus he also would write erroneously to the Ephesians, where he says Eph. 2, 8, 9: "For by grace are ye saved, through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God; not of works." Again, in the epistle to the Romans chap. 4, 1–6, Paul alleges of Abraham and David:—They had a commandment of God concerning circumcision. Now if any works justify before God, then those works, which God had commanded at that time, must also have justified.

But Augustine teaches clearly, that Paul speaks of the whole law; and he has argued this at length, concerning the spirit and the let-

ter, (*de spiritu et litera,*) when he finally says: "Having now weighed and treated this subject, with the power which God has given us; we conclude, that no man is justified by the precepts of a good life, but by faith in Jesus Christ."

Let no one, however, suppose, that the sentence—"Man is justified by faith alone"—was written by Paul inadvertently; for he teaches this same doctrine at length in the fourth chapter to the Romans, verses 4 and 5, and repeats it in all his epistles. In the fourth chapter he says: "Now to him that worketh is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt; but to him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness."

It is clear, from these words, then, that faith is what he calls the righteousness of God; and he adds, that it is reckoned of grace, and that it could not be counted to us of grace, if works or merit were present. For that reason he undoubtedly excludes all works, or all merit, not only Jewish ceremonies, but all other good works also. Because if we were justified before God by these works, then faith would not be counted to us for righteousness without works, as Paul explicitly says. And he adds: "We say that Abraham's faith was counted unto him for righteousness." Again chapter 5, 1: "Therefore, being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ"—that is, we have joyful, quiet consciences before God.

Rom. 10, 10: "For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness." Here he calls faith the righteousness of the heart.

Gal. 2, 16: "We have believed in Jesus Christ, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law."

Eph. 2, 8: "For by grace are ye saved, through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God; not of works, lest any man should boast."

John 1, 12, 13: "But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name: Which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God."

John 3, 14, 15: "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up; that whosoever believeth in him should not perish."

John 3, 17: "For God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world; but that the world through him might be saved. He that believeth on him is not condemned."

Acts 13, 38, 39: "Be it known unto you, therefore, men and brethren, that through this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins: And by him, all that believe are justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses." How could he have spoken more clearly concerning the kingdom of Christ and concerning justification? He says that the law could not justify any one; and that, therefore Christ was given, that we might believe, that we are justified through him. He says in clear terms, that the law can justify no one: therefore righteousness is counted unto us through Christ, if we *believe* that God is gracious unto us through him.

Acts 4, 11, 12: "This is the stone which was set at naught of you builders, which is become the head of the corner. Neither is there salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved."

There are no other means, however, by which we are enabled to believe on the name of Christ, but by hearing his merit preached, and by comprehending it. Wherefore, by faith in the name of Christ, and not by confidence in our own works, shall we be saved. For the word, *name*, here signifies the cause by which and for which salvation comes. Therefore, to praise and confess the name of Christ, signifies trusting in him, who alone is called, and is Christ, as being the cause of our salvation and the treasure by which we are redeemed.

Acts 15, 9: "He purified their hearts by faith." Wherefore that faith, spoken of by the Apostles, is not a mere knowledge of the history of Christ, but a powerful and vigorous operation of the Holy Ghost, which changes the heart.

Habakkuk 2, 4: "The just shall live by his faith." Here we are told in the first place, that the just becomes just by faith, if he believes that God is merciful through Christ. Secondly, that faith vivifies. For faith alone brings peace and joy to the heart and conscience, and secures for us eternal life, which commences here in this life.

Isaiah 53, 11: "By his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many." But what is the knowledge of Christ, but to know his benefits and his promises, which he preached and permitted to be preached to the world? And to have a knowledge of these benefits, is to *believe* truly and sincerely in Christ, to believe that God will certainly accomplish that which he has promised through Christ. But the Scripture abounds with such declarations and testimony. For it treats of these two subjects, the law of God and his promises.

And the promises speak of the forgiveness of sins and of the reconciliation of God through Christ.

And in the writings of the Fathers many similar declarations are also extant. For thus Ambrose writes to Irenæus: "But the whole world is therefore subject to God, subdued by the law; for by the commandment of the law, are we all accused, but by the works of the law, no one is justified. For through the law sin is perceived, but the guilt is removed by faith. And it appears indeed, as if the law had done harm, by including all under sin; but Christ the Lord has come, and remitted to us these sins, which no one could avoid, and has blotted out the hand-writing, by the shedding of his blood. And this it is, that Paul says to the Romans, Rom. 5, 20: 'The law entered, that the offence might abound: but where sin abounded, grace did much more abound' through Jesus. For, inasmuch as the whole world became guilty, he has taken away the sins of the whole world; as John testifies, John 1, 29: 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world.' And for this reason no one should boast of his works, because no one is justified by his own deeds; but to him that is just, it is given in baptism in Christ, since he became justified. For it is faith that releases us, through the blood of Christ. And blessed is he, whose sins are forgiven him, and to whom grace is come."

These are the clear words of Ambrose, and they evidently coincide with our doctrine. He says that works do not justify, and that faith releases us through the blood of Christ. If all the Sententiaries were combined, who bear high titles, (being styled *angelici* by some, by others *subtiles*, by others *irrefragabiles*, that is, doctors who are infallible,) and if their works were all read, they would be less effective in explaining the meaning of Paul, than this one paragraph of Ambrose.

And in this sense Augustine also has written much in opposition to the Pelagians, and concerning the Spirit and letter (*de Spiritu et litera*) he says thus: "The law and its righteousness is set before us, in order that he who does it may live by it, and that all who perceive their infirmity might come to God, who alone justifies, not through their own strength, nor the letter of the law, which we cannot fulfil, but through faith. A truly good work no one can do, unless he himself first be just, pious, and good. But righteousness we obtain through faith alone." Here he says clearly, that God, who alone blesses and sanctifies, is reconciled through faith, and that faith makes us pious and just in the sight of God.

And immediately after: "Out of the law we fear God, through

faith we hope and trust in him. But from those who fear the penalty, grace is concealed, under which fear, when a person is in anxiety, &c., he must through faith fly to the mercy of God, so that he may give that which he has promised in the law, and impart his grace." Here he teaches, that by the law the heart is terrified, and through faith it again receives consolation.

It is really strange, that our adversaries can be so blind, and overlook so many plain passages of Scripture, which clearly state that we are justified by faith and not by works. What views do these deluded persons entertain? Are they of opinion that the Scriptures, in plain terms, repeat the same thing so frequently without a cause? Do they imagine that the Holy Spirit has spoken without precision and consideration, or that he was not acquainted with what he said?

Upon this subject, these impious persons have devised a sophistical exposition, and they contend that those passages of Scripture which speak of faith, must be understood relative to *fide formata*, that is, they say that faith makes no one pious or just, except on account of love or works. And in short, according to their view, it is not faith that justifies any one, but it is love alone. For they say that faith may exist with a fatal sin. What else is this, but invalidating all the promises of God and those of grace, and preaching works and the law?

If faith obtains favor and the remission of sins on account of love, the remission of sins must always be uncertain. Because we never love God as fervently as we ought. Nay, we cannot love God unless our hearts are first assured that our sins are remitted. Thus, if our adversaries teach that we should rely on that love to God of which we are capable, and upon our works, they abolish entirely the Gospel which preaches the forgiveness of sins, notwithstanding no one can really possess love, or understand it, except he believe that without *price*, he obtains remission of sins by grace through Christ.

We also say that love is a consequence of faith, as Paul says Gal. 5, 6: "For in Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision; but faith, which worketh by love." But we must not therefore place our reliance upon love, or build upon it, as if we obtained remission of sins and reconciliation with God on account of love or through it. Precisely as we do not obtain forgiveness of sins for the sake of other works which follow, *but through faith alone*. Because no one is able to apprehend the promises of God through works, but by faith alone. And faith proper, or *fides proprie dicta*, is when our hearts and the Holy Ghost in us, declare that the promises of God are true and certain; concerning this faith

the Scriptures speak. And since, before we perform or accomplish any thing, faith permits favors to be conferred and received, it is counted to us for righteousness, as it was to Abraham, before we love, before we keep the law, or do any work.

Although it is true that fruits and works must follow, and that faith is not a bare, empty knowledge of the history of Christ, but a new light in the heart, and an energetic operation of the Holy Spirit, through which we are regenerated, and by which affrighted consciences are again elevated and vivified; and since this faith alone obtains for us remission of sin, and renders us acceptable in the sight of God, it brings with itself the Holy Ghost, and it should rather be styled *gratia gratum faciens*, that is, the grace which renders acceptable, than the love which follows.

We have hitherto proved abundantly by declarations from the Fathers and from the Scriptures, for the purpose of throwing more light upon this subject, that through faith alone we obtain the remission of sin for Christ's sake, that we are justified through faith alone, and that we are regenerated, that is, from being unrighteous we become pious and holy persons. But here pious hearts may observe how necessary this doctrine of faith is. For by it alone we learn to know Christ and his benefits, and in this doctrine the heart and conscience find the only true, certain rest and consolation. Because if there is to be a Christian church, and a Christian faith, there must be a manner of preaching, and a doctrine in it, in which the hope of salvation is not based upon misconception and a sandy foundation, but upon one on which the soul may rely and trust with certainty.

Our adversaries are, therefore, truly unfaithful bishops, preachers, and doctors, and have hitherto unhappily advised men, and still continue to do so, by advancing doctrines in which they leave them remaining in doubt, and hanging suspended in uncertainty, whether they obtain remission of their sins, or not. For how is it possible, that those should sustain themselves in the peril of death, and in the last gasp and agony, who have not heard or known this essential doctrine of Christ—who yet waver and doubt whether they have forgiveness of their sins or not? Again, if there is to be a Christian church, then the Gospel of Christ must ever remain in it, viz. these divine promises, that sins are remitted unto us without merit, for Christ's sake. And those men suppress this holy Gospel entirely, who teach nothing of the faith of which we have been speaking.

Now the *scholastici*, (dreadful to relate,) do not write a word or tittle about faith. And these our adversaries follow, rejecting this most important doctrine of faith; and they are so hardened and blind

as not to perceive, that they thus trample under foot the whole Gospel, the divine promises concerning Christ, and the remission of sins.

III. OF LOVE AND THE FULFILMENT OF THE LAW.

Here our adversaries produce against us these declarations, Matt. 19, 17: "If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments." Again, Rom. 2, 13: "Not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified;" and many other similar passages relative to the law and to works. To which, before we reply, it is necessary for us to state our views concerning love and the fulfilment of the law.

It is written in the prophets, Jer. 31, 33: "I will put my law in their inward parts." And Rom. 3, 31, Paul says: "Do we then make void the law through faith? God forbid: yea, we establish the law." Again, Christ says, Matt. 19, 17: "If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments." Again, Paul says to the Corinthians, 1 Cor. 13, 3: "If I have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." These and other similar passages testify that we should keep the law, when we are *justified* by faith, and thus increase more and more in the Spirit. We do not, however, speak here of the Mosaic ceremonies, but of the ten commandments which require us to fear and love God properly from the bottom of our hearts. Now, since faith brings with itself the Holy Spirit, and produces in the heart a new light and life, it is true, and it must follow from necessity, that faith changes and renews the heart. And the kind of renovation of heart which this is, the prophet shows, where he says: "I will put my law in their inward parts."

Therefore, when we are born anew by faith, and have perceived that God will be merciful to us, that he will be our father and our helper, we begin to fear, to love, to thank him, to praise him, to entreat him for assistance, and to wait for it, and to resign to his will in afflictions: and then we also begin to love our neighbor. Here, then, is a new heart, mind, and soul within, through the Spirit of Christ.

These things cannot take place, before we are justified by faith, and before we are born anew through the Holy Spirit. First, because no one can keep the law, without a consciousness of Christ, nor can any one fulfil the law, without the Holy Spirit. But we cannot receive the Holy Ghost, except through faith, as Paul says to the Galatians, Gal. 3, 14: "That we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith."

It is, moreover, impossible for the human heart to love God by

the agency of the law or works alone. Because the law exhibits nothing but the wrath and severity of God, the law accuses us, and shows how dreadfully he will chastise sins with punishments both temporal and eternal. And hence, what the *scholastici* teach concerning the love of God, is a wild conceit, it being impossible to love God before we perceive and apprehend mercy through faith. Because, then only does God become (*objectum amabile*) a lovely, blissful object.

Although reason may to some extent be able by innate light, to lead an honest life, and to perform external works of the law, without Christ and the Holy Spirit, yet it is true, as stated above, that the principal part of the divine law, as directing the whole heart to God, and reverencing him sincerely, (things required in the first table, and in the first and highest commandment,) cannot be performed by any one without the Holy Spirit.

But our adversaries are raw, slothful, inexperienced theologians. They behold only the second table of Moses and the works of it; the first table, however, in which are embraced the chief doctrines of theology, and upon which all is depending, they regard not at all—yea, this highest, greatest, this most holy exalted commandment, which exceeds all the understanding of men and angels, and which concerns the highest divine service, the Deity himself and the honor of the eternal Majesty, and in which God commands that we should with sincerity hold him as Lord and God, and fear and love him, they regard as insignificant, as low as if it did not belong to theology.

But Christ is presented to us, in order that our sins might be forgiven us for his sake, and that the Holy Spirit might be imparted, who works in us eternal righteousness, a new light, and immortal life, in order to manifest Christ in our hearts, as John writes, John 16, 14: "For he shall receive of mine, and show it unto you." He confers other graces also, love, thanksgiving, chastity, patience, &c. Wherefore no one is able to fulfil the law without the Holy Ghost; for this reason Paul says: "Do we then make void the law through faith? God forbid: yea, we establish the law," Rom. 3, 31; for then only can we fulfil the law, when the Holy Spirit is given us.

And Paul says, 2 Cor. 3, 15, 16, 17, that the veil which covers the face of Moses, cannot be removed but by faith alone in Christ the Lord, through which faith the Holy Spirit is imparted. For thus he says: "But even unto this day, when Moses is read, the veil is upon their heart. Nevertheless, when it shall turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away. Now, the Lord is that Spirit:

and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." By the veil Paul means the opinions and misconceptions of men relative to the ten commandments and the ceremonies, viz., that the hypocrites suppose that the law can be kept and fulfiled by the observance of external works, and that the offerings and the various services of God, *ex opere operato* justify us in the sight of God. But then only is this veil drawn off from our hearts, that is, the error and misconception are removed, when God exhibits unto us in our hearts our misery, and lets us feel his wrath and the enormity of our sins. Under these circumstances we first observe, how securely and blindly all men continue to live, and how destitute they are of the fear of God; in short, how far they are from believing that God created heaven, earth, and all creatures, that he sustains our breath, our life, and the whole creation every hour, and protects them against Satan. Here we first experience that nothing but unbelief, security, and contempt towards God, dwell in us so deeply concealed. Here we first experience that we believe very feebly or not at all, that God forgives sins, that he hears prayer, &c. When we hear the word and the Gospel, and perceive Christ through faith, we receive the Holy Spirit, so that we are enabled to have proper conceptions relative to God, and to fear him, and to believe in him, &c.

From this it is sufficiently clear, that we cannot keep the law of God without faith, without Christ, without the Holy Ghost. For this reason also we assert, that the law must be kept, and that each believer begins to keep it, and increases more and more in love and fear to God, which is fulfiling the commandments of God properly. And when we speak respecting the keeping of the law, or concerning good works, we embrace both, the good heart internally and good works externally.

Wherefore, our adversaries treat us unjustly, by accusing us, as to our instructions, with being silent on the subject of good works; while we do not only assert that men must do good works, but also in particular point out the manner in which they should be performed, so that they may not be vain, empty, cold, hypocritical works. Experience teaches, that although the hypocrites undertake to keep the law by their own strength, they find themselves unable to do it, or to manifest to the world by their conduct that they do keep it. For to what extent they are free from hatred, from envy, contention, rage, anger, avarice, adultery, &c., may be plainly seen, and no greater vices can be found any where, than in monasteries. Human nature is much too weak, by its own abilities, to resist the devil, his artifices, and his power; for he holds all those captive, who are not

released by Christ. Divine strength and the resurrection of Christ are necessary to overcome the devil. And since we know that we become participants of Christ's strength and of his victory, we can entreat God, upon the promise which we have, to shelter and guide us by his Spirit, so the devil may not ensnare or subdue us; otherwise we fall into error and abominable vices every hour.

Wherefore, Paul says, not of us but of Christ, Eph. 4, 8: "He led captivity captive." For Christ conquered the devil, and promised the Holy Ghost to us through the Gospel, in order that we also might, by his assistance, overcome every evil. And in 1 John 3, 8, it is written: "For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil."

For these reasons, we teach not only the manner in which the law may be kept, but also how all things which we do, become pleasing to God, not because we are able in this life to keep the law so perfectly and purely, but because we are in Christ, as we shall hereafter show. It is evident, then, that our divines give the proper instructions concerning good works, and we add still further, that it is impossible for real faith, which comforts the heart and receives the forgiveness of sins, to exist without the love of God. Because, through Christ we approach the Father, and when we are reconciled to God through Christ, then only do we believe and determine with entire certainty in our hearts, that a true God exists, and that we have a father in heaven, who preserves us always, who should be feared, who should be loved on account of favors so ineffably great,—him we should always thank sincerely, to him we should accord praise and honor, who hears our prayers, our desires, and our groanings, as John says in his first epistle, 4, 19: "We love him, because he first loved us." For he gave his Son for us, and remitted our sins. Here John clearly evinces that faith thus precedes, and then love follows.

This faith, moreover, exists in those who are truly penitent, or whose consciences being alarmed, feel the wrath of God and their own sins, and seek grace and remission of sin. And in this state of alarm, of anguish, and of need, faith is first experienced, and it ought thus to be increased and confirmed. Faith cannot, for this reason, exist in carnal-minded persons who conceive themselves to be secure, who live after the will and the lusts of the flesh. For Paul thus says, Rom. 8, 1: "There is, therefore, now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit." Again, verses 12, 13: "We are debtors, not to the flesh, to live after the flesh. For if ye live after the flesh, ye

shall die: but if ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live." Wherefore, this faith, which is in the hearts and consciences of those only who are truly sorrowful for their sins, cannot be co-existent with fatal sin, as our adversaries teach. And consequently it cannot exist in those who live in a carnal manner after the world, according to the will of Satan and the lusts of the flesh.

From among these fruits and effects of faith our adversaries select but one,—viz., love,—and teach that love justifies us in the sight of God; consequently they are nothing but preachers of works and teachers of the law. They do not, in the first place, teach that we obtain the remission of sin through faith.—They teach nothing relative to Christ the Mediator, that through him we approach a merciful God. But they speak concerning our love and our works; and yet they do not tell us what kind of love it is, nor are they able to define it.

They boast of their ability to fulfil or keep the law, notwithstanding the honor belongs to no one but Christ. And they oppose their own works to the judgment of God, and maintain that they merit, *de condigno*, grace and eternal life. This is wholly a vain and impious confidence in our own works. For it is impossible in this life even for Christians and saints themselves, to keep the law of God perfectly; and evil inclinations and desires always remain in us, although they are controlled by the Holy Ghost.

Some one of them may ask: "Since we acknowledge that love is the offspring of the Spirit, and since it is called a holy work and the fulfilment of the law, why we do not also teach that it justifies before God?"

Reply.—*First*, most assuredly we do not receive the forgiveness of sins either through love or on account of it, but through faith alone for Christ's sake. Because it is faith alone in the heart that regards or takes into consideration the promises of God; faith alone is the assurance upon which the heart rests with certainty, that God is merciful—that Christ did not die in vain, &c. And this faith alone overcomes the terrors of sin and death. For he that still wavers, or doubts that his sins are remitted, does not confide in God, but despairs of Christ; because he judges his sins to be greater and more powerful than the death and blood of Christ; yet Paul says Rom. 5, 20, that, "Where sin abounded, grace did much more abound," that is, it became stronger, and richer, and more powerful.

If, then, any one is of opinion that he will obtain the remission of his sins because he is in the possession of love, he reviles and dishon-

ers Christ, and will discover in his last moments, when he must appear before the judgment seat of God, the vanity of such confidence. It is therefore certain that faith alone justifies. And as we do not obtain the remission of sin by good works and virtues; such as patience, continence, obedience to government, and yet these virtues ought to follow faith; so we do not obtain remission of sin on account of love to God, although it is necessary for love to follow faith.

But the declaration, Luke 7, 47, where it is said: "Her sins, which are many, are forgiven: for she loved much," Christ himself explains, where he says, verse 50: "Thy faith hath saved thee." Christ did not wish to leave the impression, that the woman merited the forgiveness of sins by the works of love; and for that reason he expressly declared, that her faith had saved her. But that is faith, which relies on the mercy of God and his word, and not upon works. And whoever entertains the opinion that faith can rely both upon God and the works of men at the same time, does undoubtedly not understand what faith is. Because alarmed consciences cannot be content with their own works, but must cry for mercy, and there are no other means by which they can be consoled and relieved, but the word of God. And this narrative itself shows plainly in that place, what Christ calls love. The woman comes to Christ with full confidence, that she will obtain the remission of her sins from him. This is truly acknowledging and honoring Christ; for greater honor than this no one can confer upon him. It is really confessing Christ or the Messiah, to seek remission of sin from him; and to recognize Christ in this manner, to confess and receive him thus, is to believe on him sincerely.

But Christ did not use the words, "she loved much," while speaking with the woman; but while speaking with the Pharisee. For Christ the Lord compared the whole honor conferred on him by the Pharisee, with the offerings and works of the woman. He reproves the Pharisee, because he did not recognize him as Christ, although he honored him as a guest and a pious and holy man. But he commends the divine service of the woman, the confession of her sins, and her effort in seeking the remission of her sins from him. And it was this noble example that justly moved Christ to reprove the Pharisee, who, although a wise and honorable man, still did not believe on him; and he reproached him with his unbelief and admonished him by the example of the woman, as though he would say: thou oughtest to be filled with shame, thou Pharisee! because thou art so blind as not to recognize me as Christ and the Messiah, although

thou art a teacher of the law; when this woman, poor and without learning as she is, recognizes me.

He, therefore, commends not only the love, but the whole *cultum* or divine service, faith with its fruits, and mentions to the Pharisee those fruits. Because faith in the heart cannot be shown or exhibited to others, except by its fruits; these establish before men the faith which is in the heart. Christ did not wish to intimate that love and works should be the treasure by which our sins are recompensed—that treasure is the blood of Christ. This contention is, therefore, concerning an important and weighty matter, which involves the highest, the most certain, and eternal consolation of pious hearts and consciences, viz., concerning Christ, whether we should trust to his merits or to our own works. If we trust to our own works, we rob Christ of his honor, and he ceases to be the Mediator and Conciliator; and besides we shall finally experience that such confidence is vain, and that it will bring our consciences into despair; for if we do not obtain remission of sin and reconciliation with God through Christ, without our own merit, then no one will obtain remission of his sins, except he shall have kept the whole law. For the law cannot justify any one in the sight of God, while it accuses him. Now no one can boast that he has satisfied the law. For that reason we must seek consolation elsewhere, viz., in Christ.

Now we shall endeavor to reply to the objection to which we referred above:—why love or *ailectio* does not justify any one before God. Our adversaries correctly entertain the opinion that love is the fulfilment of the law; hence it would be true indeed that love justifies us, should we keep the law. But who can have the boldness to assert or to boast, that he keeps the law and loves God as the law commands? We have shown above that God gave us the promise of grace, because we are unable to keep the law. For this reason Paul affirms every where, that we cannot be justified before God by the law.

Our adversaries, indeed, must err exceedingly on this point; they even mistake the main question; because, in treating this subject they take into consideration nothing but the law. Reason and the wisdom of man cannot come to any other determination, but that we must become pious through the observance of laws, and that whoever keeps the law externally is holy and pious. The Gospel, however, turns our course, directing us from the law to the divine promises, and teaches that we are not justified by the law,—because no one can keep it; but by these means which, for Christ's sake, offer us reconciliation, and this we obtain through faith alone. For

before we can fulfil one tittle of the law, we must believe in Christ, through whom we are reconciled to God and first obtain remission of our sins. Dear Lord! how dare these people, who assail the doctrine that we obtain remission of sin through faith in Christ, call themselves Christians, or assert that they have ever considered or read the books of the Gospel? Even to hear them is unpleasant to a Christian.

Secondly.—It is certain, that even those who are regenerated through faith and the Holy Spirit, are not, however, entirely pure, and do not keep the law perfectly while this life continues. Because, although they receive the first fruits of the Spirit, and notwithstanding the new, the eternal life has made a beginning in them, some portion of sin and evil desire still remains in them, and the law finds sufficient grounds to accuse them. For this reason, if love to God and good works shall and must exist in Christians, they are not, however, justified before God on account of such works of their own, but because of Christ through faith. And confidence in our own fulfilment of the law, is pure idolatry, even blasphemy against Christ, and it must finally fail and occasion despair to our consciences.

This fact must, therefore, stand impregnable, that we become just and pleasing before God for the sake of Christ through faith, and not on account of our love and our own works. This we shall endeavor to elucidate in so clear and accurate a manner, that any one may comprehend it.

While the heart is not in possession of peace with God, it cannot be just; because it shrinks from the wrath of God, falls into despair, and feels an unwillingness for God to judge. Hence, the heart cannot be just and acceptable in the sight of God, because it is not at peace with him. Faith alone, then, enables the heart to be pacified, and obtain rest and life (Rom. 5, 1,) if it rely freely and with confidence upon the promises of God for Christ's sake. But our works can never pacify the heart, for we continually discover that they are impure; consequently it must follow, that through faith alone we become acceptable to God. And we are justified if we determine in our hearts that God will be merciful to us, not on account of our works and our fulfilment of the law, but by grace alone for Christ's sake.

What can our adversaries allege against this argument? What can they contrive or devise in opposition to this manifest truth? For undoubtedly it is true, and experience itself teaches it very forcibly, that our works or service to God cannot afford peace to our

consciences, when we really feel the judgment and wrath of God, or fall into afflictions. And the Scriptures sustain this fact abundantly, as in Psalms 143, 2: "Enter not into judgment with thy servant: for in thy sight shall no man living be justified." Here the Psalmist clearly testifies that all the saints, all the pious children of God, who are in possession of the Holy Spirit, if God will not remit their sins through grace, have sins still remaining in the flesh. Where David says in another place: "Judge me, O Lord, according to my righteousness," (Psalm 7, 8,) he speaks of his cause, and not of his own righteousness; but his prayer is, that God would protect his cause and his word,—since he says: *Judge, Lord! my cause.* Again, Psalm 130, 3, he clearly asserts, that no one, not even the greatest saint, can bear the judgment of God if he would mark iniquities, where he says: "If thou, Lord, shouldst mark iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand?"

And thus Job, Job 9, 28, says: "I am afraid of all my sorrows, I know that thou wilt not hold me innocent." Again, verses 30, 31, "If I wash myself with snow-water, and make my hands never so clean; yet shalt thou plunge me in the ditch, and mine own clothes shall abhor me"—Again in the Proverbs of Solomon 20, 9: "Who can say, I have made my heart clean?" And 1 John 1, 8: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us"—Again, in the Lord's prayer, even the saints pray—"Forgive us our debts," Matt. 6, 12; consequently the saints even have trespasses and sins. Again, Numbers 14, 18: "The Lord is long-suffering, and of great mercy, forgiving iniquity and transgression, and by no means clearing the guilty; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation." And Zachariah the prophet, Zach. 2, 13 says: "Be silent, O all flesh, before the Lord;" and Isaiah says, Isaiah 40, 6: "All flesh is grass,"—that is, the flesh and all the righteousness of which we are capable, cannot bear the judgment of God. And Jonah says, Jonah 2, 8: "They that observe lying vanities forsake their own mercy." Wherefore mercy alone sustains us—our own works, merits, and power cannot help us.

These and similar declarations in the Scriptures, show that our works are impure, and that we have need of grace and mercy; therefore it is not works that afford the conscience peace, but mercy alone which we apprehend through faith.

Thirdly.—Christ, however, remains the only Mediator and Conciliator as well before we are thus born anew in him as after. Hence those entertain erroneous opinions, who imagine that he merits for

us only *primam gratiam* or the first grace, and that we must afterwards earn eternal life by our own works and merits. He remains the only Mediator, and we should entertain no doubt that we have a gracious God for his sake alone, if we are even unworthy of it; as Paul says, Rom. 5, 2: "By whom also we have access by faith into *this* grace wherein we stand." Our best works, even after the reception of grace from the Gospel, (as we said,) are still weak and not entirely pure. For the dreadful wrath of God, entailed upon us on account of sin and the fall of Adam through disobedience, is not so small a penalty that reason might conceive it, for it transcends the understanding and all the conception of man, a most malignant corruption having seized upon our whole nature, which cannot be removed by any human work, but only by God himself. For this reason the Psalmist, Psalm 32, 1, says: "Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven." Wherefore we stand in need of grace and of the merciful goodness of God, and of the forgiveness of sins, if even we have performed many good works. That grace, however, cannot be received but through faith alone. Consequently Christ alone continues to be the High Priest and Mediator, and whatever good we may do, or to whatever extent we may keep the law, it does not please God on account of any merit in itself, but because we cleave to Christ, and are conscious that we have a gracious God, not for the sake of the law, but for the sake of Christ.

Fourthly.—If we maintain the doctrine that, after we approach the Gospel and are regenerated, we must merit by our works, and not through faith, the favor of God, so that he will be merciful to us henceforth, our conscience cannot be pacified, but must despair. For the law continually accuses us, because we are unable to keep it perfectly, &c., as the universal, holy, Christian church and all the saints have ever acknowledged, and still acknowledge. For thus Paul, Rom. 7, 19, says: "For the good that I would, I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do," &c. Again, verse 25, "With the flesh I serve the law of sin." There is no one that fears and loves God with his whole heart, as he is under obligation to do; no one that bears crosses and afflictions in entire submission to God; no one that does not often doubt, through weakness, whether God accepts him also, whether he regards him, whether he hears his prayers. Being impatient moreover, we, frequently murmur against God, when the impious prosper and the pious decline. Again, who is it that performs his duty perfectly in his vocation who does not become angry with God in temptations, when God withdraws himself? Who loves his neighbor as himself? Who is without all man-

ner of evil lusts? Concerning all of these sins the Psalmist says, Psalm 32, 6: "For this shall every one that is godly pray unto thee in a time when thou mayest be found." Here he says that all the saints must pray for the remission of sins.

Wherefore, those are entirely blind, who maintain that the evil desires in the flesh are not sins, concerning which Paul speaks, Gal. 5, 17: "The flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh;" for the flesh places no confidence in God, relies on the world and temporal goods, seeks consolation and aid from man in afflictions, doubts the mercy and assistance of God, even against his will, and murmurs against him in crosses and temptations; all of which are against the command of God. The Holy Ghost in the hearts of the saints, contends and strives against the sin inherited from Adam, for the purpose of exterminating and mortifying the poison existing in the old Adamic nature,—the evil, desperate character of the heart,—and to produce in the heart another disposition and inclination.

And Augustine also asserts, that "We keep all the commandments of God, when all is forgiven us that we do not keep." Hence he inclines to the opinion that even the good works wrought in us by the Holy Spirit, do not please God in any other way but by believing that God accepts us for Christ's sake, and not because they are works in themselves calculated to please God.

And Jerome in opposition to the Pelagians, says: "We are justified when we acknowledge ourselves to be sinners; and our righteousness does not exist in our merit, but in the mercy of God." For this reason, if we are even very abundant in good works, and have thus begun to keep the law of God, faith must, however, be co-existent, through which we trust that God is gracious and reconciled to us for Christ's sake, not on account of our works, as Paul says, because mercy cannot be comprehended, but through faith alone. Those, therefore, who teach that we become acceptable to God on account of our works, and not for the sake of Christ, lead the conscience into despair.

From this it is sufficiently evident that faith alone justifies us before God, that is, obtains grace and the remission of sins for the sake of Christ, and brings us to a new birth. Again, it is clear that we receive the Holy Ghost through faith alone; that our works and our first efforts to keep the law, are not in themselves pleasing to God. We must then, however, even if we are in possession of many good works, as Paul and Peter were, seek our righteousness elsewhere, viz., in the promise of the grace of Christ. Moreover, since

faith alone pacifies the conscience, it must follow that faith alone justifies in the sight of God. For if we wish to teach correctly, we must always maintain that we become acceptable to God, not on account of the law, not on account of works, but for the sake of Christ. Because the honor which belongs to Christ, should not be conferred upon the law or our feeble works.

Reply to the arguments of the adversaries.

Having now shown the fundamental principles of this subject, viz., the difference between the law and the divine promises, it is easy to refute whatever the adversaries may allege in their objections. They introduce passages relative to the law and good works. Those passages, however, which speak concerning the promises of God, they omit. But all those passages, which they introduce by showing the law, may be briefly replied to, that the law cannot be kept without Christ; and even if works externally good were performed without Christ, God has, however, no pleasure, for that reason, in the person who may have performed them. Wherefore, if any one wishes to teach or to preach concerning good works, it is necessary for him always to add, that first of all faith must preceed, and that God accepts them alone for the sake of faith in Christ, and that these works are fruits and testimonies of faith.

This doctrine which we maintain is very explicit, is obvious and consistent with the holy Scriptures. And it is likewise clearly and properly illustrated to those who desire information, and do not knowingly deny the truth. In order to understand the benefits of Christ and the great treasure of the Gospel properly, (which Paul esteems so highly,) it is necessary for us to separate on the one part, the promises of God and the grace which is offered, and on the other, the law, as far from each other as heaven is from earth. Subjects which are ambiguous and delicate, require many and various solutions; but in good and palpable subjects, one or two are always sufficient, which set forth the whole matter, and solve all that any one might be disposed to bring in opposition. So in this subject which we have before us, this one solution explains all the passages which are alleged against us, namely, that no one can properly keep the law without Christ, even if external good works are performed, that the person who is without Christ, is, however, not acceptable to God; for we maintain that the Scriptures hold forth these two doctrines, the law and the promises of grace.

But our adversaries trample under their feet the whole Gospel and all the promises of grace in Christ. Thus they teach that we

obtain the remission of sins on account of our love and works, and not through faith. For the grace and assistance of God towards us must be very doubtful, if they depend on our works; because we can never be certain, when we have done enough, or whether the works are sufficiently holy and pure.

Consequently the forgiveness of sins would likewise be uncertain, and the promises of God would be destroyed, as Paul says, Rom. 4, 14: "If they which are of the law be heirs, faith is made void, and the promise made of none effect." We, therefore, teach all men to comfort themselves in their hearts and consciences, through the promises of God, which remain firm and offer grace and the forgiveness of sins for Christ's sake, and not on account of our works.

Accordingly, we also teach relatively to good works and the law, not that we merit the remission of sins through the law, or that God accepts us on account of the law, but that God desires to have good works. For we must (as Paul says, 2 Tim. 2, 15) rightly divide and separate the word of God, the law on the one part, and the promises of God on the other. It is necessary to perceive how the Scriptures speak of the promises, and how they speak of the law. Good works, indeed, are commended and applauded in the Scriptures; but the promises of God and Christ, the real treasure are, however, exalted still many thousand times higher.

We should and must, then, do good works, because God desires them, for they are the fruits of faith, as Paul says to the Ephesians, Eph. 2, 10: "We are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works." For this reason, good works should follow faith, as thanksgivings to God, in order that faith may be exercised, increased, and strengthened through them, and that others may be admonished by our profession and good deportment. Therefore Paul says that Abraham received circumcision, not that he might be justified on account of the work, but that he might have a sign on his body, by which he might be admonished, and ever increase in faith, that he might manifest his faith to others and entice them to faith by his testimony. So Abel made an acceptable sacrifice to God by faith, for the sacrifice did not please God *ex opere operato*, but Abel being assured that he had a gracious God, did the work for the purpose of increasing his faith, and of inducing others to faith by his example and profession.

Since, then, good works ought to follow faith in this manner and in no other, those perform their works with quite a different view, who do not believe that their sins are remitted unto them for the sake of Christ, without any merit of their own. Because, when they

perceive the good works of the saints, they judge according to the manner of man relative to the saints, and imagine that they have obtained the forgiveness of their sins, or that they were justified before God by their works. For this reason they imitate the saints in their works, and believe that they shall in the same manner obtain the remission of their sins and appease the wrath of God.

We condemn this manifest error and false opinion concerning works: first, because, if we hold forth our works instead of Christ, as a treasure and a reconciliation of the wrath of God and of sins, Christ, the right Mediator, will be deprived of his honor, and it will be given to our feeble works: for the honor belongs to Christ, and not to our insignificant works.

Secondly, their conscience, however, cannot find peace in such works, because if they have done many good works already, and still make effort to do good works, they cannot find any work that is pure enough to cause God to be merciful, or to obtain eternal life: in short to create peace and joy in the conscience.

Thirdly, those who build upon their works, never learn to know God rightly, or his will; for the individual that doubts the grace of God, cannot believe that he will be heard. And inasmuch as he cannot call upon God, he cannot perceive divine assistance, nor can he thus learn to know God. But when faith is present, viz. the assurance that we have a merciful God through Christ, we can call upon God with joyfulness, and learn to know him and his will.

The erroneous opinion, however, concerning works, attaches closely to the world. The heathens also have sacrifices, which originated from the patriarchs in the first place. These sacrifices and works of the Fathers, they imitated, knowing nothing of faith, and believing that these works would secure them a gracious God. The Israelites also devised for themselves works and sacrifices, with a view to propitiate *God* by their *opus operatum;* that is, by a mere work which is done without faith. Here we see how vehemently the prophets reproved them, as in the 50th Psalm, verse 8: "I will not reprove thee for thy sacrifices," &c. Again, Jeremiah, Jer. 7, 22, says: "For I spoke not unto your fathers, concerning burnt offerings and sacrifices." Here the prophets do not condemn the sacrifices as such, because God had commanded them as external exercises among these his people: but they condemn especially the impious persuasion of their hearts, which induced them to make the sacrifices with a view to reconcile God by them *ex opere operato*, by which faith was suppressed.

And inasmuch as no work can restore the conscience to peace, it

is customary for the hypocrites, at their own hazard, to contrive without rule or method, work upon work and sacrifice upon sacrifice; and this they do, without the word or command of God, under the influence of evil conscience, as we have seen in popery; and they especially permit themselves to be actuated by the examples of the saints. For when they imitate these examples, they think that they shall obtain the remission of their sins, as the saints did:—but the saints *believed*.

The children of Israel, seeing that the prophets sacrificed on high places and in groves, imitated them, for the purpose of appeasing the wrath of God by that work. But the prophets made sacrifices at those places, not because they wished to merit the remission of their sins by these works, but in order that they might preach and teach at those places. Wherefore they made these sacrifices as an evidence of their faith.

Again, the people having heard that Abraham offered up his son, offered up their sons also, in order that they might also do works that were afflictive and grievous to them. But Abraham did not offer up his son with a view that such work should be a reconciliation by which he would be justified before God.

Thus Christ has instituted the Eucharist in the church, in which sacrament the remission of sins is offered through the divine promises, in order that we might be admonished, that our faith might be strengthened by the external sign, that we might also profess our faith before the people by it, and exalt and preach the benefits of Christ; as Paul says, 1 Cor. 11, 26: "For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come." Our adversaries contend, however, that the mass is a work, which justifies us in the sight of God *ex opere operato*, and releases those from guilt and pain, for whom it is held.

Anthony, Bernard, Dominic, and other saints, chose a particular mode of living apart from the people, either that they might have a better opportunity to read the holy Scriptures, or for other useful exercises. In the mean time, however, they maintained that they were accounted just before God through faith in Christ, and that they obtain a gracious God through Christ alone. But the great mass of people afterwards imitated them, neglecting faith in Christ, and took into consideration only the examples without faith, and ventured to obtain the remission of their sins by these monastic works. Thus the reason of man always esteems good works too highly, and makes an improper application of them. For the Gospel militates against this error, and teaches that we are justified in

the sight of God, not on account of the law, or our own works, but on account of Christ alone; but no one can comprehend him, except through faith alone. Hence we are also justified before God *through faith alone.*

In opposition to these views, our adversaries allege the declaration of Paul to the Corinthians, 1 Cor. 13, 2: "Though I have all faith, &c., and have not charity, I am nothing." Here our adversaries proclaim with great triumph, and boast that they are assured by this passage, that not only faith justifies us before God, but love also. But we shall find no difficulty in replying, inasmuch as we have shown above, what views we entertain relative to love and works. Paul requires in this passage, that there should be love in Christians towards their neighbors, and this we also assert. For we have already said that when we are regenerated, we begin to keep the law, and to be obedient to the law of God. Hence, if any one neglects Christian love, he is become cold,—even if he has had strong faith,—and has become carnal-minded, is without the Spirit, and without faith; because the Holy Spirit does not exist where there is not Christian love and other good graces.

But it does not follow from this, that love justifies us before God; that is, that we for this reason obtain the remission of our sins through love; that love overcomes the terrors of sin and death; that love should be opposed to the wrath of God and his judgment instead of Christ; that love fulfils the law; that we are reconciled and become acceptable to God through love, and not for the sake of Christ. Paul says nothing concerning all these things, but our adversaries devise them out of their own heads.

For, if by our love we can overcome the wrath of God, and if we become acceptable to him through our fulfilment of the law, our adversaries may also assert that the divine promises and the whole Gospel are nothing; because these teach that we have access to God through Christ *alone*, and that God does not accept us through our works of the law, but on account of Christ, as through the only Mediator and Reconciler.

Our adversaries explain many passages of Scripture according to their own opinions, and contrary to the true import, by unwarrantable additions, as they did in this place. For this passage is sufficiently clear, if they would not attach their own dreams, which are not founded in the Scriptures. They do not in the mean time understand what faith is, what Christ is, or in what manner a person is justified before God.

The Corinthians and some others among them, heard the Gospel,

and received many excellent gifts; and, as it is usually the case in matters of this kind, they were zealous and active in all these things in the beginning; but afterwards factions and sects arising among them, as Paul asserts, they began to scorn the true apostles. Paul, for this reason, reproves them, and admonishes them to union again, and to Christian love. And Paul does not, in this place, speak concerning the remission of sins, or the manner in which we become just and pious in the sight of God, or how a sinner is converted to Christ; but he speaks concerning the fruits of faith; nor does he speak concerning love towards God, but concerning love towards neighbors.

It is undoubtedly absurd to suppose, that love towards our neighbors, through which we act with them here upon earth, should justify us before God, when at the same time it is essential to that righteousness which avails in the sight of God, that we should obtain something, through which the wrath of God can be averted and the conscience restored to peace with him in heaven. None of these things can be effected through love, but through faith alone, through which we comprehend Christ and the promises of God.

This is true, however, that he who loses love, loses also faith and the Spirit. And thus says Paul: *if I have not charity, I am nothing*, but he does not add the affirmative, that love justifies before God.

But they allege here, that love is preferred to faith and hope; for Paul says, 1 Cor. 13, 13: "The greatest of these is charity." Hence they contend that the virtue, which Paul calls the greatest, justifies and sanctifies us in the sight of God. Although Paul speaks here especially concerning the love of neighbors, and he makes the assertion, *that love is the greatest*, because it extends far and produces many good effects upon earth. Faith and hope are employed in things pertaining to God alone, but love is occupied with the people on earth, and effects much good, by consoling, instructing, and by giving assistance and counsel, both privately and publicly. Yet we grant that it is the greatest virtue to love God and our neighbor, because it is the greatest commandment: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, &c., Matt. 22, 37, 38. It does not follow from this, however, that love justifies us.

Yea, they affirm, *the greatest virtue must undoubtedly justify.*

Reply.—It might be true, if we could have a gracious God on account of our virtue. It was shown above, that we are justified and become acceptable on account of Christ, and not our virtue, because our virtues are impure. Yes, as this commandment is the greatest, "thou shalt love God," so this virtue, to love God, cannot justify in the

least. For as the law and the virtue are greater, so are we the less able to do them; consequently we are not justified on account of love, but faith justifies, not on account of our performance, but only because it seeks and receives mercy, and does not rely on any work of man; that is, we teach that the law does not justify, but the Gospel. Faith is, to believe that we have a merciful God for Christ's sake, and not for the sake of our deeds.

Our adversaries, however, teach that love reconciles us to God, because they do not understand the Gospel, and take into consideration nothing but the law, and by it wish to secure a gracious God for the sake of their own righteousness, and not by mercy for Christ's sake. Consequently, they must be teachers of the law, not of the Gospel.

They also allege against us the declaration in Col. 3, 14: "Put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness." Hence they conclude, that love justifies in the sight of God, because it makes us perfect. Here we could reply to them in various ways with regard to perfection, yet we shall treat this passage of Paul in a simple manner.

It is evident, that Paul speaks concerning the love of neighbors; and hence no one has a right to come to the conclusion, that it was the intention of Paul that we should be justified before God, rather by the works of the second table than by those of the first. If, moreover, love is a perfection, or a perfect fulfilment of the law, there is no need of Christ the Mediator; but Paul teaches in every place, that we become acceptable to God for the sake of Christ, not for the sake of our love, of our works, or of the law. Because not even a saint (as said above) fulfils the law perfectly. Inasmuch, then, as Paul writes and teaches in every other place, that there is no perfection in our works during this life, it must not be imagined that he spoke to the Colossians concerning personal perfection, but concerning the *unity of the church;* and the *word* which they explain perfection, signifies nothing else but to be united, or in union. And his assertion, that love is the bond of perfectness, signifies that it binds, unites, and keeps together the many members of the church among themselves. For precisely as union is nourished in a town or in a family, by an effort to keep peace one with another, and as peace or tranquility cannot continue, where one manifests an unwillingness to forgive another in many things, and where one will not bear with another; so Paul wished to admonish them to Christian love, in order that they might be induced to bear and suffer the faults and imperfections of one another, so that unity might be cherished in the church, and that the mass of Christians might not be severed, sep-

arated, or divided into all manner of factions and sects; from which great mischief, hatred, and envy, all manner of bitter feelings and evil infections, might originate, and finally public heresy. For union cannot continue, if the bishops impose upon the people burdens too severe, without any cause. And if the people manifest a disposition to censure and expose with too little precaution every thing relative to the walk and conduct of the bishops or preachers, or if they become dissatisfied too quick with their preacher, perhaps on account of some small imperfection, factions will likewise be readily created, and it must result in many great injuries. For in that state of bitterness, men will immediately seek other teachers and preachers.

Again, perfection and unity would be maintained, that is, the church would remain undivided and whole, if the strong would have patience and bear with the weak, if the people would have patience with their preachers, if the bishops and preachers, moreover, were acquainted with the most effectual manner to direct all the infirmities and imperfections of the people for the best, according to opportunity. Relative to this manner and way of maintaining union, there is much written every where in the books of the philosophers and moralists. For we must forgive one another a great deal, and direct it to the best advantage for the sake of union. And concerning this, Paul speaks in more than one place. Wherefore our adversaries are not right in concluding that love must justify us before God. Because Paul does not here speak of the perfection or holiness of the person, as they imagine, but asserts that *love creates peace and harmony in the church.* And thus Ambrose also explains this passage: "Precisely as an edifice is entire, when all its parts are connected," &c.

But our adversaries should be filled with shame for writing and preaching so excellently concerning love, and crying out in all their books love, love, and manifesting none at all. For, what now are they doing? They are dispersing the churches,—they will write laws in blood and present them to his most gracious Majesty to be promulgated—they murder priests and other virtuous men, if any one only intimates that he cannot approve their manifest abuses. They earnestly desire, that all those were dead, who utter a single word against their ungodly doctrines. All this accords very imperfectly with that ostentatious display of love, of charity, &c. For if one spark of love existed in our adversaries, peace and union might easily be effected in the church, and if they would not defend their human traditions, which are, however, not useful to Christian doctrine or piety, through mere revengeful bitterness and pharisaical envy, against

the known truth, especially as they do not correctly observe their traditions themselves.

They also allege the passage of the apostle Peter, where it is said: "Charity shall cover the multitude of sins," 1 Peter 4, 8. Now it is certain, that Peter also speaks here concerning the love of neighbors; for he speaks in this place concerning the commandment of love, in which it is commanded, that we should love one another. Nor has it ever entered the thoughts of any apostle, that love should overcome death or sin; that love should be a reconciliation, without Christ the Mediator; that love should be our righteousness, without Christ the Reconciler. Because love, if we even possess it already, is nothing more than a righteousness of the law;—love is indeed not Christ, through whom alone we are justified, when we believe that for the Mediator's sake the Father is merciful to us, and that his merits are accounted to us. For this reason Peter a little before admonishes, that we should adhere to Christ, that we might be built on him as the corner-stone. For he says: "He that believeth on him, shall not be confounded," 1 Pet. 2, 6. We shall be confounded, indeed, before the judgment seat of God and his appearance, with our works and conduct; but faith, through which Christ becomes ours, releases us from these terrors of death. Because we are assured by the promises, that our sins are remitted through Christ.

And the declaration, 1 Peter 4, 8: "Charity shall cover the multitude of sins," &c., is quoted from the Proverbs of Solomon, where it is said: "Hatred stirreth up strifes: but love covereth all sins," Prov. 10, 12. Here the text indicates clearly in itself, that he speaks concerning love towards neighbors, and not concerning love towards God.

And he intends the same thing that Paul does in the above passage to the Colossians, namely, that we should diligently endeavor to live friendly and brotherly, in order that we may keep peace with one another, so that disaffection and schisms may be avoided; as if he would say, schisms grow out of hatred, as we see great fire often created out of a small spark.

The matters which first created variance between Julius Cæsar and Pompey, were but small; and had one yielded to the other, the great war would not have followed, in which there was so much blood-shed, so many calamities and injuries. But both of them manifesting a headstrong disposition, unspeakable injuries and a dissolution of the whole Roman empire, resulted from it. And many heresies have originated from preachers becoming embittered against one another.

These words of Peter, "love covers the multitude of sins," must be understood in the following manner, namely, that love covers the sins of neighbors, and even if differences arise among Christians, the person who is actuated by the principle of love, will bear all of them, and feel a willingness to pass them by, and to yield to his neighbor, nor will he search into matters so minutely. It was by no means the intention of Peter, that love should merit the remission of sins before God—that love should reconcile us to God without the Mediator Christ—that we should become acceptable to God through love, without the Mediator Christ. But this is the meaning of Peter, that the person, in whom Christian love exists, is not overbearing nor severe and unfriendly, but is easily persuaded to construe the imperfections and faults of his neighbor for the best, and will forgive him in a brotherly manner, he becomes reconciled and takes into consideration his own nature, and yields for the sake of peace, as this passage also teaches: *Amici vitia noris, non oderis*, that is, you should learn the failings of a friend, but you should not hate him.

And the Apostles did not admonish them to this love without cause,—love which the philosophers call ἐπιείκειαν. For if people are to be and exist together in eternity, they must not, whether it be in the church, or in temporal government, weigh all the imperfections of one another too closely, but they must let many of them pass by with the current, as it were, and always endeavor to keep peace, and to have patience with one another in a brotherly manner, as far as possible.

They also allege this passage from the apostle James, James 2, 24, and say: "Ye see then how that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only." And they imagine that this passage is very forcibly against our doctrine. But if our adversaries would only leave their own wild conceits out of the question, and not make additions at their pleasure, there would be no difficulty in replying. For the words of the apostle James are explicit, but our adversaries gratuitously infer that we merit the remission of sins by our works. Again, they imagine that good works are a reconciliation, through which God is merciful to us; again, that we can overcome the great power of the devil, of death, and of sin by good works; again that our good works as such, are so acceptable to God and so highly esteemed by him, that we have no need of Christ the Mediator. None of these views ever entered into the mind of the apostle James, though our adversaries undertake to maintain them by this declaration of the apostle.

In the first place, then, we must observe, that this passage is more against our adversaries than in their favor. For they teach that men become pious and are justified in the sight of God through love and works. Concerning faith, by which we cleave to Christ the Mediator, they say nothing; and besides this, they are unwilling to hear or to take notice of any thing concerning faith, and endeavor to suppress this doctrine concerning faith with sword and fire. James, however, pursues a different course; he does not omit faith, but speaks of it, and in this manner he permits Christ to remain the treasure and the Mediator, through which we are justified before God, as Paul also, where he lays down the substance of Christian faith, connects faith and love, 1 Tim. 1, 5: "The end of the commandment is charity, out of a pure heart, and of good conscience, and of faith unfeigned."

In the second place, this subject itself shows that James spoke of works, which follow faith. For he endeavors to show that faith must not be dead, but living, efficacious, energetic, and active in the heart. Wherefore, it was not the meaning of James that we merit grace or the remission of sins by our works: because he speaks concerning the works of those who have already been justified through Christ, and who are already reconciled to God, and have obtained the forgiveness of their sins through Christ. Our adversaries, therefore, err exceedingly, when they conclude from this passage that by our good works we merit grace and the remission of sins; or that it was the intention of James, that we should have access to God through our works, without Christ the Mediator and Reconciler.

In the third place, St. James speaking of spiritual regeneration a little before, asserts that it is effected through the Gospel. For thus he says, James 1, 18: "Of his own will begat he us with the word of truth, that we should be a kind of first-fruits of his creatures." As he affirms, then, that we are regenerated through the Gospel, he teaches that we are justified in the sight of God through faith. Because we apprehend the promises concerning Christ through faith alone, when we are comforted by them against the terrors of death and sin. Hence it was not his meaning that we should be regenerated through our works.

From this it is clear that this passage of James, is not against us. For he here censures some slothful Christians, who having become too secure in their minds, imagine that they are in possession of faith, while they are without it. For this reason he makes a difference between living faith and dead faith. He calls that faith dead, which does not produce various good works and fruits of the Spirit,

as obedience, patience, chastity, love, &c., he calls that living faith, which produces good fruits. We have frequently stated what we call faith. We do not call a knowledge of the mere history of Christ, faith,—a thing which devils also possess, but the new light and the power which the Holy Ghost works in the heart, and through which we overcome the terrors of death, of sin, &c., we call faith.

A true Christian faith like this is not a thing so insignificant, as our adversaries imagine. Since they say, faith! faith! how soon can I believe? Nor is it a thought of man, which he can take of himself, but it is a divine power in the heart, through which we are regenerated, and by which we overcome the great power of Satan and of death, as Paul says to the Colossians, Col. 2, 12: "Wherein also ye are risen with him through the faith of the operation of God," &c. This faith, because it is a new, divine light and life in the heart, through which we receive another mind and sense, is living, efficacious, and abundant in good works.

Wherefore, it may be said with propriety, that the faith is not genuine which is without works. And if he says that we are justified by faith and works, he does not, however, affirm that we are regenerated through works, nor does he assert that Christ is half the Conciliator and our works half, but he speaks of Christians, how they should live, after they have been *regenerated* through the Gospel.

For he speaks of works which ought to follow faith. Here it is properly asserted that he who has faith and good works, is just; yea, not for the sake of works, but for the sake of Christ through faith. And as a good tree should bear good fruit, though the fruit does not make the tree good; so good works must follow after the new birth, although they do not render the person acceptable before God; but as the tree must first be good, so the person must first become acceptable to God through faith, for Christ's sake. Our works are of a character too inferior for God to be merciful to us on account of them, if he were not gracious unto us for the sake of Christ.

Thus James is not opposed to St. Paul, nor does he say that we merit the remission of sins by our works, nor that our works overcome the power of the devil, of death, of sin, and the terrors of hell, nor that they are equal to the death of Christ. Nor does he say that we are received by God through our works; nor that our works restore our hearts to peace, and overcome the wrath of God; nor that we have no need of mercy, if we have works. James asserts none of these things which our adversaries add to his words.

They likewise produce still more passages against us; as these:—in the 4th chapter of Daniel and the 27th verse, the text says:

"Break off thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquities by showing mercy to the poor." And Isa. 58, 7: "Deal thy bread to the hungry." Again, Luke 6, 37: "Forgive, and ye shall be forgiven." And Matt. 5, 7: "Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.

We shall, in the first place, reply upon these and similar passages concerning works, that (as we have stated above) as no one is able to keep the law without faith, so no one can please God without faith in Christ, as he says, John 15, 5: "Without me ye can do nothing." Again, Heb. 11, 6: "Without faith it is impossible to please him." Again, as Paul says, Rom. 5, 2: "By whom also we have access by faith into his grace." Wherefore, as often as the Scriptures make mention of works, in every instance they intend the Gospel concerning Christ and faith, to be kept in connection.

In the second place, all these passages, now enumerated, quoted from Daniel and others, were declared concerning repentance. First they preach the law, convince us of our sins, and admonish us to reformation and good works. Second, there is besides it a promise that God will be gracious. Now it is certain that it is not enough for genuine repentance to preach only the law, because it only terrifies the conscience, but the Gospel must also be added, namely, that our sins are forgiven for Christ's sake without our merit,—that we obtain remission of sins through faith. This is so certain and so clear, that if our adversaries assail it, and separate Christ and faith from repentance, they will be justly recognized as blasphemers of the Gospel and of Christ.

We ought, therefore, not to explain these words of the celebrated prophet Daniel, as alluding only to mere works,—to alms, but we should also take faith into consideration. We must not consider the words of the prophet, which were full of faith and spirit, in a heathenish manner, as Aristotle or some other heathen would. Aristotle admonished Alexander not to employ his power to the gratification of his own ambition, but to a reformation of the country and of the people; this is properly and well written, nor can any one preach or write any thing better concerning the office of a king. But Daniel does not speak to his king concerning his royal office alone; but of repentance, of the forgiveness of sins, of reconciliation to God, and of these high, noble, spiritual matters which far transcend the conception and works of all men. Hence, his words must not be understood as bearing an allusion only to works and alms, which even a hypocrite can perform, but *especially to faith.*

But it is evident from the text itself that *faith* must be under-

stood here, of which we speak, viz. to believe that God forgives sins through mercy, and not for the sake of our merit. First, because there are two parts in the discourse of Daniel; the one is a declaration of the law and punishment; the other is the promise or absolution. Where there is a promise, faith is required. Because there is no way in which the promise can be received, except the heart rely on such word of God, without taking into consideration its own worthiness or unworthiness. Consequently Daniel required faith also; for thus reads the promise: "Thy sins shall be healed." These words are really a prophetical and an evangelical declaration, because Daniel knew that through Christ, the future seed which was to come, grace, eternal life, and the forgiveness of sins, were promised not only to the Jews, but also to the Gentiles. Otherwise he could not have thus consoled the king. For it is not the work of man to promise the remission of sins with certainty to alarmed conscience, and to give it comfort that God will not be angry any more; in that case man must have evidence of the will of God out of his word, as Daniel knew and understood the noble promise relative to the future seed. Inasmuch, then, as he makes a promise, it is evident and clear that he requires faith, concerning which we speak.

But this declaration, "Break off thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquities by showing mercy to the poor," is the substance of a whole discourse, and its import is as much as, *reform thyself*. And it is true that if we reform ourselves, we shall be redeemed from our sins; for this reason his expression is correct, *break off thy sins*. But it does not follow from this, that we are redeemed from our sins on account of our works, or that our works are a recompense for our sins. Nor does Daniel express the works only, but he says: "Break off thy sins by righteousness." It is universally known, that *righteousness* in the Scriptures does not mean only external works, but it includes faith, as Paul says, Rom. 1, 17: "*Justus ex fide vivet*," "The just shall live by faith." Daniel, therefore, requires faith in the first place, where he mentions righteousness, and says: *Break off thy sins by righteousness*, that is, by faith towards God, through which thou shalt be justified. In addition to this do good works also, attend to thy office, be not a tyrant, but see that thy government is useful to the country and the people, keep peace, and protect the poor against unjust power; these things are princely alms, (eleemosynæ).

Hence it is clear that this passage is not opposed to the doctrine concerning faith. But our adversaries attach their additions to all such passages, namely, that our sins are remitted for the sake of our works,

the sight of God, not on account of the law, or our own works, but on account of Christ alone; but no one can comprehend him, except through faith alone. Hence we are also justified before God *through faith alone.*

In opposition to these views, our adversaries allege the declaration of Paul to the Corinthians, 1 Cor. 13, 2: "Though I have all faith, &c., and have not charity, I am nothing." Here our adversaries proclaim with great triumph, and boast that they are assured by this passage, that not only faith justifies us before God, but love also. But we shall find no difficulty in replying, inasmuch as we have shown above, what views we entertain relative to love and works. Paul requires in this passage, that there should be love in Christians towards their neighbors, and this we also assert. For we have already said that when we are regenerated, we begin to keep the law, and to be obedient to the law of God. Hence, if any one neglects Christian love, he is become cold,—even if he has had strong faith,—and has become carnal-minded, is without the Spirit, and without faith; because the Holy Spirit does not exist where there is not Christian love and other good graces.

But it does not follow from this, that love justifies us before God; that is, that we for this reason obtain the remission of our sins through love; that love overcomes the terrors of sin and death; that love should be opposed to the wrath of God and his judgment instead of Christ; that love fulfils the law; that we are reconciled and become acceptable to God through love, and not for the sake of Christ. Paul says nothing concerning all these things, but our adversaries devise them out of their own heads.

For, if by our love we can overcome the wrath of God, and if we become acceptable to him through our fulfilment of the law, our adversaries may also assert that the divine promises and the whole Gospel are nothing; because these teach that we have access to God through Christ *alone*, and that God does not accept us through our works of the law, but on account of Christ, as through the only Mediator and Reconciler.

Our adversaries explain many passages of Scripture according to their own opinions, and contrary to the true import, by unwarrantable additions, as they did in this place. For this passage is sufficiently clear, if they would not attach their own dreams, which are not founded in the Scriptures. They do not in the mean time understand what faith is, what Christ is, or in what manner a person is justified before God.

The Corinthians and some others among them, heard the Gospel,

and received many excellent gifts; and, as it is usually the case in matters of this kind, they were zealous and active in all these things in the beginning; but afterwards factions and sects arising among them, as Paul asserts, they began to scorn the true apostles. Paul, for this reason, reproves them, and admonishes them to union again, and to Christian love. And Paul does not, in this place, speak concerning the remission of sins, or the manner in which we become just and pious in the sight of God, or how a sinner is converted to Christ: but he speaks concerning the fruits of faith; nor does he speak concerning love towards God, but concerning love towards neighbors.

It is undoubtedly absurd to suppose, that love towards our neighbors, through which we act with them here upon earth, should justify us before God, when at the same time it is essential to that righteousness which avails in the sight of God, that we should obtain something, through which the wrath of God can be averted and the conscience restored to peace with him in heaven. None of these things can be effected through love, but through faith alone, through which we comprehend Christ and the promises of God.

This is true, however, that he who loses love, loses also faith and the Spirit. And thus says Paul: *if I have not charity, I am nothing*, but he does not add the affirmative, that love justifies before God.

But they allege here, that love is preferred to faith and hope; for Paul says, 1 Cor. 13, 13: "The greatest of these is charity." Hence they contend that the virtue, which Paul calls the greatest, justifies and sanctifies us in the sight of God. Although Paul speaks here especially concerning the love of neighbors, and he makes, the assertion, *that love is the greatest*, because it extends far and produces many good effects upon earth. Faith and hope are employed in things pertaining to God alone, but love is occupied with the people on earth, and effects much good, by consoling, instructing, and by giving assistance and counsel, both privately and publicly. Yet we grant that it is the greatest virtue to love God and our neighbor, because it is the greatest commandment: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, &c., Matt. 22, 37, 38. It does not follow from this, however, that love justifies us.

Yea, they affirm, *the greatest virtue must undoubtedly justify.*

Reply.—It might be true, if we could have a gracious God on account of our virtue. It was shown above, that we are justified and become acceptable on account of Christ, and not our virtue, because our virtues are impure. Yes, as this commandment is the greatest, "thou shalt love God," so this virtue, to love God, cannot justify in the

least. For as the law and the virtue are greater, so are we the less able to do them; consequently we are not justified on account of love, but faith justifies, not on account of our performance, but only because it seeks and receives mercy, and does not rely on any work of man; that is, we teach that the law does not justify, but the Gospel. Faith is, to believe that we have a merciful God for Christ's sake, and not for the sake of our deeds.

Our adversaries, however, teach that love reconciles us to God, because they do not understand the Gospel, and take into consideration nothing but the law, and by it wish to secure a gracious God for the sake of their own righteousness, and not by mercy for Christ's sake. Consequently, they must be teachers of the law, not of the Gospel.

They also allege against us the declaration in Col. 3, 14: "Put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness." Hence they conclude, that love justifies in the sight of God, because it makes us perfect. Here we could reply to them in various ways with regard to perfection, yet we shall treat this passage of Paul in a simple manner.

It is evident, that Paul speaks concerning the love of neighbors; and hence no one has a right to come to the conclusion, that it was the intention of Paul that we should be justified before God, rather by the works of the second table than by those of the first. If, moreover, love is a perfection, or a perfect fulfilment of the law, there is no need of Christ the Mediator; but Paul teaches in every place, that we become acceptable to God for the sake of Christ, not for the sake of our love, of our works, or of the law. Because not even a saint (as said above) fulfils the law perfectly. Inasmuch, then, as Paul writes and teaches in every other place, that there is no perfection in our works during this life, it must not be imagined that he spoke to the Colossians concerning personal perfection, but concerning the *unity of the church;* and the *word* which they explain perfection, signifies nothing else but to be united, or in union. And his assertion, that love is the bond of perfectness, signifies that it binds, unites, and keeps together the many members of the church among themselves. For precisely as union is nourished in a town or in a family, by an effort to keep peace one with another, and as peace or tranquility cannot continue, where one manifests an unwillingness to forgive another in many things, and where one will not bear with another; so Paul wished to admonish them to Christian love, in order that they might be induced to bear and suffer the faults and imperfections of one another, so that unity might be cherished in the church, and that the mass of Christians might not be severed, sep-

of God, but the heart must first be in possession of Christ, and believe that it is acceptable to God on account of Christ, and not because of any good work.

Our adversaries also produce several arguments from the schools, to which there is no difficulty in replying, if we have a knowledge of what faith is. Faith is not only a knowledge of the history of Christ, which devils also possess, but Christians who are experienced, treat of faith in a manner very different to that in which the sophists do, as we have shown above, that to believe, is to place confidence in the mercy of God that he will be gracious for the sake of Christ, without our merit, and this is believing the Article concerning remission. This argument of the schools, is therefore easy to refute, where they say: "The devils also believe, therefore faith does not justify." Yes, the devils have a knowledge of the history of Christ, but they do not believe in the remission of sins.

Again, they affirm that to be just is obedience. "Now, indeed," they continue "the performance of works is an obedience; therefore works must justify." We shall reply to this in the following manner: to be just is an obedience which God accepts as *one*. But God will not accept our obedience in works as righteousness, because it is not sincere obedience, inasmuch as no one keeps the law entirely. He has, therefore, ordained *another* obedience, which he will accept as righteousness, namely, an acknowledgment of our disobedience, and a confidence that we are acceptable to God for the sake of Christ, not on account of our obedience. Hence we may here term justification an acceptance with God, not on account of our obedience, but through mercy for Christ's sake.

Again, "It is sin to hate God; therefore, it must be righteousness to love God." True, to love God is righteousness of the law: but no one fulfils this law. The Gospel, therefore, teaches a new righteousness, that we please God on account of Christ, if even we do not fulfil the law, and yet we should strive to perform the requisitions of the law.

Again, what is the difference between *faith* and *hope?* Reply. Hope awaits *future* blessings and a deliverance from calamity; faith receives the *present* reconciliation, and feels sincerely that God has forgiven our sins, and that he is now merciful to us. And this is a noble service of God, when we ascribe to him the honor, and hold his mercies and promises with such assurance, that we can receive and await various blessings from him without merit. And this divine service should be exercised and increased in the heart, of which the ignorant sophists know nothing.

Hence it is easy to understand what ought to be believed concerning *merito condigni*, where our adversaries imagine that we are justified before God by love and our works, where they do not even once take faith into consideration, but place in the room of Christ the Mediator, our works, our fulfilment of the law,—things which can by no means be tolerated. For although we have stated above, that wherever the new birth has been effected through the Spirit and grace, there undoubtedly love also follows, yet the glory of Christ must, however, not be transferred to our works; before as well as after which, if we come to the Gospel we are certainly esteemed just for the sake of Christ, and he remains the Mediator and Conciliator before as well as after them, after as well as before; and through Christ we have access to God, not because we have kept the law, and performed many good works, but because we so joyfully and confidently rely on grace, and so assuredly trust, that we by grace for Christ's sake, are esteemed just in the sight of God.

And the holy universal Christian church teaches and confesses that we are saved through mercy; as we have shown above from Jerome. Our righteousness does not depend upon our own merit, but upon the mercy of God; and this mercy is apprehended through faith.

But here every intelligent person may observe what would result from the doctrine of our adversaries. Because, if we maintain that Christ has merited for us only *primam gratiam*, that is, the first grace, (as they call it,) and that we must afterwards merit by our works eternal life, neither our hearts nor our consciences can be pacified, either in the hour of death or at any other time; nor shall we ever be able to base ourselves on sure grounds, or to be certain whether God is gracious to us. Consequently, their doctrine leads our consciences perpetually into a mere state of grief, and finally to despair. For the law of God is more than a jest, it accuses us continually, apart from Christ; as Paul says, Rom. 4, 15: "The law worketh wrath." Thus, when our consciences feel the judgment of God, and have no comfort, they fall into despair.

And Paul says: "Whatsoever is not of faith is sin," Rom. 14, 23. But those can do nothing in faith, who obtain a gracious God only after they shall have fulfiled the law with their works. For they will always waver and doubt whether they have performed works enough, whether the law is perfectly satisfied. Yes, they will forcibly feel and experience that they are still under obligation to the law; for this reason they can never feel assured that they have a gracious God, or that their prayers are heard. Therefore they can never love God rightly, nor can they perceive any blessing

conferred upon them by him, or serve him properly. For what better than hell itself, are those hearts and consciences, in which nothing else exists but doubt, despair, murmur, vexation, and hatred towards God? Yet in that hatred, they call upon God in a hypocritical manner, as the ungodly king Saul did.

Here we may appeal to the conscience of every Christian, and to all that have experienced temptations, who must confess and affirm, that doubt, disquiet, torment and anguish, gloomy dejection and desperation,—to such an extent,—result from the doctrine of our adversaries, where they teach or imagine that we by our works or our fulfilment of the law, which we effect, are justified before God. And they direct us to rely on an obscure foundation, our feeble works, instead of the rich, the blissful promises of grace, offered to us through Christ the Mediator.

Wherefore this conclusion remains as a wall, yes, stands firm as a rock, that, if we have already made a commencement to do the law, we are, however, not acceptable to God or in possession of peace with him on account of such work, but for the sake of Christ, through faith; nor is God under obligation for these works to grant us eternal life. But, even as remission of sins and righteousness are imputed unto us for the sake of Christ, not on account of our works or the law; so eternal life together with righteousness, is offered unto us, not on account of our works, or the law, but for the sake of Christ; as he says, John 6, 40: "This is the will of him that sent me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have everlasting life." Again, verse 47: "He that believeth on me hath everlasting life."

Here we may ask our adversaries, what advice they would give to distressed consciences in the hour of death; whether they would console them under a persuasion that they will go to happiness, that they will be saved, and secure a gracious God on account of their own merits, or by the grace and mercy of God for Christ's sake. For St. Peter, St. Paul, and similar saints, could not boast that God owed to them eternal life for their martyrdoms; and they did not rely on their works, but upon the mercy promised in Christ.

And it would be impossible for a saint, no matter how great and exalted he might be, to exist, or sustain the accusations of the divine law, the strong power of Satan, the terrors of death, and finally the desperations and agonies of hell, if he would not seize the divine promises, the Gospel, as a tree or a branch in the great flood, in the strong, violent stream, among the waves, the surges, and the pangs of death; and if he would not support himself through faith by the

word which announces grace, and thus obtain eternal life without any works, without the law, by grace alone. But this doctrine alone supports the Christian conscience in temptations and the agonies of death,—a doctrine of which our adversaries know nothing, and of which they treat as the blind do of colors.

But here they say: "If we must be saved by mercy alone, what kind of difference, then, is there between those that are saved, and those that are not saved? If merit avails nothing, there can be no difference between the wicked and the good, and it follows that they are alike saved." This argument so moved the schoolmen, that they devised the *meritum condigni*, because there must be a difference between those that are saved and those that are condemned.

In the first place, however, we assert that eternal life belongs to those whom God esteems just, and when they are esteemed just, they are children of God, and become joint heirs with Christ; as Paul says to the Romans, Rom. 8, 30: "Whom he justified, them he also glorified." For this reason no one is saved, except those alone that believe the Gospel. But as our reconciliation towards God is doubtful, if it must depend on our works and not upon the gracious promise of God, which cannot fail: so also would all be doubtful that we await through hope, if it must be based on our merit and works. Because the law of God accuses our conscience continually, and we feel in our hearts nothing but this voice from the clouds and the flames of fire, Deut. 5, 6–9: *I am the Lord thy God, this ye shall do, this ye are under obligation to do, this I desire to have done.* And the conscience of no individual can be in possession of peace one moment, if Moses and the law obtrude upon his heart, before he comprehends Christ through faith. Nor can he rightly entertain a hope for eternal life, except his conscience first be restored to peace. For the conscience that doubts, flees from God, and falls into despair, and cannot hope. But the hope of eternal life must be certain. In order that it may not be doubtful but sure, we must believe that we have eternal life, not through our works and our merit, but by grace alone, through faith in Christ.

In temporal matters and courts of justice, there are both favor and justice. Justice is certain through the law and judgment; favor is precarious. In the presence of God it is different, because grace and mercy are promised through an indubitable word, and the Gospel is that word; it commands us to believe that God is merciful to us, and that he will save us for Christ's sake, as this text reads, John 3, 17, 18: "For God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world; but that the world through him might be

saved. He that believeth on him is not condemned," &c.

Whenever we speak of mercy, it must be understood that faith is required; and this faith constitutes the difference between those that are saved and those that are condemned, between the worthy and the unworthy. Because eternal life is promised to no one, but those who are reconciled in Christ. But faith reconciles and makes us just in the sight of God, whenever we lay hold of the promise through faith. And during our whole life we should pray God and exert ourselves, in order to obtain faith, and to increase in it. For, as it was said above, faith exists wherever there is repentance; and it does not exist in those, who live after the flesh. This faith, through various temptations, should also grow and increase during our whole life. And they who obtain faith, are born anew, so that they also lead a new life, and do good works.

And as we now say that true repentance must continue during our whole life: so we also say that good works and fruits of faith must follow during our whole life; although our works never become so precious, that they should be equal to the treasure of Christ, or merit eternal life; as Christ also says, Luke 17, 10: "When ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants." And St. Bernard correctly says: "It is necessary first to believe, and you must believe that you cannot have the forgiveness of sins, except alone through the grace of God; and afterwards that you cannot have and do any good works, if God does not grant it you; and finally that you cannot merit by any good work eternal life, if it is not given unto you without merit." And a little afterwards, he says: "Let no one deceive himself; for if you would properly consider the matter, you would undoubtedly discover that you cannot with ten thousand, withstand him who opposes you with twenty thousand." These are the forcible words of St. Bernard; they should believe these, if they will not believe us.

Wherefore, in order that the hearts of persons may entertain a consolation and a hope, which are real and infallible, we refer them, as Paul does, to the divine promises of grace in Christ; and teach them that they must believe that God grants them eternal life, not on account of their work, or the fulfilment of the law, but for the sake of Christ; as the apostle John asserts in his 1 epistle 5, 12: "He that hath the Son hath life; and he that hath not the Son of God hath not life."

Here our adversaries have eminently manifested their great skill, by perverting this declaration of Christ: "When ye shall have done

all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants." They remove the sentiment from works to faith, saying: "Much more, if we believe all things, are we unprofitable servants." These are truly infamous sophists, who pervert so entirely the consolatory doctrine of faith. Say, ye dolts, what would you advise an individual, if he were lying at the point of death, and felt that he was in possession of no work that is sufficient before the judgment-seat of God, and could not depend upon any work? Would you also say to him: If you even do believe, yet you are an unprofitable servant, and it avails you nothing? Here the distressed conscience must fall into despair, if it does not know, that even for this reason the Gospel requires faith, because we are unprofitable servants, and have no merit.

We should, therefore, be cautious of the sophists, who so blasphemously pervert the words of Christ. For it does not follow, that because works avail nothing, therefore faith also avails nothing. We must give our rude dolts a common example:—It does not follow that if a farthing avails nothing, therefore a florin also avails nothing. So, as a florin is much greater and more efficacious than a farthing, we must understand that faith is much greater and more efficacious than works. Not that faith avails on account of its worthiness, but because it relies on the promises and mercy of God. Faith is powerful, not on account of its worthiness, but because of the divine promises. And therefore Christ has here forbid us to rely on our own works; for they cannot help. On the other hand, he did not forbid us to rely on the promises of God; yes, he requires that confidence on the promises of God, even because we are unprofitable servants, and because works cannot help.

Wherefore the miscreants pervert the words of Christ, concerning reliance on our own works, by misapplying their meaning to reliance on the divine promises. By this their sophistry is clearly solved and refuted. Christ the Lord will soon bring the sophists to shame, who thus pervert his holy word. Amen.

Our adversaries, however, wish to show that we merit eternal life by our works *de condigno*, in order that eternal life may be called a reward. To this we shall reply briefly and accurately.

Paul calls eternal life a gift, (Rom. 6, 23,) because, when we are justified through faith, we become sons of God and joint heirs with Christ. But in another place it is written: "Your reward shall be great" in heaven. (Luke 6, 35.) Now if our adversaries think that these passages contradict each other, they may explain them. They do, as they are accustomed;—they omit the word *gift*, and leave

out the chief object,—how we are justified before God. Again, they omit the fact, that Christ always remains the Mediator; and accordingly pick out the word *merces* or reward, and explain it in the most artful manner, according to their own fancy, not only repugnant to the Scripture, but also to the usual mode of explication; and thus conclude:—"Here stands in the Scripture, *your reward*, &c., therefore our works are so deserving, that by them we merit eternal life." This is wholly a new system of dialectics; here we discover the single word *reward;* therefore our works must make complete satisfaction for the requisitions of the law; therefore we must become acceptable to God through our works, and have no need of grace, or of a Mediator Christ. Our good works are made the treasure, by which eternal life is bought and obtained. We can, therefore, keep the first and greatest commandment of God, and the whole law, by our good works. Further, we can also do *opera supererogationis*, that is works of supererogation, or more than the law requires. Hence, if the monks perform more works than their duty requires they possess supererogatory merits, which they may share with others, or communicate for money; and like new gods, may institute a new sacrament out of this gift by which to show that they have sold or imparted their merits, as the Franciscan monks and other orders have done without shame, by putting upon the heads of dead bodies caps belonging to their orders. These are fine, strong conclusions; all of which they appear able to spin out of this one word *reward*, to the utter disparagement of Christ and of faith.

We do not, however, contend about the word *reward*, but we strive concerning these great, high, and most important matters, viz., where should Christian hearts seek for real and certain consolation? again, whether our works can restore our consciences to peace or quiet? again, whether we should hold that our works are deserving of eternal life, or whether it is granted for Christ's sake? These are the proper questions in this matter; if on these points the conscience is not properly instructed, it cannot have any sure comfort.

But we have stated in terms sufficiently clear, that good works do not fulfil the law; that we have need of the mercy of God, and that through faith we become acceptable to God; and that good works, no matter how precious they may be, if even they were the works of St. Paul, cannot restore any conscience to peace. Hence it follows, that we must believe that we obtain eternal life through Christ by grace, not on account of works or the law.

But what do we say concerning the reward which the Scriptures

mention? In the first place, if we had asserted that eternal life is called a reward, because it belongs to believers in Christ through the divine promise, we would have made a proper assertion. The Scriptures, however, call eternal life a reward, not, that God is under obligation to grant it on account of our works, but, after eternal life is given in a different way through other means, that nevertheless our works and tribulations are recompensed; although the treasure is so great that God would not owe it to us for our works; even as the inheritance of all the goods of a father is given to the son, and it is a rich equivalent and a reward of his obedience; but yet he receives the inheritance not on account of his merit, but because the father granted it to him, as a father.

It suffices, then, that for this reason eternal life is called a reward, so that by it the afflictions which we endure, and the works of love which we do, are recompensed; although it is not merited by them. For there are two kinds of compensation, one which a man is under obligation to make, another which he is not under obligation to make; as, if the emperor gives to his servant a principality, by it the servant's labor is recompensed; and yet the labor is not deserving the principality, but the servant acknowledges that it is a gratuitous reward: so God does not owe to us eternal life for our works; but, however, as he grants it for Christ's sake to believers, their afflictions and works, by it, are recompensed.

We say, moreover, that good works are truly deserving and meritorious, not that they should merit for us the remission of sins, or justify us before God; for they do not please God, unless they are performed by those whose sins are already forgiven. Thus they are also not worth eternal life. But they are meritorious with respect to other gifts, which are given in this life and the life to come. For God withholds or procrastinates many gifts till yonder life, where, after this life, he will raise the saints to honor. Because here in this life he wishes to crucify and mortify the old Adamic nature with various temptations and afflictions.

And to this the declaration of Paul bears a relation, 1 Cor. 3, 8: "Every man shall receive his own reward, according to his own labor." For the blessed will have compensation, one higher than another. Their merit makes such difference, according as it pleases God; and it is merit, because God has accepted those who perform such good works as children and heirs; so then, they have a peculiar and an especial merit, as one child has towards another.

Our adversaries quote other passages also, to show that our works earn eternal life: as these:—Paul says, Rom. 2, 6: "Who will

render to every man according to his deeds." Again, John 5, 28, 29: "All that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good unto the resurrection of life." Again, Matt. 25, 35: "For I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat." Reply:—All these passages which commend works, we must understand according to the principle which we have laid down above, viz., that works apart from Christ do not please God, and that we must in no way exclude Christ the Mediator. Therefore, if the text says that eternal life shall be given to those who have done good, it shows that it will be given to those who were justified before through faith in Christ. Because no good works are pleasing to God, unless faith be present, through which the persons believe that they are acceptable with God for Christ's sake; and those, who are thus justified through faith, bring forth truly good works and good fruits; as the text says: "I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat," &c. Here we must acknowledge that Christ meant not only the works, but he desired to approve the heart which sincerely held and believed concerning God, that it was pleasing to him through mercy. Thus Christ teaches that eternal life will be given to the righteous; as he says: "The righteous shall go into life eternal." And yet, a little before, he mentions the fruits, so that we might learn that righteousness and faith are not hypocrisy, but a new life, in which good works must follow.

We do not here seek an unnecessary subtility, but there are great reasons for which it is necessary to have proper instructions on these inquiries. For, if it were granted to our adversaries, that works merit eternal life, they would immediately spin out of it this injudicious doctrine that we are able to keep the law of God, that we need no mercy, and that we are just before God; that is, acceptable with God through our works, not for the sake of Christ,—also that we can do works of supererogation, even more than the law requires. In this manner, then, the whole doctrine concerning faith would be entirely suppressed. But if there is to be and continue a Christian church, the pure doctrine concerning Christ, concerning the righteousness of faith, must indeed be maintained. It is, therefore, necessary for us to assail these great Pharisaical errors, in order to save the name of Christ, his honor, and that of the Gospel, and to maintain for the hearts of Christians a right, a true, and constant consolation. For how can it be possible for the heart or conscience to arrive at peace or to entertain a hope for salvation, when in temptations and the pangs of death our works appear wholly as dust before the judgment-seat and presence of God; if it is not assured through faith,

that it is saved by faith for Christ's sake, not on account of our works, nor on account of our fulfilment of the law.

And undoubtedly St. Lorentz, when he lay upon the flames, suffering as a martyr for the sake of Christ, did not entertain the opinion that these of his works fulfilled the law of God perfectly and purely; that he was without sin, and had no need of grace or of Christ the Mediator. It is evident that he depended upon the words of the prophet David: "Enter not into judgment with thy servant," &c., Psalm 143, 2.

St. Bernard likewise did not boast that his works were worthy of eternal life, where he says: "*Perdide vixi*, I have lived sinfully," &c. Yet he consoles himself again, relying on the promises of grace; and believes that he is in possession of the forgiveness of sins and eternal life on account of Christ; as the 32 Psalm says: "Blessed is the man unto whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity," verse 2. And Paul says to the Romans, Rom. 4, 6: "Even as David describeth the blessedness of the man unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works." Thus, then, Paul says the one is blessed, to whom righteousness is imputed through faith in Christ, if he even has performed no good works. This is the right and the sure comfort, which will not fail in temptations, and by which the heart and the conscience can be strengthened and consoled; namely, that for Christ's sake through faith, remission of sins, righteousness, and eternal life, are given to us. If, then, these passages, which treat concerning works, are understood in this manner,—that they include faith also; they are by no means in opposition to this doctrine. And faith must always be comprehended in connection; by which we do not exclude Christ the Mediator. But the fulfilment of the law follows faith, because the Holy Spirit being present, effects a new life. This is sufficient on this article.

IV. OF THE CHURCH.

Our adversaries condemn the seventh article of our Confession, in which we assert that the Christian church is the congregation of saints. And they subjoin long declamations, in order to show that the malicious or ungodly ought not to be separated from the church, because John the baptist compares the church to a floor, upon which wheat and chaff are heaped up together. Again, Christ compares it to a net, in which there are fishes both bad and good.

Here we perceive that it is true, as it is said, that nothing can be expressed so clearly, which an evil tongue cannot pervert. We have, even for this reason, added the eighth article, that no one might

presume that we wish to separate from the external society of Christians or the church the immoral and the hypocritical, or that it is our opinion that the sacraments, if they are administered by the ungodly, are without power or effect.

Wherefore this false and erroneous construction does not require a long reply. The eighth article clears us sufficiently. We confess and assert, that hypocrites and wicked persons may also be members of the church, in external community of name and office, and that persons may receive the sacraments with due effect from wicked individuals; especially from those who have not been excommunicated. And the sacraments are not, therefore, without power or effect, because they are administered by the ungodly. For Paul also prophesied that Antichrist would sit in the temple of God, rule and reign in the church, and have authority and office in it.

The Christian church does not, however, consist only in a system of external signs, but it consists chiefly in the internal communion among the heavenly graces of the heart; as the Holy Spirit, faith, the fear and love of God. And this church, nevertheless, has external signs also, by which it is known; namely, where the pure word of God is advanced, and where the sacraments are administered in conformity with it, *there* is in truth the church, *there* are Christians. And this church alone is called in the Scriptures the body of Christ; because Christ is its head, and he sanctifies and strengthens it through his Spirit; as Paul says to the Ephesians, Eph. 1, 22, 23: "And gave him to be the head over all things to the church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all." Therefore, they, in whom Christ does not work through his Spirit, are not members of Christ. Our adversaries likewise acknowledge, that the wicked are only dead members of the church.

Wherefore I cannot sufficiently express my astonishment, why they assail our definition of the church; as we spoke of living members of the church. And we have asserted nothing new. For Paul to the Ephesians, also defines it in the same manner, Eph. 5, 25–27; and designates also the external signs, viz. the Gospel and the sacraments. For thus he says: "Christ also loved the church, and gave himself for it; that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water, by the word; that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish." We have inserted in our Confession this passage of the apostle nearly word for word.

And in like manner we also confess in our Faith and holy Symbol: "I believe in one holy Christian church." Here we say that the

church is holy. But the ungodly and the impious cannot be the holy church. A little afterwards it follows in our creed: "The communion of saints." Which explains still more clearly and explicitly, what the church is; viz., that body, that congregation, which confess one Gospel, which have similar perceptions of Christ, and one Spirit, who renovates, sanctifies, and rules their hearts.

And this article, concerning the universal church, which is adapted to every nation under the sun, is very consolatory and highly necessary. For the number of ungodly persons is much greater, almost innumerable, who contemn and bitterly hate and violently persecute the word of God; as, the Turks, the Mahometans, tyrants, heretics, &c. The true doctrine and the right church are, moreover, frequently so entirely suppressed and lost, as it happened under popery, that it appears as if there were no church; and it often seems as if it were altogether destroyed. On the other hand, this consolatory article was inserted in the Symbol:—"I believe in one universal Christian church,"—in order that we might be assured beyond a doubt, but be in possession of full confidence that there properly is and will continue one Christian church on earth, till the end of the world; that we may also not doubt that upon earth there exists one Christian church, which is the bride of Christ; although the number of the impious is greater; and that Christ the Lord, here on earth, in the assembly which is called the church, operates daily, remits sins, hears prayers daily, vivifies daily his servants in temptations, with rich and efficacious consolation, and ever raises them up again. This article was, moreover, designed to prevent any one from thinking that the church is, as another external polity, confined to this or that country, kingdom or state, as the pope of Rome wishes to say; but that it remains certainly true, that the right church consists of that body and those people who everywhere in the world, from the rising of the sun to his setting, believe sincerely on Christ, and who have one Gospel, one Christ, one baptism and holy Supper, and are ruled by one Holy Spirit; even if they have dissimilar ceremonies.

It is also clearly stated in the explanation on the Decree of Gratian, that the word church must be understood in an extensive application, comprehending both bad and good. Again, it is said that the bad are in the church only by name, not by practice; but the good are in it both by name and practice. And there are many passages in the writings of the Fathers of similar import. For Jerome says: "He who is a sinner, and still remains impure, cannot be called a member of the church, nor can he belong to the church of Christ."

Although wicked and impious hypocrites have fellowship with the true church in external signs, in names and offices; yet, if we wish to define strictly what the church is, we must say that it consists of those who are called the body of Christ, and who have communion not only in external signs, but have faith and the graces of the Holy Spirit, in their hearts.

It is necessary for us to have a proper knowledge of the means by which we become members of Christ, and which constitute us living members of the church; for if we would say that the church is only an outward polity, as other establishments, in which there are both wicked and pious individuals; no one would learn or understand from it, that the kingdom of Christ is spiritual, as it really is; in which Christ inwardly rules, strengthens, and consoles the hearts, and imparts to them the Holy Spirit and various spiritual gifts: but men would think that it is an external observance of certain rites, ceremonies, and divine services.

Again, what kind of difference would there be between the people of the law and those of the church, if the church were only an outward polity? Thus Paul distinguishes the church from the Jews, saying, the church is a spiritual people; that is, a people who are distinguished from the Gentiles not only in polity and civil rites, but a right people of God, who are enlightened in their hearts, and born anew through the Holy Spirit.

Again, among the Jewish people, all those who were native Jews and of the seed of Abraham, had, besides the promises of divine blessings in Christ, many promises also concerning temporal blessings; as, concerning kingdoms, &c. And on account of the divine promises, the wicked also among them were called the people of God. Because God had separated from the Gentiles, by these temporal promises, the lineal seed of Abraham and all that were native Jews; and yet the wicked and ungodly were not the true people of God; nor did they please him. But the Gospel which is preached in the church, brings along with it not only the shadow of eternal blessings; but each true Christian here on earth, participates of the eternal blessings, eternal comfort, eternal life and the Holy Spirit, and of righteousness which is of God, until he shall be perfectly blessed in yonder world.

According to the Gospel, then, those alone are the people of God, who receive the spiritual blessings and the Holy Spirit; and this church is the kingdom of Christ, distinguished from the kingdom of Satan. For it is certain that all the ungodly are in the power of the devil, and members of his kingdom; as Paul says to the Ephe-

sians, Eph. 2, 2: "Ye walked according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience." And Christ said to the Pharisees: (who were the holiest, and bore the name of being the people and the church of God, and even made their offerings:) "Ye are of your father the devil," John 8, 44.

The true church is, therefore, the kingdom of Christ; that is, the congregation of all saints; for the ungodly are not ruled by the Spirit of Christ. But what need is there of many words on a point so clear and manifest? Our adversaries, however, presume to contradict the clear truth. If the church, which indeed is the kingdom of Christ and of God, is distinguished from the kingdom of the devil, the impious who are in the kingdom of the devil, can by no means be the church; although in this life, because the kingdom of Christ is not yet manifest, they are among the true Christians and in the congregation, and bear the office of teacher and other sacred offices. But the ungodly are not, in the meantime therefore, a part of the kingdom of Christ, since it is not yet manifest. Because the true kingdom of Christ, the true members of Christ, are and will continue to be those whom the Spirit of God has enlightened, whom he strengthens and rules, although this kingdom is not yet manifest to the world, but concealed under difficulties. Even as there is and always remains one Christ, who was once crucified, and now reigns and rules in everlasting glory in heaven.

And with this the parable of Christ accords; where he distinctly says, Matt. 13, 38: "The good seed are the children of the kingdom; but the tares are the children of the wicked one: the field is the world,"—not the church.

In the same manner may also the declaration of John be understood, where he says, Matt. 3, 12: "He will thoroughly purge his floor, and gather his wheat into the garner; but he will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire." Here he speaks of the whole Jewish people, and asserts that the true church shall be separated from the people. This passage is more against our adversaries than in their favor; for it shows clearly, that the truly believing, spiritual people shall be separated from carnal Israel.

And where Christ says, Matt. 13, 47: "The kingdom of heaven is like unto a net;" again, it is "likened to ten virgins," Matt. 25, 1–5; he does not mean that the impious are the church; but he teaches how the church appears in this world. Wherefore he says the church is like these, &c. That is, as there are among a quantity of fish, good ones and bad ones promiscuously; so the church is here

concealed among the great number and multitude of ungodly persons; and he designed to prevent the pious from being offended; again, that we might know that the word and the sacraments are not without effect, if even the ungodly preach, or administer the sacraments. And Christ also teaches us by it, that the ungodly, even if they are in the church according to external fellowship, are not however, members of Christ, or the true church; for they are members of the devil.

And we do not speak of an imaginary church which can be found nowheres, but we affirm and know to a certainty that this church, in which saints live, truly exists on earth; namely, that there are some of God's children in different places throughout the world, in various kingdoms, islands, countries, and cities, from the rising of the sun to his setting, who have a proper perception of Christ and the Gospel; and we assert that this church has the external signs, the ministry of the Gospel and the sacraments.

And this church is truly, as Paul says, (1 Tim. 3, 15,) *the pillar of truth;* because it retains the pure Gospel, the true foundation; and as he says, 1 Cor. 3, 11: "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ." Upon this foundation the Christians are built.

And although among those who are built on the right foundation, that is, Christ and faith, there are many weak persons who build on such foundation hay and stubble; that is, certain human conceits and opinions, by which they do not, however, overthrow or reject the foundation, Christ; yet they are, nevertheless, Christians; and such fault will be forgiven them; and they will also be enlightened at some time, and better informed. So we see in the writings of the Fathers, that they also at times built hay and stubble on that foundation; yet they did not wish by that to overthrow it.

But many articles which our adversaries defend, militate against the right foundation, the knowledge of Christ, and faith; for they reject and condemn the highest and greatest article, in which we affirm that we obtain remission of sins through faith alone, through Christ without all works. On the other hand, they teach us to rely on our works, for the purpose of meriting forgiveness of our sins; and they place in the room of Christ their works, orders, and masses; as the Jews, heathens, and the Turks expect to be saved by their own works. Again, they teach that the sacraments make pious *ex opere operato*, without faith. Now, he that does not consider faith necessary, has already lost Christ. Again, they establish services of the saints, and call on them, instead of Christ, as Mediators.

But as there are clear promises of God in the Scriptures, that the church shall always have the Holy Spirit; so there are also menaces, that, in addition to the true preachers, false teachers and wolves will insinuate themselves into the church. But *that* is properly the Christian church, which has the Holy Spirit. The wolves and false teachers, although they rage and do injury in the church, are not, however, the church, or the kingdom of Christ; as Lyra also shows, where he says: "The right church does not consist in human purposes, in the power or dignity of prelates; because many of high rank, princes and bishops, as well as many of low order, are fallen off from faith. Therefore the church consists of those in whom there is a proper perception of Christ, a true confession and acknowledgement of faith and of truth."

In our Confession, then, we have asserted nothing in reality different even from that which Lyra has stated in terms as clear as it was possible to employ. Our adversaries desire a new definition of the church, according to the religion of Rome; they wish us to define it thus:—The church is a supreme monarchy, and of all others in the world, the greatest and most powerful supremacy, in which the pope of Rome, as the head of the church, is permitted to adjust all controversies and business, great and small, spiritual and temporal, according to his own will and deliberations, being in possession of all power, concerning which (whether he use it or abuse it as he may think fit) no one is allowed to dispute, to speak or hint a word. Again, in this church the pope has authority to constitute articles of faith; to establish various modes of worship; to abolish all the holy Scripture according to his pleasure; to pervert it, and to explain it at his own discretion in terms opposed to all divine law, opposed to his own Decretal, and to all imperial rights. Moreover, he has authority to sell indulgences and dispensations for money; and from him the Roman emperor, all kings, princes, and potentates, are under obligation to receive their royal crowns, their exaltation, and their titles, as from the vicar of Christ. The pope is, therefore, a temporal god, a majesty supreme, a solitary lord, the most powerful in all the world, over all kingdoms, over all countries and people, over all possessions, spiritual and temporal, and thus has all things in his hand,—both the temporal and the spiritual sword. This definition, which does not at all accord with the genuine church, but with the autocrasy of the pope of Rome, we find not only in the Canonical Letters, but Daniel the prophet also describes Antichrist under the same character.

If we would define the church in this manner, and assert that it is

such an extravagance as the jurisdiction of the pope, we might perhaps have judges not quite so ungenerous. For the books of our adversaries are at hand, in which the power of the pope is represented in terms the most immoderate and impious; *these* no one opposes. But *we* must suffer because we praise and applaud the merits of Christ, and write and preach the plain words and doctrines of the Apostles, namely, that we obtain remission of our sins through faith in Jesus Christ, and not through hypocrisy, or devised services of God, which the pope has established without number. But Christ and the prophets and the apostles write and speak concerning what the church of Christ is, in a manner differing very much from that of our adversaries; and the supremacy of the pope does by no means accord with that church, but it appears entirely dissimilar.

We must, therefore, not explain those passages, which speak of the true church, as alluding to the pontiffs or bishops, who are thus represented as souls of truth. Again, we must not believe these men infallible. For how many do we find, or how many have hitherto been found, among the bishops and papists, who have accepted the Gospel with zeal and sincerity, or have considered it essential to study a page or syllable of it correctly? Many examples are at hand which show that there are many in Wales and in other regions, who deride all religion,—deride Christ and the Gospel, and make public sport of them. And if they do approve any thing, they approve that only which is commensurate with human reason, all else they regard as fabulous.

We, therefore, conclude, according to the holy Scriptures, that the true Christian church consists of those persons throughout the world, who truly believe the Gospel of Christ, and have the Holy Spirit. And yet we acknowledge also, that, in this state of earthly existence there are among the true Christians many hypocrites and wicked persons who are also members of the church, in so far as it concerns the external signs. For they hold offices in the church, preach, administer the sacraments, and bear the title and name of Christian. And the sacraments, &c., are not without power and effect, even when administered by unworthy and impious individuals, who nevertheless represent the person of Christ, on account of their being regularly called by the church; as Christ testifies, Luke 10, 16: "He that heareth you, heareth me." So Judas also was sent to preach. If, then, even ungodly persons administer the sacraments and preach, they officiate in the stead of Christ. And this declaration of Christ teaches us that in such cases the unworthiness of the servant should not offend us.

But on this subject we have stated in terms sufficiently clear, in our Confession, that we do not entertain the same views which the Donatists and the Wickliffites do; namely, that those commit sin who receive the sacraments in the church from ungodly servants. This, we think, ought to suffice to defend and sustain the definition by which we have declared what the church is. And since the right church is called in the Scriptures the body of Christ, it is by no means possible to treat of it in any other manner.

For it is evident that hypocrites and the ungodly cannot be the body of Christ, but belong to the kingdom of the devil, who has taken them captive, and urges them whither he will. All this is very manifest, and so clear that no one can deny it. But if our adversaries still continue their calumniations, they shall be further replied to.

Our adversaries also condemn that part of the seventh article, in which we have stated that it is sufficient for the unity of the church, that the same Gospel is preached and the same sacraments are administered, and that it is not necessary for human ordinances to be every where uniform. This part, however, they grant, that it is not necessary for the unity of the church that particular traditions (*traditiones particulares*) be alike. But they maintain that it is necessary for the true unity of the church, that universal traditions (*traditiones universales*) be alike.

That distinction is not appropriate and satisfactory. We assert that those constitute a unanimous church, who believe in one Christ, and have one Gospel, one Spirit, one faith, and the same sacraments; and thus we speak concerning spiritual union, without which, faith and a spiritual community cannot exist. As to this harmony, then, we say that it is not necessary for human ordinances, whether they be universal or particular, to be every where alike. For that righteousness which avails in the sight of God,—that which comes through faith,—is not confined to external ceremonies, or human ordinances. Because faith is a light in the heart, which renovates and vivifies it; when this is the case, external ordinances or ceremonies, whether they be universal or particular, help but little.

And the causes which induced us to draw up this article, are not trivial. For many great errors and ridiculous opinions concerning human traditions have crept into the church. Some imagined that Christian holiness and faith, without such human ordinances, avail nothing in the sight of God; and that no one can be a Christian, unless he hold such traditions; when at the same time they are nothing but external ordinances which are often casually, as in worldly government, different in one place to those in another; as, in temporal

government one town has different customs to another. We also read in history that one church has excommunicated another, on account of such ordinances as Easter day, images, and the like.

Inexperienced persons have, for that reason, entertained no other views, but that persons become pious before God through such ceremonies, and that no one can be a Christian without such divine services and ceremonies; for there are many injurious writings of the Summists and others extant.

But as the harmony of the church is not broken if the days are naturally longer or shorter in one place than in another; so we also maintain that the harmony of the church is not broken if such human ordinances are regulated in one place in this manner, and in another in that. Although it is well-pleasing to us, that universal ceremonies be kept uniform on account of harmony and order, as in our churches we keep the mass, Sabbath days, and other great festivals.

And we approve all human ordinances which are good and useful, especially those which contribute to the salutary external discipline of youth and the common people. But the inquiry is not whether human ordinances ought to be observed on account of external discipline and civil tranquility. It is quite a different inquiry, namely, whether the observance of such human ordinances be real service of God, by which he is reconciled, and whether no one can be justified before God without such traditions? This is the chief inquiry, and when this is conclusively and satisfactorily answered, it will be easy to judge whether it is necessary for the unity of the church, to keep such ordinances every where alike.

For if such human ordinances are not a necessary service to God, it follows that some people can be pious, holy, just, the children of God and Christians, who do not observe the same ceremonies that are in use in other churches. As for example, if it is said that the wearing of German or French clothing is not a necessary service of God, it follows that some can be just and holy, and in the church of Christ, who do not wear similar German or French garments. Thus Paul also teaches clearly to the Colossians, Col. 2, 16. 17: "Let no man, therefore, judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a holy-day, or of the new-moon, or of sabbath-days; which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ." Again, verses 20–23: "Wherefore, if ye be dead with Christ, from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances, (touch not; taste not; handle not; which all are to perish with the using,) after the commandments and doctrines

of men? which things have indeed a show of wisdom in will-worship and humility, and neglecting of the body; not in any honor to the satisfying of the flesh."

For it is the meaning of Paul that faith in the heart, through which we become pious, is a spiritual thing and a light in the heart, by which we are renewed and obtain another mind and disposition. But human traditions are not such a living light and power of the Holy Spirit in the heart,—they are not eternal; therefore they do not produce eternal life; but they are external exercises of the body, which do not change the heart.

Wherefore, it must not be maintained that they are essential to that righteousness which avails in the sight of God. And in this sense Paul also speaks to the Romans, Rom. 14, 17: "The kingdom of God is not meat and drink: but righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." But it is unnecessary to allege many passages of Scripture here, as the whole Bible is full of passages to this effect; and inasmuch as we have brought forth many in our Confession in the last article, we shall hereafter speak particularly concerning the chief inquiry of this matter, whether such human ordinances are a divine service which is necessary to salvation, where we shall express ourselves more fully on this subject.

Our adversaries say that we must observe such ordinances, especially the universal ceremonies, because it is probable that they were handed down to us from the Apostles. O, what great, what holy, eminent apostolic people! how pious and spiritual they have now become! The ordinances and ceremonies established by the Apostles, as they say, they wish to observe; but the doctrines and the clear words of the Apostles they do not wish to observe. And yet we say and know, that it is right.

We must teach, judge, and treat concerning all ordinances in this manner, and in no other than that in which the Apostles themselves have taught concerning them in their writings. But the Apostles every where, labor in a manner the most serious and forcible not only against those who would applaud human ordinances so highly, but also against those who wish to regard the divine law, the ceremonies of circumcision, &c. as necessary to salvation.

The Apostles did not desire in any way to burden the conscience with impressions, that it would be sinful not to observe such ordinances concerning certain days, concerning festivals, concerning meats, and the like. And besides this, Paul (1 Tim. 4, 1) clearly terms such doctrine *doctrines of devils*. Wherefore, that which the Apostles regarded as good and useful we must seek from their connected

writings, and not allege examples only. It is true, they observed some particular days; not because such were necessary in order to become pious and just before God, but in order that the people might know when to assemble themselves together. They also observed several customs and ceremonies; as reading certain lessons in the Bible, convening at stated periods, &c. Likewise in the beginning of the church, the Jews who became Christians, observed many of their Jewish festivals and ceremonies which the Apostles accommodated to the Gospel narrative. So our Easter and our Whitsuntide originated from the Jewish Passover and from the Jewish Pentecost. And the Apostles wished not only by teaching, but also by such festivals as have a reference to history, to transmit to posterity a knowledge of Christ and of the great treasure in him.

If such ceremonies are necessary to salvation, why then did the bishops afterwards effect many changes in them? For if they were instituted by the command of God, no man had power to alter them.

Before the council of Nice, Easter was observed in one place at a different time to that in which it was observed at another place; and this discrepancy did not in the least injure the faith or the harmony of Christians. Afterwards men changed the Easter day intentionally, in order that our Easter might not occur on the same day with the Jewish Passover. But the Apostles commanded the festival of Easter to be observed in the churches at the time in which those brethren who were converted from Judaism, observed it. Some bishoprics and people, therefore, even after the council of Nice, maintained forcibly that Easter ought to be observed at the same time with the Jewish Passover. But the Apostles did not wish by their decree to burden the churches with the impression that such is necessary to salvation; as the clear words of this decree of theirs shows; for they express in clear terms, that no one should vex himself, even if the brethren, who observe the festival, do not precisely estimate the time alike. For Epiphanius refers to the words of the Apostles, from which every intelligent person may clearly perceive that the Apostles wished to remove this erroneous impression from the people, in order that no one might make a matter of conscience about festival days, certain times, &c. For they expressly add that no one should vex himself much, even if there be an error in the computation of the day. Similar views without number I could produce from history, and show still more clearly that such dissimilarity in external ordinances does not separate any one from the universal Christian church.

Our adversaries, who teach that the unity of the Christian church

consists in ordinances which relate to meats, to days, to vestments, and the like things which God has not commanded, do by no means understand what faith is, or what the kingdom of Christ is. But here every individual may perceive and observe what pious and exceedingly holy people our adversaries are. For, if universal regulations are necessary, and never ought to be altered, who commanded them to alter the sacrament of the Lord's Supper? which is not a human ordinance, but a divine injunction. We shall however, treat on this subject particularly hereafter.

The eighth article meets the entire approbation of our adversaries, in which we say that hypocrites and ungodly persons are found in the church, and that the sacraments are not without power, if they are administered by hypocrites; because they are administered by these men instead of Christ, who do not represent their own persons; as the passage, Luke 10, 16, says: "He that heareth you, heareth me." Yet we ought not to receive or hear *false* teachers, because these are no more in Christ's stead, but they are antichrists. And Christ has clearly commanded concerning these, Matt. 7, 15: "Beware of false prophets." And Paul to the Galatians, Gal. 1, 8: "Though we or an angel from heaven, preach any other Gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed."

With respect to whatever else belongs to the lives of the priests, Christ admonishes us in the parable concerning the church, that we should not excite schisms, as the Donatists have done, if the priests or the people do not every where live pure and Christian. But those who have excited schisms in some places, because they intimated that it is not lawful for priests to have possessions or property, we regard as seditious. For the possession of property or of goods, is a temporal regulation. But Christians may use all kinds of temporal regulations as freely as they use air, meats, drinks, common light. For even as heaven, earth, the sun, moon, and stars, are the works of God, and are preserved by him; so are polities and all that belongs to polities the regulations of God, and they are preserved and protected by him against the devil.

Of Baptism.

Our adversaries approve the ninth article, in which we confess that baptism is necessary to salvation, and that the baptism of young children is not fruitless, but essential and salutary. And because the Gospel is preached purely and with all diligence among us, we also have (God be praised) this great use and saving fruit of it, that Anabaptists have not insinuated themselves into our churches. For

our people are instructed through God's word against these ungodly rioters, these murderous miscreants; and as we have suppressed and condemned many other errors of the Anabaptists, so we have especially contended against them, and maintained that the baptism of children is not useless.

For it is altogether certain, that the divine promises of the graces of the Holy Spirit, belong not only to adults, but also to children. Now, the promises do not apply to these, if they be out of the church of Christ, where there is no Gospel nor sacrament. For the kingdom of Christ is only where the word of God and the sacraments exist.

Wherefore it is altogether a Christian and necessary duty, to baptize children, in order that they may become participants of the Gospel, of the promise of salvation, and of grace; as Christ commands, Matt. 28, 19: "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them," &c. Now, as grace and salvation in Christ are offered to them; so baptism is offered, both to men and women, to youths and infants. Hence it certainly follows that we may and ought to baptize infants; for in and with baptism, free grace and the treasure of the Gospel, are offered to them.

In the second place, it is clear that the Lord God approves the baptism of young children. But that God approves the baptism of young children, is manifest from this, that he has given the Holy Spirit to many who were baptized in their infancy; for there have been many holy people in the church, who were not baptized otherwise. The Anabaptists, who condemn this baptism, therefore teach erroneously.

Our adversaries do not assail the tenth article, in which we confess that the body and blood of Christ our Lord, are truly present in the supper of Christ, and there administered and received with the visible bread and wine; as it was hitherto maintained in the church; and as the canon of Gregory shows. And Cyril says, "That Christ is corporeally administered and given to us in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper." For thus he says: "We do not deny, that by right faith and pure love, we are spiritually united with Christ. But that we should have no union at all with him according to the flesh, we deny; and it is also repugnant to the Scripture. For who will doubt that Christ is even the vine, we the branches; that we receive nourishment (*Saft*, sap) and life from him? Hear, how Paul says, 1 Cor. 10, 16, 17: 'For we being many are one bread, and one body: for we are all partakers of that one bread.' Do you think, that we do not know the power of the divine blessings of the

sacrament of the Lord's Supper? For when it takes place, through a participation of the flesh and body of Christ, Christ even begins to dwell in us bodily. Again, it is, for that reason, to be observed that Christ is in us, not only by spiritual union, through love, but also by natural communion." And we speak of the presence of the living body; for we know, as Paul says, Rom. 6, 9: that "Death hath no more dominion over him."

Our adversaries approve the eleventh article, in which we speak concerning absolution. But in that portion relating to confession, they would subjoin that every Christian confess once every year, according to the chapter:—*Omnis utriusque sexus*, and if he cannot enumerate all his sins so correctly, that he still should make effort to recollect all of them, and mention in confession as many as he is able to recollect.

We shall hereafter treat still farther of this whole article, when we speak of Christian repentance. It is evident, and our adversaries cannot deny, that our divines have preached, written, and taught, concerning absolution, concerning the power of the keys, in a manner so Christian, so judicious, and pure, that many beclouded and afflicted consciences receive great consolation from our doctrine, after they have received proper instructions on this vital subject; namely, that it is the command of God and the proper application of the Gospel, to believe the absolution of our sins, and to feel a firm assurance within us, that without our merit they are forgiven us through Christ, and that we are as certain, when we believe the words of absolution, that God is reconciled, as if we had heard a voice from heaven.

And this doctrine, which is so necessary, has afforded great consolation to the conscience of afflicted individuals. And many upright and intelligent persons, with cordial piety, from the beginning, commended Dr. Luther highly on account of our doctrine; and they were especially gratified, because sure consolation which was so necessary, was now again revealed. For before this, the whole useful doctrine of repentance and absolution had been suppressed, when the sophists taught no true and constant consolation for the conscience of men, but directed them to their works for comfort, from which nothing can originate but desperation in alarmed consciences.

But with respect to whatever relates to the proper time of confession, it is true, and not concealed from our adversaries, that many persons in our churches make confession not only once a year, but often, and enjoy absolution and the holy Supper. And our preachers, when they treat upon the use and necessity of the holy sacra-

ment, carefully teach and admonish the people to use it frequently. And there are also books and writings of our divines at hand, which are written in such a manner, that they are never assailed, but necessarily commended by some of our adversaries, who are people of honor and piety.

So it is likewise always announced by our preachers, that all those shall be excommunicated and excluded (from the church) who live in open vices, fornication, adultery, &c.; again, all those who scorn the holy sacrament. Thus we maintain this according to the Gospel and the ancient canons.

No one, however, is compelled to receive the sacrament on a particular day or a fixed time; for it is impossible for all people to be equally worthy at a fixed time; and if all the people in one whole parish were to approach the altar at one time, they could not be examined and instructed with the same diligence that is employed among us in our instructions. And the ancient canons and the Fathers have prescribed no particular time. Only thus says the canon: "If some resort to the church, and it is discovered that they do not commune, they should be admonished; where others do not commune, they should be admonished to repentance; but if they desire to be regarded as Christians, they must not always abstain from it."

Paul, 1 Cor. 11, 29, says: "He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself." For this reason our preachers do not urge those to receive the sacrament, who are unprepared.

With respect, however, to the enumeration and recollection of sins in confession, our ministers do not betray the people into the impression that it is necessary to enumerate all sins by name. Although it may have good effects to accustom rude and inexperienced persons, to mention by name in confession several of their sins which are pressing upon them, in order that we may with greater facility give them proper instruction; but we do not, however, here dispute about this, but whether God has commanded that men must thus enumerate all sins, and whether sins, which are not enumerated, cannot be forgiven?

Our adversaries, therefore, should not have alleged against us this chapter: *Omnis utriusque sexus*, which is not unknown to us; but they should have shown us from the holy Scripture, from the word of God, that God has commanded such enumeration of sins.

It is, alas! too clear and notorious in all the church throughout Europe, how this particular chapter: *Omnis utriusque sexus*, has cast the conscience into distress, misery, and difficulties, where it

commands that every person is under obligation to confess all his sins; and the text itself has not done so much injury, as the books of the Summists, in which the particulars and circumstances of those sins are collected, have done since. For by that means, they first caused the conscience to err and to be tormented without limit; and this, moreover, seems to have effected none but good-hearted people; for the impudent and the wild made but little inquiry about it.

Besides, the text declares that each one must confess to his own priest; as a natural consequence, what great contentions, murderous envy, and hatred, were excited between the clergymen and the monks of various orders, in determining which was the proper priest? For all brotherly love and friendship ceased, when the confession was to be held for the sake of dominion, or for the confessor's fees.

We, therefore, maintain that God did not command that sins should be mentioned and enumerated by name; and this Panormitan also maintained, and many other learned men. Wherefore, we shall impose no burden on the conscience of men, by this chapter,—*Omnis utriusque sexus;* but we say with regard to it, as we do about other human ordinances, that it is not a divine service which is necessary to salvation. And there is also something commanded in this chapter, which is impossible; viz., that we must confess all our sins. Now, it is certain, that there are many sins, of which we cannot think, and even some of the greatest ones we do not see; as the Psalmist, Psalm 19, 12, says: "Who can understand his errors."

Wherever there are intelligent and pious clergymen and preachers, they will readily understand how far it may be useful and necessary in confession, to question young persons and others who are inexperienced. But that tyranny, which the Summists as incarcerators, exercise over the people, and by which their consciences were tormented continually, we are unable and unwilling to praise; and which would, however, not have been so severe, if they had, in connection, employed a single word concerning faith in Christ by which the conscience is truly consoled.

But in so great a number of large books, their Decretals, their Commentaries, their Summaries, and their Confessions, there is not a single word or tittle concerning Christ, concerning faith, and the remission of sins. In these works there is not a single word to be read, that will enable any one to form a knowledge of Christ, or of what he is; but our adversaries only consult these registers in order to enumerate and to magnify offences; and this might do well enough, if they would only have a proper conception of those sins which God regards as sins. The greater portion of their summaries, how-

ever, is directed to nothing but foolish works and human ordinances. O! how this impious and ungodly doctrine had brought into desperation the hearts and consciences of many pious individuals, who felt a willing disposition to do right, but could not rest, for they knew no better; they were compelled to perplex and exhaust themselves with enumerating sins, with collating and bringing them together; and still they found that this was impossible and only brought perpetual disquietude. But things no less pernicious have our adversaries taught concerning the whole of repentance,—things which we shall hereafter relate.

V. OF REPENTANCE.

The first part of the twelfth article our adversaries approve, in which we assert, that all those who fall into sin after baptism, obtain the remission of sins, whenever, and as often as they repent. The other portion they condemn and reject, in which we declare that repentance consists of two parts,—contrition and faith; that is, to repentance pertain these two things, a repentant contrite heart, and faith, in which we believe that we obtain the remission of sins through Christ.

Observe here then, what our adversaries deny. Here they dare without shame, deny that faith is a part of repentance. What then shall we do here, most gracious Emperor, in opposition to these people? Certain it is, that through faith we obtain the remission of our sins. This declaration is not ours, but it is the voice and word of Jesus Christ our Savior.

The writers of the Confutation condemn this clear declaration of Christ; therefore we can in no way assent to the Confutation. Through the grace of God, we shall not deny the clear words of the Gospel, the holy divine truth, and the salutary word, in which all consolation and salvation are embraced. For what else would this be, but calumniating and blaspheming the blood and death of Christ, thus to deny that we through faith obtain the remission of sins?

We therefore entreat you, most gracious Emperor, that your imperial Majesty may graciously and diligently hear and recognize us, on this great, this important, and most weighty subject, which concerns our own souls and consciences, and the whole Christian faith, the whole Gospel, the knowledge of Christ, and our highest and greatest interest, not only in this transitory life, but also in that which is to come; yea, it concerns our depravity, and our eternal restoration before God. All pious and upright individuals shall discover that we have taught and permitted to be taught on this subject nothing but the divine truth, and have given the conscience pure,

wholesome, necessary, and consolatory instructions. This subject is most essentially important to all pious hearts, in the whole Christian church, yea, to their salvation and happiness; and without these instructions, it is impossible for a ministry, for a Christian church to exist or to prosper.

All who have the fear of God before their eyes, shall find that this doctrine of ours, concerning repentance, has again brought to light the Gospel and its true meaning, and that by this means many infamous and pernicious errors have been removed, such as by means of the writings of the Scholastics and of the Canonists, had entirely suppressed this doctrine which defines true repentance, and we must show this before we enter upon our subject. All honest, intelligent, and learned persons of every order, even theologians, must confess, and no doubt our enemies themselves will feel convinced in their own minds, that before Dr. Luther wrote, there were no other but obscure and complicated disquisitions extant on the subject of repentance; as may be seen from the writings of the Sententiaries, in which there is an infinite number of useless questions which no theologian has ever been able to explain satisfactorily; much less could the people comprehend, from these sermons and complicated writings, a single idea concerning repentance, or perceive what really belongs to true repentance, or the manner or means by which a heart or conscience should seek peace and tranquillity; and I defy any one to teach any person out of their books how to know when his sins are forgiven.

Merciful God! what blindness! How utterly ignorant do they appear on this subject! How dark and impenetrable are their writings! Doubtful whether forgiveness of sins takes place in *attrition* or *contrition* (*attritione vel contritione*) they fearfully inquire,—"If sins were forgiven on account of attrition or contrition, what would be the use of absolution? If sins be already forgiven, what need of the power of the keys?" And amidst their perplexity and anguish, they entirely abolish the power of the keys. Some of them, however, still presume, that, although the crime is not forgiven before God, by the power of the keys, yet by this means, *eternal*, is converted into *temporal* punishment; and thus they constitute out of absolution, out of the power of the keys, through which we should expect consolation and life, a power by which nothing but punishment is imposed on us. Others wish to be more skilful; they say that through the power of the keys sins are forgiven before the people, or the Christian community, but not before God.

These are likewise pernicious errors; for if the power of the keys,

which God has given, does not console us before him, by what means, then, shall our conscience be restored to peace? They, moreover, teach things still more complicated and perplexing: they teach that men can earn grace by contrition; and if they are here asked, why Saul and Judas, and like individuals, did not merit grace, who were very contrite, they should reply upon this question, that in Judas and Saul there was a want of the Gospel and of faith, that Judas did not console himself through the Gospel, and that he did not believe; for faith makes the distinction between the contrition of Peter and that of Judas.

Our adversaries, however, do not at all take into consideration faith and the Gospel, but the law, saying: Judas did not love God, but was alarmed with the fear of punishment. Is this not treating of repentance in a loose and an inadequate manner? For when shall men whose consciences are alarmed, especially when they feel the real and great agonies which are described in the Psalms and the writings of the prophets, be able to judge, whether they fear God through love, as their God, or whether they flee and hate his wrath and their own eternal condemnation?

They may perhaps have experienced but little concerning these great agonies, since they quibble, and make distinctions according to their own dreams; but in their hearts, when they shall have experienced these, they will find it quite different, and that no conscience can be pacified with mere words and syllables, as the unconcerned and idle sophists dream. Here we appeal to all who have the fear of God before them, to all pious and intelligent individuals, who willingly acknowledge the truth;—these will confess that in all the books of our adversaries there is nothing taught correctly concerning repentance, but that they contain mere complicated phrases: and yet this is a chief article of Christian doctrine, concerning repentance and the remission of sins.

These doctrines, concerning the questions which we have now enumerated, are full of error and hypocrisy, by which the true doctrine of Christ, of the power of the keys, and of faith is suppressed, to the unspeakable injury of conscience.

Further, they propagate more errors still; when they should speak of confession, they oppress the mind with enumerating sins and making long registers, and for the most part these are filled up with sins against human commands; and here they force the people to these things, as if such enumeration be *de jure divino*, that is, of divine command. And this would still not have been so oppressive, if they had only taught correctly concerning absolution

and faith. But these they pass over unnoticed, omitting the chief consolation, and imagine that works, confession, and contrition, make a person pious *ex opere operato*, without Christ and faith.—They may be properly termed Jews.

The third part of this subject is the *satisfactio*, or atonement for sins. Upon this point their instructions are still more perplexed and erroneous; they transform hundreds into thousands, so that the poor understanding of men is utterly unable to discover any promise which offers consolation or peace. For here they imagine that eternal punishments before God, are changed into punishments in purgatory, and that a part of these punishments are forgiven and remitted through the power of the keys, and a portion must be atoned for by works. They add still more, calling the atonement *opera supererogationis;* and these are their puerile and foolish works—pilgrimages, rosaries, and the like, which have no command of God.

And moreover, as they redeemed and released the pains of purgatory by their atonement or expiation, so they likewise still farther invented a scheme for the purpose of redeeming also the atonement for purgatory, which finally became very desirable and profitable, and resulted in a great annual fair. For without shame they sold their indulgences, and asserted that he who procures an indulgence, thus buys himself free from that which he otherwise would be compelled to expiate; and this charlatanry, this annual fair, they carried on without shame, not only for the purpose of selling indulgences to the living, but also to compel men to purchase them for the dead: besides this, they also introduced the terrible abuse of the mass, pretending to redeem the dead by holding mass; and under such doctrines of the devil the whole Christian doctrine concerning faith and Christ, and how we should be consoled by it, were suppressed.

Wherefore, all honest, upright, and intelligent persons, saying nothing of Christians, will perceive and understand here, that it was altogether necessary to reprehend such ungodly doctrine of the sophists and Canonists: for this doctrine of theirs is manifestly false, wrong, contrary to the clear words of Christ, contrary to all the writings of the Apostles, to all the Scriptures, and to the Fathers; and these are their errors:—

I. That God must forgive us our sins, if we do good works, even if we are not in grace.

II. That we earn grace by attrition or contrition.

III. That it is sufficient to obliterate our sins, if we hate and reprove them.

IV. That we obtain remission of our sins through our contrition, not by faith in Christ.

V. That the power of the keys grants the remission of sins, not before God, but before the church or the people.

VI. That through the power of the keys, not only sins are forgiven, but the same power is established, in order to convert eternal into temporal punishments, to enforce the idea of certain retributions upon our understanding, and to create a system of sacred duties and obligations, to which it binds and subjects our consciences before God.

VII. That the enumeration, and especially the calculation of all sins, are commanded of God.

VIII. That *satisfactiones*, which are established by man, are competent to the remission of punishment, or even to compensate for the crime. For, although in the schools the *satisfactiones* are discounted only for the punishment, yet it is universally understood that by this means forgiveness of the crime is merited.

IX. That through the reception of the sacrament of repentance, (as they term it,) we obtain grace, *ex opere operato*, without faith in Christ, even if we are not sincere in our hearts.

X. That by the power of the keys, through indulgences, souls are released from purgatory.

XI. That in reservation of cases not only the canonical punishment, but the crime of the sins before God can be reserved by the pope, in those who are truly converted to God.

For the purpose, then, of extricating the conscience from these innumerable bonds and complicated snares of the sophists, we assert that,—Repentance or conversion consists of two parts, contrition and faith. If any one, however, feels disposed to add a third part, viz. the fruits of repentance and conversion, which are good works that shall and must follow, we shall not contend much against him. But when we speak *de contritione*, that is, concerning true contrition, we omit these innumerable and useless disputations which they introduce: "When are we contrite through the love of God?" again, "When are we contrite through fear of punishment?" For these are nothing but empty words and vain expressions, to those who have not experienced the effects of an alarmed conscience.

And we affirm that contrition or real penitence exists, when our consciences are alarmed, and when we begin to feel our sins and the great wrath of God on account of them, and are sorry that we have sinned. And this contrition thus takes place, when our sins are chastised by the word of God. For in these two parts consists the

substance of the Gospel:—First it says, reform yourselves; and it convicts all men of sin. In the second place, it offers the remission of sins, eternal life, salvation, full felicity, and the Holy Spirit, through whom we are born anew.

Thus Christ also comprises the substance of the Gospel, where he says, Luke 24, 47: "Repentance and the remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations." And with respect to terror and anguish of conscience, the Scripture speaks in the 38 Psalm verse 4: "Mine iniquities are gone over mine head; as a heavy burden they are too heavy for me;" and in the sixth Psalm verses 2 and 3: "Have mercy upon me, O Lord; for I am weak: O Lord, heal me; for my bones are vexed. My soul is also sore vexed: but thou, O Lord, how long?" And Isaiah 38, 10, 13, 14: "I said, in the cutting off my days, I shall go to the gates of the grave: I am deprived of the residue of my years," &c. "I reckoned till morning, that, as a lion, so will he break all my bones," &c. Again, "Mine eyes fail with looking upward: O Lord, I am oppressed; undertake for me." In these agonies the conscience feels the wrath and displeasure of God on account of sin, a thing which is unknown to such idle and carnal-minded people as the sophists. For here the mind first perceives that sin is a great disobedience to God; here the terrible wrath of God first assails the conscience in reality, and it would be impossible for human nature to bear it, without relief from the word of God.

For thus says Paul, Gal. 2, 19: "For I through the law am dead to the law;" because the law only accuses and alarms our conscience, and commands what we are under obligation to do. And here our adversaries speak not a word about faith, they teach not a word about Christ or the Gospel, but impart their own inventions, and affirm that people may secure divine favor by these mortifications, this contrition and sorrow, by these feelings of anguish, provided they love God, and derive their contrition from their love towards God. Gracious God, what kind of preaching is this for the consciences of those men who have need of consolation? How is it possible for us to love God, when under the pressure of anguish so severe, and of agonies so ineffable, feeling the great and terrible displeasure and wrath of God, which are more forcibly felt than man upon earth is able to express or describe? To what else, then, but to mere desperation, are the instructions of those preachers and teachers leading, who preach nothing but the law to minds depressed in these great agonies, without mentioning the Gospel or

the proper consolation? But to this we add the other part of repentance, and assert that in the terror of conscience, the Gospel of Christ shall be presented, in which is promised through him the remission of sin by grace. And, such a conscience should believe that sins are forgiven it for the sake of Christ. This faith again elevates, consoles, vivifies, and renders joyful such contrite hearts; as Paul to the Romans, Rom. 5, 1, says: "Being justified by faith, we have peace with God." This faith rightly points out the difference between the contrition of Judas and of Peter, that of Saul and of David. And for this reason the contrition of Judas and of Saul was of no effect, because they were not in possession of faith which apprehends the promises of God through Christ.

On the other hand, the contrition of David and Peter was genuine: for they were in possession of faith which comprehends those promises of God, that offer the remission of sins through Christ. For in truth the love of God cannot exist in our hearts, unless we are first reconciled to God through Christ. Because no one is able to keep or to fulfil the law of God, or the first commandment, without Christ; as Paul to the Ephesians, Eph. 2, 18, says: "Through him we both have access by one Spirit unto the Father;" and faith during the whole life contends against sins, and it is proved and strengthened through various temptations. Where this faith exists, there only does the love of God follow, as we have stated above.

And hence this may be properly said to define filial fear (*timor filialis*) viz. a fear and an alarm before God, with which, however, faith is connected, that is, where faith consoles and sustains the fearful heart: but servile fear (*servilis timor*) is fear without faith, where there is nothing but wrath and desperation.

The power of the keys announces to us the Gospel through absolution: for the words of absolution announce unto us peace, and they are the Gospel itself. Therefore, when we speak of faith, we shall include absolution also; because faith is by hearing. (Rom. 10, 17). And when we hear the absolution, that is, the promises of divine grace, or the Gospel, our hearts and our consciences are consoled. And inasmuch as God truly grants new life and comfort in our hearts through the word, sins are truly remitted here upon earth through the power of the keys, so that they are released before God in heaven; as the passage, Luke 10, 16, says: "He that heareth you, heareth me." Wherefore we should no less esteem or believe the words of absolution, than if we heard the express voice of God from heaven; and the absolution, these blissful, consolatory words, might reasona-

bly be styled the sacrament of repentance; as some scholastics, who were more erudite than others, have maintained.

And this faith in these words should be strengthened more and more, by hearing religious instructions, by reading, and by the use of the sacraments: for these are the seals and signs, of the covenant and of grace, in the New Testament; these are the signs of reconciliation and the remission of sins: for they offer the remission of sins, as the express words of the Lord's Supper show: Matt. 26, 26–28: "This is my body." &c. "This is my blood of the new testament," &c. So this faith is likewise strengthened by the words of absolution, by the preaching of the Gospel, and by the reception of the sacraments, so that in the terrors and agonies of conscience, it does not subside.

This is the clear, the true, and perspicuous doctrine of repentance, from which we may form a proper conception of the power of the keys, of the use of the sacraments, of the benefits of Christ, and of the reasons why, and the manner in which he is our Mediator.

But since our adversaries condemn us, because we propose two parts in repentance, we must show that it is not ourselves, but the Scripture, that thus expresses two parts in repentance or conversion. Christ, Matt. 11, 28, says: "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." Here are two parts,—the labor or burden of which Christ speaks,—this is the misery, the great fear in the heart, on account of God's wrath; and second, the coming to Christ. For the coming to Christ, is nothing else but to believe that for his sake sins are forgiven us, and that through the Holy Ghost we are born anew and vivified. Wherefore these two must be the chief parts in repentance,—contrition and faith.

And Mark 1, 15, Christ says: "Repent ye, and believe the Gospel." In the first place, he convicts us of sins and terrifies us. In the second, he consoles us and announces the remission of sins. For to believe the Gospel, is not only to believe the history of the Gospel, a faith which devils also have; but this is proper faith,—to believe that sins are remitted unto us through Christ. This faith is revealed unto us in the Gospel. Here you also see two parts,—contrition or the terror of the conscience, where he says, repent,—and faith, where he says, believe the Gospel. If any one would say that Christ includes also the fruits of repentance, or the whole new life, we shall not dissent. It is sufficient here for us, that the Scriptures express these two parts chiefly,—contrition and faith.

Paul in all his epistles, wherever he treats of the manner in which

we are converted, comprises these two parts together:—the mortification of the old man, that is, contrition, or terror on account of God's wrath and judgment; and on the other hand, renovation through faith: for by faith we are consoled, renovated, and delivered from death and hell. Concerning these two parts, he clearly says, Rom. 6, 11, that we are dead unto sin; this occurs through contrition and fear; and again, that we shall live through Christ; this occurs, when we again obtain consolation and life through faith. And since faith must afford the conscience peace and consolation, agreeably to the passage, Rom. 5, 1: "Being justified by faith, we have peace;" it follows that in the first place there must be fear and anguish in the conscience,—thus contrition and faith go close beside each other.

What need, however, is there for quoting many passages and testimonies from the Scriptures, since these testimonies abound; as in the 118 Psalm, verse 18: "The Lord hath chastened me sore: but he hath not given me over to death." And in the 119 Psalm, verse 28: "My soul melteth for heaviness: strengthen thou me according unto thy word." First, he speaks concerning terror, or contrition; in the other part of the verse, he clearly shows how a contrite conscience is consoled again, viz. by the word of God, which offers grace, and reanimates us. Again, in 1 Sam. 2, 6: "The Lord killeth, and maketh alive: he bringeth down to the grave, and bringeth up." Here also these two parts are indicated, contrition and faith. Again, Isaiah 28, 21: The Lord "shall be wroth as in the valley of Gibeon, that he may do his work, his strange work." He says that God will terrify, although this is not the proper work of God: for God's proper work is to make alive,—other works, as terrifying and killing, are not God's proper works. For God brings only to life, and when he terrifies, he does it in order that his blissful consolation may be the sweeter and more acceptable to us; because secure and carnal hearts, which do not feel the wrath of God and their sins, do not appreciate consolation.

In this manner, then, it is customary for the holy Scriptures to connect these two parts:—first the terror, afterwards the consolation; by which they show that these two parts belong to a true repentance and conversion:—first, sincere contrition, afterwards faith which raises up the conscience again. And it is certain, that it is hardly possible to treat of this subject in a manner more clear and simple. And we know to a certainty, that God thus operates in his Christians in the church.

These are the two principal works of God, through which he

works in his people. Of these two parts the whole Scripture speaks: first, that he terrifies our hearts, and shows us our sin; second, that he elevates, consoles, and animates us again. Therefore these two parts are held forth in all the Scriptures. The one is the law, which shows us our misery, and which condemns sins. The other doctrine is the Gospel: for the promise of God, in which he promised grace through Christ, and the promise of that grace, are repeated from Adam downwards through the whole Scripture: for in the first place, the promise of grace, or the first Gospel news, was promised to Adam: "I will put enmity," &c., Gen. 3, 15. Afterwards there were promises made to Abraham and other patriarchs, concerning this same Christ, which promises the prophets afterwards preached; and finally these same promises of grace were preached by Christ himself among the Jews, after he had come; and lastly they were spread abroad by the Apostles among the heathens in all the world. For by faith in the Gospel, or in the promises concerning Christ, were all the patriarchs and all the saints, from the beginning of the world, justified before God, and not on account of their contrition or their sorrow, or any kind of works.

And these examples, which illustrate the manner in which the saints were justified, likewise designate these two parts, mentioned above, viz. the law and the Gospel; for Adam, after he had fallen, was first so reproved, that his conscience became alarmed, and he fell into a state of anguish: this is true sorrow or real contritio. Afterwards, God promised him grace and salvation through the blessed seed, which is Christ, by whom death, sin, and the kingdom of the devil should be destroyed. Here he offered unto man, grace and the remission of his sins.

These are the two parts; for although God afterwards inflicted punishments on Adam, yet by these punishments he did not merit the remission of his sins. Concerning this kind of punishment we shall hereafter speak.

In this manner, David was likewise so reproved and alarmed by the prophet Nathan, that he said and confessed, "I have sinned against the Lord," 2 Samuel 12, 13. This is contrition. Afterwards he heard the Gospel and the absolution: "The Lord also hath put away thy sin; thou shalt not die." When David believed the words, his heart again received consolation, light, and life; and although there were punishments inflicted upon him also, yet by these punishments he did not merit the remission of his sins. And there are examples also, to which such particular punishments are not added: but these are the parts, however, which belong especially to

true repentance: first, that our consciences perceive their sins and become alarmed; second, that we believe the divine promises; as the poor sinful woman, (Luke 7, 38,) came unto Christ and wept bitterly: her weeping shows her sorrow or contrition; afterwards she heard the Gospel: "Thy sins are forgiven: thy faith hath saved thee: go in peace." (48, 50). This is, then, the other principal part of repentance, viz. faith, which consoled her again. From all these, it is apparent to every pious reader, that we do not introduce useless disputations, but that we clearly, plainly, and properly lay down that part of repentance, without which sins cannot be forgiven, and without which no one can become pious or holy before God, or be born anew.

The fruits of repentance and good works, and moreover patience, which enables us to bear with willingness the crosses and afflictions which God inflicts upon the old man, all these following, after our sins are thus remitted through faith, and we are born anew. And we have clearly laid down these two parts, in order that the doctrine of faith in Christ might also be once taught, upon which the sophists and Canonists are all silent; and in order that the real nature of faith might be the more clearly perceived, when it is thus opposed to these great terrors and this anguish.

But inasmuch as our adversaries expressly condemn, without fear or shame, this clear, indubitable, and excellent article, in which we say that men obtain the remission of their sins through faith in Christ, we shall allege some reasons and proofs for it, from which it may be understood, that we do not obtain remission of our sins, *ex opere operato*, or through the work performed, through contrition or sorrow, &c., but exclusively through that faith by which each one believes for himself that sins are forgiven him: this article being the most conspicuous and necessary, we therefore contend with our adversary. It is likewise the most essential for every Christian to know; but as it seems that we have said enough about it, in the article above concerning justification, we shall treat the more briefly of it here.

Our adversaries, when they speak of faith, say, "Faith must precede repentance;" and they understand not that faith which justifies before God, but that which *in genere*, that is, from its nature, gives credence, that there is one God, that there is a hell, &c. But we, moreover, speak concerning a faith by which each one believes for himself, that his sins are forgiven for Christ's sake: we contend for that faith, which shall and must follow after terror, and which consoles the conscience, and again restores the heart to peace in this oppressive struggle and anguish.

And we shall, God willing, always defend it and maintain against all the powers of hell, that this same faith must be present, if the sins of any one be forgiven. We therefore add this part also to repentance. Nor can the Christian church hold otherwise, but that sins are forgiven through such faith; although our adversaries, like furious hounds, vociferate against it.

We shall here in the first place, ask our adversaries, whether it is also a part of repentance, to hear or receive the absolution? For if they separate absolution from confession, as they wish to be subtile in distinguishing, no one will be able to know or to define of what use confession is without absolution. But if they do not separate absolution from confession, they must affirm that faith in the words of Christ, is a part of repentance, if no one can receive the absolution, except through faith alone. But that the words of absolution cannot be received, excepting through faith alone, can be proved by Paul, (Rom. 4, 16,) where he says that no one can receive the promises of God, except through faith alone.

Absolution, however, is nothing else but the Gospel, a divine promise of the grace and favor of God. Therefore, no one can be in possession of it or obtain it, except through faith alone. For how can the words of absolution be beneficial to those who do not believe them? But what else is it not to give assent to the absolution, but presuming to make God a liar? While the heart wavers and doubts, it holds as uncertain, that God made a promise to this effect. Wherefore, it is written, 1 John 5, 10: "He that believeth not God, hath made him a liar; because he believeth not the record that God gave of his son."

In the second place, our adversaries are bound to confess that remission of sins is a part of repentance, or, to speak after their own manner, that it is *finis*, the end, or *terminus ad quem* of the whole of repentance. For what would repentance benefit, if the remission of sins were not obtained? Wherefore, that through which the remission of sins is obtained, shall and must indeed be a principal part of repentance. But especially is it true, and obvious,—though all devils, all the powers of hell cry out against it,—that no one can embrace the annunciation of the remission of sins, except through faith alone, Rom. 3, 25: "Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood," &c. Again, Rom. 5, 2: "By whom also we have access by faith into this grace wherein we stand," &c. For an alarmed conscience, which feels its sins, immediately perceives that the wrath of God cannot be appeased by our feeble works; but thus the conscience is really pacified, when it con-

fides in Christ the Mediator, and believes the divine promises. For those do not understand what the remission of sins is, or how it is obtained, who imagine that the hearts and consciences can be pacified without faith in Christ.

The apostle Peter quotes the words of Isaiah, 1 Peter 2, 6: "He that believeth on him, shall not be confounded." Wherefore, those hypocrites must be confounded before God, who imagine that they shall obtain the remission of sins by their works,—not on account of Christ. And in the 10th chapter of the Acts, verse 43, Peter says: "To him give all the prophets witness, that through his name, whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins." He could not possibly have expressed himself more clearly than he has in this declaration: "Through his name;" and he adds: "All who believe in him."

Wherefore, we obtain the remission of sins through the name of Christ, that is, for Christ's sake, and not on account of our merit or our works. And thus this takes place,—when we believe that our sins are forgiven us for Christ's sake.

Our adversaries, however, exclaim that they are the Christian church, and that they hold what the (*catholica*) universal church holds. But in reference to ourselves and our chief article, we would allege the declaration of the apostle Peter, concerning a (*catholica*) universal church, where he says: To this Jesus, give all the prophets witness, that we obtain remission of sins through his name. We think that when all the holy prophets unanimously accord, (inasmuch as God regards one single prophet as a treasure worth the world,) it should, indeed, be likewise a decree, a declaration, and a unanimous, strong conclusion of the universal, catholic, Christian, holy church, and it ought justly to be regarded as such.

We shall not grant the pope, the bishop, or the church, the power to maintain or determine any thing against the unanimous voice of all the prophets. Yet pope Leo X. dared to condemn this article as erroneous, and our adversaries likewise condemn it.

From this it is sufficiently apparent, what kind of a Christian church this is, which dares to condemn by public written decrees and mandates, not only this article, viz. that we obtain remission of sins without works, through faith in Christ; but also on account of the acknowledgment of this article, dares condemn and murder the innocent. They dare issue commands, that pious, upright individuals who thus teach, should be driven away; and they, like bloodhounds, after body and life, pursue them with all manner of tyranny.

But they may perhaps assert that they have the authority of

teachers, such as Scott, Gabriel, and similar men, who sustain a great name, and also the sayings of the Fathers, which are quoted in the Decree in a crippled manner. It is true, they are all called teachers and scribes: but from the song the species of the bird may be known. These scribes have taught nothing else but philosophy, and have inferred nothing concerning Christ and the work of God; this is manifest from their own books.

We shall therefore not permit ourselves to be led into error; but we know certainly, that we may freely maintain the words of the holy apostle Peter, as those of a great doctor, against all Sententiaries in a mass—even if there were many thousands. For Peter clearly says, that it is the unanimous voice of all the prophets; and this glorious sermon of the illustrious apostle, God powerfully confirmed at the time, by the pouring out of the Holy Spirit; for thus says the text: "While Peter yet spake these words, the Holy Ghost fell on all them which heard the word," Acts 10, 44.

Therefore Christians should observe this carefully, that it is the word and command of God that without merit sins are forgiven us through Christ,—not for the sake of our works. And such word and commandment of God, are an efficacious, sure, and imperishable consolation against all the terrors of sin and of death, against the grief and anguish of the conscience, against all temptation and despair.

Concerning these, the idle sophists know but little; and the salutary ministry, the Gospel, which preaches the remission of sins through the blessed seed, which is Christ, has been the greatest treasure and consolation, from the beginning of the world, to all patriarchs, to all pious kings, to all prophets, and to all believers: for they believed in that same Christ in whom we believe. For from the beginning of the world, no saint was saved in any other way than through faith in this same Gospel. For this reason Peter also says that it is a unanimous declaration of all the prophets. And the Apostles preach uniformly the same thing; showing that the prophets spoke as through one mouth.

We have, moreover, the testimonies of the holy Fathers. For thus says Bernard in clear terms: "Therefore, it is necessary above all things to know, that we cannot obtain the forgiveness of sins otherwise than through grace; yet you should add your belief that you also, as well as others, are forgiven through Christ. This is the evidence of the Holy Spirit in your heart, when he says in your heart: 'Your sins are forgiven you,' Matt. 9, 2. For the apostle asserts, (Rom. 3, 24,) that men are justified through faith without merit."

These words of St. Bernard expressly point out this doctrine of ours, and give a proper illustration of it; for he says, not only that we must believe in general, that our sins are remitted; but he asserts that this must also be added:—"Each one must believe for himself that his sins are forgiven him." And he, moreover, teaches still more particularly and clearly how we may be certain within our hearts, of grace and of the remission of sins; viz. when our hearts are comforted and pacified within, by this consolation. But what now, ye adversaries? Is St. Bernard also a heretic? What more do ye require? Will ye yet deny that we obtain the remission of sins through faith?

In the third place, our adversaries affirm that sins are forgiven in this manner, *quia attritus vel contritus elicit actum dilectionis Dei*, when we undertake by our own reason to love God; through this work (say they) we obtain the remission of sins. This is nothing else but abolishing the Gospel and the divine promises, and teaching merely the law; for they speak of nothing but the law and our works,—as the law requires love.

They, moreover, teach us to trust that we obtain the forgiveness of sins through such contrition and through our love. What else is this but relying on our works, not upon the promises concerning Christ? And if the law is sufficient to obtain the remission of sins, what need is there of Christ? what of the Gospel? But we persuade the consciences of men to rely, not upon the law or their works but upon the Gospel, and the promises of grace. Because the Gospel offers unto us Christ and pure grace, and it bids us to rely on the promises, that for the sake of Christ, we are reconciled to the Father, and not on account of our contrition or love: for there is no other Mediator or Reconciler but Christ; and consequently we cannot fulfil the law, if we are not first reconciled through Christ. And if we even do some good, yet we must not imagine that we obtain remission of sins on account of that work, but for Christ's sake.

To assert therefore, that we obtain remission of sins through the law, or in any other way than through faith in Christ, is a reproach to Christ and an abolition of the Gospel. And concerning this we have also treated above, *de Justificatione*, where we gave our reasons for teaching, that we are justified by faith, and not by the love of God, or our love towards him.

Therefore, when our adversaries teach that we obtain the remission of sins through contrition and love, and teach us to rely on them, it is nothing else but teaching the law, which they do not, however, understand; especially with regard to the kind of love it requires

towards God; but like the Jews, they see only the veiled face of Moses. For let us suppose that works and love attend; yet neither works nor love can reconcile us to God, or avail as much as Christ; as the 143 Psalm, verse 2, says: "Enter not into judgment with thy servant," &c. For this reason we should not attribute the honor of Christ to our works.

Paul, from the same motive, contends that we are not justified by the law, and he opposes to the law, the promises of God,—the promises of grace which is offered unto us for Christ's sake. Here he recalls us from the law, and directs us to the divine promises: here he desires us to look upon God and his promises, and to esteem Christ the Lord as our treasure; for these promises would be useless, if we were justified before God by the law, and if we merit the remission of our sins through our righteousness.

Now, there can be no doubt that God made the promises, and that Christ came, because we were unable to keep or to fulfil the law: it is, therefore, necessary for us to be reconciled through the promises, before we fulfil the law; the promises, however, cannot be comprehended, except through faith alone.

Wherefore, all those who are really contrite, apprehend the promises of grace through faith, and they firmly believe that they are reconciled with the Father through Christ. This is likewise the meaning of Paul to the Romans, Rom. 4, 16: "Therefore it is of faith, that it might be by grace; to the end the promise might be sure." And to the Galatians, Gal. 3, 22: "The scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe." That is, all men are under sin, and they cannot be redeemed, unless they apprehend the promise of the remission of sins through faith. We must, therefore, obtain the forgiveness of sins through faith, before we fulfil the law.

Yet, as we have stated above, love truly follows from faith; for they who believe, receive the Holy Spirit, and therefore they begin to be devoted and obedient to the law.

We would quote more passages from the Scriptures here, but similar passages are every where obvious in those sacred writings. And we wish not to be too lengthy, in order that this matter may be the more clearly understood; for there can be no doubt at all about the meaning of Paul, that we obtain the remission of sins for Christ's sake, through faith, and also that we must not array our works, but the Mediator, against the wrath of God.

Nor should pious Christian minds be disturbed, if our adversaries do falsely explain the clear declarations of Paul, and put improper

constructions on them: for no one can speak or write any thing so simple, so pure, distinct, and clear as to secure it against perversion.

But we know it to be true, that the views which we have given, are the true meaning of Paul. Nor can there be any doubt, that this doctrine alone is calculated really and truly to pacify and console our hearts and consciences, in the pangs and agonies of death and temptations, as experience has shown.

Therefore, away, far away from us with these Pharisaical doctrines of our adversaries, in which they say that we do not obtain the remission of sins through faith; but that we must merit it by our works and by our love towards God: again, that we must appease the wrath of God with our works and our love. For this is a real Pharisaical doctrine, a doctrine of the law and not of the Gospel, by which they teach that a person is justified by the law, before he is reconciled to God through Christ; yet Christ, John 15, 5, says: "Without me ye can do nothing;" again, "I am the vine, ye are the branches."

Our adversaries, however, speak concerning this matter, as if we were not branches of Christ, but of Moses; for they wish to be justified before God by the law, and to offer their works and their love to him, before they are branches of the vine of Christ. But Paul who surely is a doctor far superior to our adversaries, expressly asserts and maintains that no one can keep the law without Christ. For this reason, those who feel their sins and the anguish of their conscience, or have experienced these feelings, must support themselves by the gracious promise, that they become reconciled to God through faith, for the sake of Christ, before they fulfil the law. All this is plain and clear to every pious individual. And from this, Christians will readily perceive why we have asserted above, that we are justified before God through faith alone, not through our works or our love. For all our abilities, all our ceremonies and works, are too weak to pacify and avert the wrath of God: we must therefore interpose Christ the Mediator.

But finally, our adversaries ought to consider when a poor conscience would be restored to peace and tranquillity, if we obtain grace and the remission of sins, because we love God, or because we fulfil the law. The law always accuses us; for no man fulfils the law, as Paul, Rom. 4, 15, says: "The law worketh wrath."

Chrysostom inquires, so do the Sententiaries likewise, *how a person becomes assured that his sins are forgiven.* It is truly worthy of inquiry, and happy is if for him who gives a correct answer. It

as impossible to reply to this most necessary question; it is also impossible to console or pacify the conscience really in temptations, unless we answer in this manner:—

It was God's determination and command from the beginning of the world, that sins should be remitted unto us through faith in the blessed seed; that is, through faith for Christ's sake, without merit. But if any one doubts it or wavers, he makes God a liar in his promise, as John says, 1 John 5, 10. Therefore we say that a Christian should firmly believe this to be the command of God; and if he thus holds it, he is assured, and feels peace and consolation.

Our adversaries, after spending much time in disseminating their doctrine, leave the poor conscience of man in doubt; in such case it is impossible for him to be at peace, or to have a joyful and tranquil heart, if he doubts whether God is merciful: because, doubting whether he has a merciful God, whether he does right, whether he has the forgiveness of sins, how can he call on God in such doubt? how can he rest assured that God regards and hears his prayers? Consequently his whole life is without faith, and he cannot serve God rightly. This is what Paul says to the Romans, Rom. 14, 23: "Whatsoever is not of faith is sin." And when men always and perpetually continue in such doubt, they never experience what God, what Christ, or what faith is; and they ultimately die in desperation, without God and without any knowledge of him.

Such is the infamous doctrine of our adversaries,—a doctrine which is calculated to abolish the Gospel, to reject Christ, and finally to lead persons into desperation, feeling the pain and grief of their consciences, when temptations arise.

Your imperial Majesty will graciously consider, that this does not concern gold or silver, but our souls and consciences. And here all honest and intelligent individuals will carefully reflect on this matter, and form some idea of its nature. We may here likewise permit all candid people to judge, which have taught the most beneficial doctrine for Christian consciences, we or our adversaries? For indeed every person must feel convinced, that it is not agreeable for us to be engaged in disputations and dissensions; and if the greatest and most weighty reasons affecting the dictates of our conscience and the salvation of our souls, had not induced us to contend ardently with our adversaries, we would have remained silent: but inasmuch as they deny the holy Gospel, the divine truth, all the expressive writings of the Apostles, we cannot, consistently with the will of God and the dictates of our own conscience, deny

this salutary doctrine, this heavenly truth, from which we expect our highest, our final, and eternal consolation, when this frail, transitory life shall cease, and when there shall be no resort to human aid; nor can we in any way forsake this cause, which does not only affect ourselves but the whole Christian church, and Jesus Christ our richest treasure.

We have now shown for what reasons we have laid down these two parts in repentance, viz. contrition and faith. And we have pursued this course, because we find various passages concerning repentance in different places in the books of our adversaries; passages which they have quoted in a mutilated form, from the writings of Augustine and other ancient Fathers, and which they have every where so explained and distorted, as to overthrow entirely the doctrine concerning faith. Such passages as these, they have introduced:—Repentance is a pain by which sins are punished; again, repentance is to bemoan the committed sins, and not to do the regretted sins again. In these passages faith is not at all taken into consideration, nor in their schools do they consider it, where they discuss similar passages at length.

In order, then, that the doctrine concerning faith might be the more clearly understood, we have laid down faith as a part of repentance. For those passages which relate to our contrition and our works, and do not touch upon the subject of faith, are very dangerous, as experience has shown. Now, if they had taken into consideration the great danger of souls and consciences, the Sententiaries and the Canonists would naturally have written more cautiously concerning their Decree: for, if the Fathers speak of the other part of repentance also, not only concerning one part, but concerning both, concerning contrition and faith, our adversaries should have presented both together.

Tertullian speaks of faith in a very consolatory manner, and he especially commends the divine oath of which the prophet speaks, Ezekiel 33, 11: "As I live, sayeth the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live." "Inasmuch as God swears," says he, "that he delights not in the death of the sinner, he certainly requires faith, that we should believe his oath and his swearing, that he will forgive us our sins. The promises of God independent of this, we should view in the most exalted light. But the promises of God are confirmed by an oath;" therefore if any one holds that sins are not forgiven him, he makes God a liar, which is the greatest blasphemy. For Tertullian further says: *Invitat ad salutem, jurans etiam etc.;*

that is: "God invites us to our own salvation by his own oath, so that we may believe him. O, happy the man, for whose sake God swears! Woe unto us poor people, if we do not believe the divine oath!"

And here we should know that faith must really give credence to the fact, that God forgives our sins through grace for Christ's sake, not on account of our works, or our confession, or our expiation. For as soon as we base ourselves on our works, we become doubtful; because men whose consciences are alarmed, immediately discern that their best works are of no avail in the sight of God. Wherefore, the words of Ambrose concerning repentance are excellent, where he says: "We must repent, and also believe that grace is imparted to us, provided that we look for grace through faith; for faith awaits and obtains grace as from a handwriting. Again, faith is even this,—the veil by which sins are covered." Hence these are clear passages in the writings of the Fathers, relative not only to works, but also to faith. But our adversaries, not understanding the true nature of repentance, do likewise not understand the passages of the Fathers. They select some passages in a mutilated condition from those Fathers, concerning the one part of repentance, viz. contrition and works, and that which is said with respect to faith, they pass over.

VI. OF CONFESSION AND EXPIATION.

Pious individuals, having the fear of God before their eyes, are enabled to judge by this, that much depends on having and retaining in the churches a true, and an indubitable doctrine concerning contrition and faith. For the great deception of indulgences, &c., and the inadmissible doctrines of the sophists, have given us sufficient experience to know the great evils and dangers arising from misconceptions on this subject. How did pious men under popery seek with great labor the right way by these instructions, and in such darkness they were unable to find it!

We have, for these reasons, always been diligent in teaching clearly and correctly on this subject. With respect to confession and expiation we have not contended particularly; because we also retain confession, on account of absolution which is the word of God, through which the power of the keys absolves us from our sins. It would, therefore, be contrary to the will of God thus to abolish absolution in the churches.

Those who contemn absolution, can have no conception of the remission of sins or of the power of the keys. But in our Confession we profess to maintain that God has not commanded the enu-

meration of sins. For their declaration,—that, as every judge must hear the cases and the crimes before he pronounces judgment, so must sins be enumerated, &c.—is not applicable to the case. Absolution is merely a command to announce the remission of sins, and it is not a new jurisdiction to investigate sins; for God is the judge. He committed unto the Apostles not the office of judge, but the execution of grace, to absolve those who desire it. And it also releases and absolves us from sins which do not come within our memory. Absolution is therefore a voice of the Gospel, through which we receive consolation, but it is not a judgment or a law.

It is vain and absurd in the view of intelligent men, to allege in this place the declaration of Solomon, Prov. 27, 23, where he says: *Diligenter cognosce vultum pecoris tui*, that is, "Be thou diligent to know the state of thy flocks," &c., as relating to confession or absolution; for Solomon does not speak here concerning confession; but he commanded husbandmen to be satisfied with their own possessions, and to abstain from that which did not belong to them; and these words only command each one to be diligent in taking care of his flocks and possessions; yet not forgetting through avarice, the fear, the command, and the word of God.

But our adversaries give the Scripture whatever coloring suits their own fancy, contrary to the natural import of the plain terms in this place, *Cognosce vultum pecoris*, &c. Here *cognoscere* must signify hearing of confession; cattle or sheep must here signify men; and *stabulum*, we think, must mean a school in which there are *such* doctors and orators. It is, however, no strange thing for those who thus distort the holy Scriptures and all good arts, to err so grossly in grammar. If any one felt a desire to compare a husbandman, concerning whom Solomon speaks, with a pastor of the church, *vultus* would here have to signify, not *arcana conscientiæ*, but the external walk.

But we shall pass this by. The word *confession* is mentioned in several places in the Psalms; as in the 32 Psalm, verse 5: "I acknowledge my sin unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid." The confession and acknowledgment which are made to God, are the contrition itself: for when we confess to God, we must acknowledge in our hearts that we are sinners, and not merely mention the words with the mouth, as hypocrites do. Therefore the confession which is made to God, is a contrition in the heart, in which state we feel the real displeasure and wrath of God, and justify him in being angry, and in not being reconciled by our merits; and yet we should

seek mercy here, inasmuch as God has promised grace in Christ. A similar confession is that in the 51 Psalm and the 4th verse: "Against thee, thee only, have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight; that thou mightest be justified when thou speakest, and be clear when thou judgest:" that is, I confess that I am a sinner, and that I deserve eternal wrath, and cannot appease thy wrath with my works or with my merit; I therefore say that thou art just, and doest justly punish us: I give thee right, even if the hypocrites judge thee, that thou art unjust in not regarding their merits and good works: yes I know that my works cannot stand before thy judgment; but through thy mercy we shall be justified, if thou esteem us as just.

The declaration of James may at the same time be produced by some: "Confess your faults one to another," James 5, 16. But he does not speak of a confession which is made to a priest, but of a reconciliation and an acknowledgment by which men often reconcile themselves to their neighbors.

And our adversaries must, to a considerable extent, condemn their own doctrine, if they wish to maintain that it is necessary to make an enumeration of sins, and that God has commanded it. For, although we retain confession, and assert that it is necessary to question youth and inexperienced people, for the purpose of affording opportunity to give them the better instructions; yet it must be so moderated as not to ensnare their consciences, which can never be at peace, while they are under the impression that to enumerate their sins is an obligation to God.

Therefore the declaration of our adversaries, that it is essential to salvation to make a confession in which no sin is concealed, is entirely false, because such confession is impossible. O, how dreadfully have they perplexed and tormented many pious consciences, by teaching that confession must be entire, and that no sin must remain unconfessed! for how can a person be certain that he has confessed entirely?

The Fathers likewise have adverted to confession; they do not, however, speak of the enumeration of secret sins, but of a ceremony of public repentance: because in former times those who lived in open vices, were not reinstated in the church, without public ceremonies and reproofs. It was therefore necessary for them, to confess their sins by name to the priest, so that according to the enormity of the crime, expiation might be imposed. The whole circumstance is, however, not similar to the enumeration of sins, about which we contend; for this confession and acknowledgment was not

made through a false impression that sins cannot be remitted before God without it; but by having a knowledge of the sins, that external chastisement might be imposed on them.

And from these external ceremonies of public repentance, the word *satisfactio* or expiation originated. For the Fathers were unwilling to receive those again, who were found in open vices, without reproof. And there were many reasons for this. Because it serves to show that open vices shall be punished, as also the comment on the Decree says. And it was likewise improper to permit those who had fallen into public sins, immediately to approach the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, without examination. All these ceremonies have long since discontinued, and it is unnecessary to re-establish them; because they contribute nothing to reconciliation before God. Nor was it the intention of the Fathers in any way, that men should by this means obtain the remission of their sins; although such outward ceremonies were well calculated to induce inexperienced persons to believe that they contribute to salvation. But whoever teaches or holds such notion, evidently holds and teaches a Jewish and heathenish position; for heathens also had certain purifications by which they imagined that they would be reconciled to God.

But as this custom of public repentance discontinued, the name *satisfactio* or expiation was retained; and the shadow of that old custom still continues, that in confession expiation is enjoined; and they call it *opera non debita*, we call it *satisfactiones canonicas*. With respect to this we teach as we do of the enumeration of sins, viz. that God has not commanded these external ceremonies, that they are unnecessary, and contribute nothing to the remission of sins: for this doctrine must above all things, be maintained and preserved, that we obtain the remission of sins through faith, and not through our works, which are performed before or after we are converted or born anew in Christ.

And we have especially spoken *de satisfactionibus*, in order that no one might suppose that we could merit the forgiveness of sins by our expiation; by which the doctrine of faith would be suppressed. For the fearful error *de satisfactionibus*, or concerning expiation, thus crept in, and it was established by certain improper doctrines which our adversaries wrote, viz: that expiation is such a work, by which the divine wrath and displeasure are reconciled.

Our adversaries themselves, however, confess that *satisfactiones*, or expiations do not obliterate the crime before God, but they imagine that these expiations only acquit and release the pain or pun-

ishment. For they teach, that, when sins are forgiven, God alone forgives the crime or *culpa* without means; and yet, because he is a just God, he does not leave sins unpunished, but he changes eternal, into temporal punishment. They add more still, that a part of the temporal punishment is remitted through the power of the keys; but a portion must be redeemed by *satisfactiones* or expiations. And it is impossible to understand which part of the punishment or pain is released, through the power of the keys, unless they would say that a portion of the pain of purgatory is remitted; from which it would follow that expiations contribute only to a liberation of the pains of purgatory. And they further assert that expiations are efficacious before God, if they are made by those who have fallen even into fatal sin: as if God would permit himself to be reconciled by those who are lying in fatal sins, and who are his enemies.

These are nothing but visionary, fabulous doctrines and notions, unfounded in the Scriptures, and repugnant to all the writings of the ancient Fathers. Nor did Lombard teach in this manner, concerning expiations or *satisfactionibus*. The scholastics, it is true, understood from hearsay, that at one time there were expiations (*satisfactiones*) in the church, but they did not consider that it was an external ceremony, where the *publice pœnitentes*, or the penitents were compelled to appear before the church, with a ceremony which was instituted for this purpose:—first, as a terror and an example, from which others might take warning; second, as a test, whether those sinners or penitents who desire grace again, had sincerely repented. In a word, they did not perceive that such expiation was a discipline, and an external chastisement,—a thing, like any other moral discipline, instituted for a restraint and terror. They have taught, moreover, that it contributes, not only to discipline, but also to a reconciliation with God, and that it is essential to salvation. But as they have, in many other instances, intermingled the kingdom of Christ, which is spiritual, and the kingdom of the world and external discipline; so they have likewise done with expiations. The notes to the canons, however, show in many places, that these expiations were intended to serve only as an example before the church.

But here let us observe, how our adversaries demonstrate and establish such wild conceits as those in their Confutation, which they at last obtruded on your imperial Majesty. They quote many passages from the Scriptures, for the purpose of making it appear to inexperienced people, that their doctrine relative to expiations, is founded in the Scriptures,—a doctrine which, however, was not yet known in the days of Lombard. They produce these passages:—"Repent

ye," Mark 1, 15; "Bring forth fruits meet for repentance," Matt. 3, 8; again, "Yield your members servants to righteousness unto holiness," Rom. 6, 19; again, Christ said "Repent;" again, he commanded the apostles to *preach repentance*, Luke 24, 47; and Peter preached *repentance*, Acts 2, 38. Afterwards they exhibit certain passages from the Fathers and Canons, and conclude that expiations in the church, contrary to the Gospel, contrary to the Decree of the Fathers and of the council, contrary to the decision of the holy church, shall not be abolished; but those who obtain absolution, shall accomplish the penance and expiation, which have been imposed on them by the priest.

May God expose and chastise these impious sophists, who distort so treacherously and basely the holy Gospel, according to their wild conceits. What pious and honest man is there, who would not be moved with indignation, by such public abuse of the divine word? Christ says "Repent;" the apostles also preach *repentance;* is it, therefore, proved by these passages, that God does not forgive sins, except on account of this imaginary expiation? Who has taught these rude, shameless dolts such dialectics? But to trifle thus with God's word, and to arrogate a license so preposterous, are neither dialectics nor sophistry, but shameful wickedness. They assign in a dark and an obscure manner, this passage from the Gospel, "Repent," &c., for the purpose of making inexperienced persons, when they hear that these words are alleged against us from the Gospel, think that we are people who do not at all approve of repentance. With such unjust artifices they act towards us. Although they know that our instructions relative to repentance are correct; yet they wish to deter the people, and to inflame them with animosity against us, so that the inexperienced may cry out, "crucify, crucify these impious heretics who have no confidence in repentance, and are so manifestly proved to be liars."

But we comfort ourselves with this, and we are sure, that among pious individuals, yes, among honest and upright persons, such shameless falsehoods, and perversion of the holy Scripture, will effect nothing. And the Lord God will likewise, as certain as he is a living God, not long suffer such calumnies and unheard of wickedness; for the first and second commandments of God will certainly confound them.

And inasmuch as we have embraced in our Confession nearly every prominent article of the whole Christian doctrine, so, that there can be no matter under the sun, that is more important and weighty than this; men should justly have been selected who might have em-

ployed due fidelity and application, in this high and most weighty cause, which concerns the entire, holy, Christian religion, the well-being and union of the whole Christian church, and so many innumerable souls and consciences throughout the world, in the present day and in the days of our posterity,—men who were more pious, intelligent, experienced, virtuous, and honest, and who manifested a more sincere and conscientious feeling for the common good and union of the church, and for the well-being of the kingdom, than the loose, thoughtless sophists who have written the Confutation.

And you, lord cardinal Campeggi, as the most intelligent, to whom these affairs at Rome have been entrusted, whose wisdom is applauded, if you wished to regard and manifest a concern for nothing but the honor of the pope and the see at Rome, you should have transacted affairs in a better and more skilful manner, and have made every effort to prevent the writing of a Confutation so pernicious, by these or similar sophists, on a matter so great and important,—a thing which is calculated to incur, both in the present day and in the days of our posterity, for you nothing but derision, and the eternal, irrevocable disgrace and injury of your reputation and name.

And ye Romanists perceive, that these are the last times before the day of judgment, concerning which Christ has given warning, that many dangers shall befall the church. You then, who wish to be called the watches, the shepherds, and the chiefs of the church, should be on your guard, with care and the greatest diligence at this time. There are already many evidences before our eyes, which indicate, that, if you do not apply and conduct yourselves altogether in a becoming, prudent, and proper manner at this time, a great and powerful change will obtain in the whole Roman see and customs. And you dare not anticipate, yea, you dare not think, that you will retain the congregations and churches to yourselves and the Roman see, by power and the sword alone; for pious consciences cry after truth and proper instructions from the word of God; and to these, death is not so bitter, as to be in doubt about certain doctrines. They must, therefore, seek where they can find instruction. If you wish to keep the churches, you must endeavor to establish correct instruction and preaching, by which you will be enabled to secure a good will and constant obedience.

We shall return to our subject. The passages of Scripture quoted by our adversaries, do not speak of expiations or satisfactions, about which our adversaries contend. It is therefore a mere falsification of the Scripture, to explain the word of God according to their false opinions; and we say, that where there is true repentance and a ren-

ovation of the Holy Ghost, in the heart, there, truly, good fruits and good works follow, and it is impossible for a person to be converted to God, and to repent, and to be in possession of sincere contrition, without a succession of good works or fruits; for a heart and conscience, which have really felt their wretchedness and sins, and are really alarmed, will not zealously seek or esteem the lusts of the world; and whoever is in possession of faith, feels thankful to God, and regards and loves his commandments: nor can there be within the heart a true repentance, if we do not manifest external good works and Christian patience. And this is also the meaning of John the baptist, where he says: "Bring forth, therefore, fruits meet for repentance," Matt. 3, 8; again, of Paul, where he says to the Romans: "Yield your members servants to righteousness unto holiness," Rom. 6, 19. And Christ, where he says: "Repent," Mark 1, 15, speaks, undoubtedly, concerning the whole repentance, and concerning the whole new life and its fruits. He does not speak with respect to the hypocritical expiations, of which the scholastics dream, and dare to say that they compensate for the punishment before God, even if they are performed by persons who have fallen into irrevocable sins. This would, indeed, be a preicous divine service.

There are likewise many other arguments and reasons, which show that the above quoted passages of Scripture, do not accord with the expiations of which the scholastics speak. They imagine and say, that expiations are works which we are not under obligation to do. But the holy Scriptures, in these places which have been quoted, require such works as we are under obligation to do; for these words of Christ, where he said: "Repent," are words of divine commandment.

Again, our adversaries write: that those who confess, if even they are unwilling to accept the expiations imposed on them, do not, however, sin on that account, but they will be compelled to bear and expiate the punishment in purgatory. Now, there can be no doubt that these passages: ("Repent," &c.; again, Paul, "Yield your members servants to righteousness") and the like passages, are declarations of Christ and of Paul, which do not concern purgatory at all, but pertain to this life alone.

It is, therefore, impossible to apply them to the imposed expiations, which may be accepted or rejected; for the commandments of God are not left so discretionary with us.

In the third place, the law and canon of the pope, declare that through indulgences such expiations are released, *Cap. Com. ex eo,*

de pœnitentiis. But indulgences release no one from these commandments: "Repent," "Bring forth, therefore, fruits meet for repentance," &c.

It is, therefore, clear that these passages of Scripture, are quoted for a purpose entirely improper, as bearing an allusion to expiations; for if the punishments of purgatory are expiations, (*satifactiones* or *satispassiones,*) or if expiations are an acquittal of the pains of purgatory, the above quoted passages of Christ and of Paul, must likewise show and prove, that souls descend into purgatory, and there suffer pain: and as this necessarily follows from the opinions of our adversaries, all these passages must be viewed in a new light, and explained in this manner:—*Facite fructus, etc. Bring forth fruits meet for repentance;* that is, suffer in purgatory after this life. But it is unpleasant to employ many more words about the erroneous opinions of our adversaries, which are so manifest: it is known to be true that the Scriptures in these places, speak of works which we are under obligation to do, and of the whole new life of a Christian, &c. and not of these imaginary works which we are not constrained to perform, and of which our adversaries speak. And yet, by these falsehoods, they maintain their orders, the traffic of the mass, and other innumerable traditions, viz. that these are works to expiate the pain and punishment, even if they do not expiate the crime before God.

Now, if the passages cited from the Scriptures, do not at all indicate that by works which we are under no obligation to perform, the eternal pain or purgatory is compensated, our adversaries assert, without any grounds, that by such expiations the punishments of purgatory are released.

Neither has the power of the keys authority to impose pain, or to acquit the pain in part, half, or altogether. We read such dreams and falsehoods no where in the Scripture: Christ speaks of the remission of sins, where he says: "Whatsoever ye loose," &c., Matt. 18, 18. When sins are forgiven, death is likewise removed, and eternal life, given. And the text: "Whatsoever ye loose," &c., does not speak of the imposing of punishment, but of the retention of sins on those who do not repent.

Although we maintain that good fruits and works should follow genuine repentance, to the honor of God and thankfulness to him, and we have his command concerning these good works and fruits; as, fasts, prayer, alms, &c.; yet we have no authority from the Scripture, that the wrath of God or eternal punishment, can be released by the punishment of purgatory, or by *satisfactiones* or ex-

piations; that is, by certain works which, without this, we would not be bound to do, or, that the power of the keys, has authority to impose punishment, or to release one part of it. These things, our adversaries should show from the Scripture,—this, however, they will not attempt.

It is, moreover, certain that the death of Christ is an expiation, not only for the crime towards God, but also for eternal death, as the words of Hosea clearly read: "O death, I will be thy plagues," Hosea 13, 14. What kind of an abomination is it then, to say that the death of Christ expiates the crime before God, but the punishment, which we suffer, releases us from eternal death? just as if these words of the prophet, "O death, I will be thy plagues," ought to be understood, not concerning Christ, but concerning our works, and besides, concerning feeble human ordinances which God has not commanded. And they dare to say further still, that these works expiate eternal death, even if they are performed in fatal sin.

These inadmissible opinions of our adversaries, must doubtless, painfully affect a pious heart: whoever reads and considers them, must indeed be moved with indignation, by such manifest doctrine of devils, which Satan himself has disseminated in the world, to suppress the true doctrine of the Gospel, in order that no one, or but few, might be instructed what the law or the Gospel, what repentance or faith, or the benefits of Christ, are.

For thus they say concerning the law:—God considering our infirmities, constituted for man a boundary and a measure of works, which man is under obligation to fill; these are the works of the ten commandments, &c., so that by the superfluous, by *operibus supererogationis*, that is, by the works which he is not required to do, he might expiate his errors and sins.

Here they imagine that a man may or can thus fulfil the law of God, and do something more than it requires: when at the same time all the Holy Scriptures and all the prophets show, that the law of God requires much more than we shall ever be able to do. But they wish to think that the law of God and himself are satisfied with external works, and they do not see how the law requires us to love God with all our heart, &c., and to be free from every lust. There is, therefore, no person on earth, that does as much as the law requires.

Therefore, these pretended opinions of our adversaries, that we are able to do more than the divine law requires, must appear absurd and puerile in the view of intelligent persons: although we are able to do some external works, which are commanded, not of God, but of

men, and which Paul calls beggarly ordinances, yet it is idle and absurd to believe that by this means, we fulfil the law of God, yes, do more than he requires.

Again, God has commanded sincere prayer, real alms, and fasts; and inasmuch as they have been ordered by him, no one can omit them, with impunity. But works, in so far as they are not commanded in the divine law, but have been framed according to human caprice, are nothing but ordinances of men, in reference to which, Christ says: "In vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines, the commandments of men," Matt. 15, 9; as, special fasts which they have instituted not for the purpose of mortifying the flesh, but to honor God, and, as Scott says, to release from eternal death; and some special prayers and particular alms, which they have set apart as a service to God, intended to reconcile us to him, *ex opere operato*, and to liberate us from everlasting condemnation. For they assert and teach, that such works, *ex opere operato*, that is, through the accomplished work, expiate for sins, and that such expiation avails, even in instances of irrevocable sin.

There are, moreover, other works that are still less authorized by divine commands; as rosaries, pilgrimages, which are various; for some go in full array to St. Jacob, others with bare feet &c.: this, Christ calls idle and useless services to God; therefore they are not essential to reconcile God, as our adversaries, however, persist in saying; and these works, such as pilgrimages, they commend and regard as great invaluable works, calling them *opera supererogationis;* and what is more impious, and still more blasphemous, is that the honor is ascribed to them; which belongs to the blood and death of Christ alone, as if they should be the *pretium*, that is the treasure, by which we are released from eternal death.

In this manner, these pilgrimages are preferred to the works, prescribed in the ten commandments, and thus the law of God is impaired in two ways. First, by the opinion that they have satisfied the law, if they have performed the external works; second, by regarding these insignificant ordinances of men, more highly than those works which God has commanded.

And finally, the doctrine of repentance and grace, is likewise suppressed; for eternal death and the agonies of hell, cannot be removed in such a manner as they imagine; a different and a richer treasure is required to purchase us from death, eternal agonies, and pains, than our works. For to presume to become righteous by works, is a fruitless attempt, and persons possessing such righteousness, never once consider what death is; but as the wrath of God cannot

be overcome otherwise than by faith in Christ: so also death is subdued by Christ alone, as Paul says: "But thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ," 1 Cor. 15, 57. He does not say, which giveth us the victory through our expiations.

Our adversaries treat concerning the remission of sins before God, in a loose speculative manner, not perceiving that the forgiveness of such errors, and the redemption from God's wrath and from eternal death, are things of so great importance, that they can be obtained only by the one Mediator Christ, and by faith in him.

Inasmuch then, as the death and blood of Christ are the proper expiation for eternal death; and inasmuch as our adversaries themselves acknowledge that the works of expiation are such as we are under no obligation to do,—but these are human ordinances, concerning which Christ, Matt. 15, 9, says that they are vain services to God; we may safely conclude from their own assertions, that God has not ordered such expiations, and likewise that they do not release from pain and guilt, or from the punishments of purgatory.

Our adversaries may perhaps allege against us that pain and punishment are necessary to repentance; because Augustine says: "Repentance is a vengeance, an anguish, and a punishment, on account of sins." But he speaks of contrition and repentance entire; consequently they display their ignorance, by explaining his words so as to apply to their ceremonies of expiation, and by adding still further, that such expiation must earn remission from eternal death.

We grant that there is in repentance a punishment of sins; for the great terrors, arising from the censure of sin within us, are punishments much more severe than pilgrimages and such vanities; but this terror does not pertain to expiation, nor does it merit the remission of sins, or the redemption from eternal death, but if we were not consoled by faith, this alarm and chastisement would be nothing but sin and death. In this manner Augustine teaches concerning punishment. But our adversaries, the egregious dolts, do not understand the nature of repentance or contrition, but they are occupied in their juggling, their rosaries, pilgrimages, and the like.

But here they say that God, as a righteous judge, must punish sins. Yes, certainly he punishes sins, when he pours his wrath upon our consciences in such alarm and fills them with anguish; as David, Psalms 6, 1, says: "O Lord, rebuke me not in thine anger, neither chasten me in thy hot displeasure." And Jeremiah, Jer. 10, 24, says: "O Lord, correct me, but with judgment; not in thine anger, lest thou bring me to nothing." Here he surely

speaks of great ineffable anguish: and our adversaries themselves acknowledge that contrition can be so bitter and violent, as to supersede the use of expiation. Wherefore, contrition is greater pain in reality than expiation.

The saints, moreover, must be subject to death and different kinds of crosses and afflictions, like others are, as Peter, 1 Pet. 4, 17, says: "For the time is come, that judgment must begin at the house of God." And although these afflictions are frequently pain and the punishments of sins, yet they are designed for a different purpose in the Christian, viz. to urge and exercise him to perceive, in temptations, his own weakness in faith, and to teach him to resort to God for aid and consolation; as Paul says of himself: "That we were pressed out of measure, above strength, insomuch that we despaired even of life: but we had the sentence of death in ourselves, that we should not trust in ourselves, but in God, which raiseth the dead," 2 Cor. 1, 8, 9. And Isaiah, Isaiah 26, 16, says: "Lord, in trouble have they visited thee; they poured out a prayer when thy chastening was upon them;" that is, the state of necessity and anguish in which they were, was a discipline to them. From which it appears that afflictions are disciplines by which God exercises the saints. Again, God also sends afflictions upon us, to mortify and obliterate the sins which yet remain in us, that we may be renewed in spirit, as Paul, Rom. 8, 10, says: "The body is dead because of sin;" that is, it will daily be more and more mortified on account of sins, which are yet remaining in the flesh; and death itself is conducive to the termination of sinful flesh, so that we may raise from the dead altogether holy and renewed.

We are not liberated from these tribulations and pains, by these expiations; therefore no one has a right to assert that they compensate for such crosses and afflictions, and that they remove temporal punishment of sins; for it is certain, that the power of the keys can free or absolve no one from crosses, or other common tribulations. And since they wish the word *pœnæ*, by which satisfaction is made, to be understood of common tribulations; how then can they teach that men must make expiations in purgatory?

They allege against us the example of Adam, and that of David who was punished on account of his adultery: out of those examples they constitute a universal rule, that each sin must have its peculiar temporal punishment, before it is forgiven. We have stated before, that Christians suffer tribulations, by which they are disciplined: in this manner they suffer alarm in their conscience, and many agonies and temptations. Thus, God also imposes pain and punishment on cer-

tain sins, for an example. And with these punishments the power of the keys has nothing to do; but it is the part of God alone to impose them and to remit them, at his own pleasure.

And it does by no means follow, that if there was a peculiar punishment inflicted on David, there is, besides the common crosses and afflictions of Christians, still a punishment of purgatory, where each sin has its proper degree and portion of punishment. For we can read no where in the Scriptures, that there is no possible means by which we can be released from eternal pain and death, except by such acquittal of our sufferings and expiations: but the Scripture every where testifies that we obtain the remission of sins without merit, through Christ, and that Christ alone has subdued death and sin; we should, therefore, not subjoin or add our merits. And although Christians must endure various pains, chastisements, and tribulations; yet the Scripture shows that these are imposed on us for the purpose of humbling and mortifying our old Adamic nature, and not for the purpose of liberating us from eternal death.

It is admitted in the Scriptures that Job was not afflicted on account of any evil deed. Wherefore it follows that afflictions and temptations are not always evidences of divine wrath; but men should be carefully taught to view them in a very different light, viz. as evidences of favor, so that they may not think that God has forsaken them, when they are afflicted. The other proper fruits of the cross should be considered, viz. that God arrests us, and performs a *strange work*, as Isaiah says, Isaiah 28, 21, so that he may do his proper work in us, as he continues concerning this with a long consolatory discourse in his 28th chapter. And where the disciples enquired concerning the blind man, John 9, 3, Christ says: "Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents: but that the works of God should be made manifest in him." And thus says Jeremiah, the prophet: "They whose judgment was not to drink of the cup have assuredly drunken," Jer. 49, 12. Thus the prophets were slain, thus John the baptist, and other saints were put to death.

Wherefore, afflictions are not always punishments or pains for former sins, but they are dispensations of God, designed for our benefit, so that the power and strength of God may be the more conspicuous in our weakness, showing that he is able to assist in the midst of death. Thus says Paul, 2 Cor. 12, 9: God's "strength is made perfct in weakness." We ought therefore, to sacrifice our bodies for the will of God, to manifest our patience and obedience, not to liberate ourselves from eternal death or everlasting punishment: because, for this purpose, God has instituted another remedy, namely, the death of his Son, Christ our Lord.

And in this manner, St. Gregory explains the example of David, where he says: "If God threatened him on account of that sin, that he might, in this manner, be humbled by his son, why then did he permit the menace to be issued, when the sin was already forgiven? It must be answered, that the remission was granted in order that the man might not be obstructed in the reception of eternal life; the threatened punishment, nevertheless, followed, that he might prove him and retain him in humility." Thus God has likewise imposed natural death on man, and it is, when sins are forgiven, not removed, in order that those whose sins are remitted, may be established and proved and sanctified.

Now, it is evident that the power of the keys does not obviate these common chastisements; as, wars, famines, and similar plagues; again, that canonical expiations (*canonicæ satisfactiones*) do not exempt us from these plagues, so as to avail and benefit us if we even are in fatal sins. Our adversaries themselves likewise confess that they do not impose expiations for these common plagues, but for purgatory; hence their expiations are mere fantastic dreams.

But here some allege the declaration of Paul, 1 Cor. 11, 31: "For if we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged." From this they conclude: If we would impose punishment on ourselves, God would chastise more graciously. Reply:—Paul speaks of a reformation of the whole life, and not of external punishment and ceremonies: wherefore, this passage adds nothing to expiations; for what regard has God for punishment without reformation? Yea, it is an infamous blasphemy, to teach, that our expiation when it is made in fatal sin, mitigates the punishments of God. Paul speaks of contrition and faith, and of an entire reformation, and not merely of external chastisement. It is impossible, then, to force this passage to mean any thing more than if we reform ourselves, God will avert his punishment. This is true, and it is essential, consolatory, and useful, to preach that God mitigates punishment, if we amend our lives, as he did with Nineveh. And thus Isaiah teaches, Isaiah 1, 18: "Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow," if you amend your lives. And this amendment does not consist in canonical expiations, but in other parts of repentance, in contrition, in faith, in good works which succeed faith: but our adversaries apply these consolatory passages to their fallacious views concerning expiations.

The advertence, however, of the ancient teachers and Fathers, to expiations, and the formation of canons concerning them, by the

councils, we stated above, were an external ceremony, and it was not the intention of the Fathers that these ceremonies of repentance should be an obliteration of the crime before God, or of the punishment; for even if there are some Fathers, who advert to purgatory, yet they explain it themselves: if it even does exist, yet it is not a liberation from eternal death and punishment, which Christ alone effects; but it is a purifying and a purgation (as they say) of impure souls. Thus says Augustine: "Daily sins are consumed and obliterated; as, distrust in God, and the like."

We also discover in several places of their writings, that the Fathers used the word *satisfactio* or expiation, which originally came from the ceremony of public penance, as we have said, for true contrition and the mortifying of the old Adamic nature. In this manner, Augustine says: "The true *satisfactio* or expiation is the abscission of the cause of sin, that is, the mortifying of the flesh," &c. Again: "It is a restraint of the flesh, not that eternal death or pain is acquitted by it; but that our flesh may not urge us to sin."

Thus says Gregory with regard to the restitution of strange goods, that it is a false repentance, if we do not make satisfaction to those whose goods we hold in possession unjustly; for he is not affected with sorrowfulness, because he has stolen, who yet continues to steal; for as long as he retains in his possession goods that are not his own, so long is he a thief or a robber. Such restitution must be made to those, to whom the individual is indebted, and concerning this *civili satisfactione*, it is not necessary to dispute here, Eph. 4, 28.

Again, the Fathers write that it is sufficient if once during a whole life time, public penance, or public repentance is done or made, concerning which the *canones satisfactiones* (canonical satisfactions) are made. From this, it may be observed, that it was not their intention that these canons should be essential to the remission of sins; for, independent of these ceremonies of public repentance, they teach much elsewhere concerning Christian repentance, where they do not advert to the *canones satisfactiones* (canonical expiations).

The architects, who wrote the Confutation, say that the abolition of expiations contrary to the express Gospel, cannot be allowed. We have hitherto shown in a manner sufficiently clear, that these canonical expiations, that is, these works, (of which they speak,) we are not under obligation to do, are unfounded in the Scriptures.

This thing itself illustrates the matter; for if expiations are works which no one is under obligation to perform, why do they assert that we teach contrary to the Gospel? Because, if there were any declaration in the Gospel that everlasting punishment and death would

be removed by such works, they would be works which we would be under obligations to God to perform. But they teach in this manner for the purpose of making a disguise before the inexperienced, and they allege passages from the holy Scripture, which speak of true Christian works which we are in duty bound to do, yet at the same time they base their expiations on works which we are not under obligation to perform, and which they call *opera non debita*.

They teach and concede in their schools, that such expiations may be omitted without committing fatal sin. Their declaration is, therefore false, that the express Gospel prevails on man to observe these expiations.

We have, moreover, frequently stated that genuine repentance can not exist without good works and fruits, and the ten commandments teach what really good works are, viz; sincerely and cordially to regard God in the most exalted manner, to fear and love him, to call upon him freely in time of need, to thank him always, to acknowledge his word, to hear it, also to teach and console others by it, to be obedient to parents and government, to attend to our office and vocation faithfully, not to be bitter, not to be envious, not to murder, but to be agreeable, friendly to neighbors, to assist the poor according to ability, not to commit fornication or adultery, but every where to keep the flesh in restraint. And all this is thus to be done, not for a commutation of eternal death or everlasting punishment, which pertains to Christ alone; but in order that Satan may have no room, that God may not be provoked to anger, and the Holy Spirit, offended. These fruits and good works, God has commanded, they likewise have a reward, and they should also be performed on account of God's honor and the divine commandments.

But that eternal punishment cannot be remitted, except by expiation alone in purgatory, or by certain good works of human appointment, the holy Scriptures nowhere assert. The public penitents are frequently acquitted of such imposed penance and expiations, by indulgences, so that they may not be too severely pressed. If men have power to release expiations and imposed punishment or pain, God has not commanded such expiation; for no man can abolish divine commandments.

But inasmuch as the ancient custom of public penance and expiation has long since been abolished,—a thing which the bishops have permitted from time to time,—indulgences are unnecessary: and yet the name *indulgentia* or indulgence continued in the church. And as the word *satifactio* (expiation) is now understood differently from an ordinance and a ceremony of the church; so, the word indulgence

was likewise understood and explained incorrectly as a favor and remission, by which souls are released from purgatory; yet the whole power of the keys does not extend any farther than here upon earth alone, as the text reads: "Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven," Matt. 16, 19.

Consequently the power of the keys, is not a power to establish particular punishments or services to God; but alone, to remit the sins of those who repent, and to excommunicate those who do not repent; for *loose* in this place signifies, to forgive sins; *bind* signifies *not to forgive them:* Christ speaks of a spiritual kingdom, and God has commanded, to release those from sin, who truly repent; as Paul says, 2 Cor. 10, 8: *The Lord has given us authority for edification, and not for your destruction.*

Wherefore, the reservation of cases, in which the pope and the bishops reserve certain cases, is likewise an outward worldly formality. For it is a reservation of canonical punishment, and not, a reservation of the crime before God. Our adversaries have, therefore, taught correctly, where they themselves confess and say, that in the hour of death, such reservation should not supersede the true, Chirstian absolution.

We have herewith exhibited the substance of our doctrine concerning repentance: and we feel assured, that it is wholly essential and important to pious Christians. And if pious and impartial individuals consider this most weighty matter, according to its merit, and if they compare this our doctrine, yes, Christ's and the apostles' doctrine, with the many inadmissible, confused, puerile disputations and writings of our adversaries, they will discover that our adversaries have omitted the most excellent, and essential part, viz., faith in Christ, without which, it is impossible to form a proper conception of Christ, through which alone the consciences of men can be really consoled. They will likewise perceive, that our adversaries have devised much from their own heads, with regard to the merit of attrition, with regard to the enumeration of sins, and with regard to expiations, all of which is unfounded in the Scriptures, having neither human nor divine authority, and which our adversaries themselves do not understand.

VII. OF THE NUMBER AND USE OF THE SACRAMENTS.

Our adversaries approve our assertion in the thirteenth article, that the sacraments are not mere signs by which persons recognize themselves among each other; as, signals of war, colors, &c.;

that they are efficacious signs and sure testimonies of divine grace and the will of God towards us, by which he excites and strengthens our hearts to believe the more firmly and joyfully.

But here they require us to acknowledge that there are seven sacraments in number, and that there are no more and no less. To this we say that it is necessary to maintain these ceremonies and sacraments which God has instituted by his word, whatever number there may be. With respect, however, to this number of seven sacraments, we find that the Fathers did not count alike; consequently, these seven ceremonies are not all alike necessary.

If we call the sacraments external signs and ceremonies which have the command of God and an appended, divine promise of grace, it is easy to determine what are sacraments; for ceremonies and other external things, instituted by men, are not sacraments in this sense; because men, without a command, have not the grace of God to promise. Signs, therefore, which are instituted without the command of God, are not marks of grace; although they may otherwise effect a remembrance in children and rude persons like a painted cross.

The right sacraments are, therefore, Baptism and the Eucharist, the Absolution; for these have the command of God and the promise of grace, which especially belongs to, and is the New Testament. Because the external signs were instituted for the purpose of awakening our hearts, viz., by the word and the external signs together, to believe, when we are baptized, when we receive the Lord's body, that God will truly be merciful to us, through Christ, as Paul, Rom. 10, 17, says: "Faith cometh by hearing." But as the word enters our ears, so the external signs are presented before our eyes, so as to excite and move our hearts within to faith. For the word and the external signs work one and the same thing in our hearts; as Augustine has excellently said: "The sacrament," says he, "is a visible word;" for the external signs are as a picture, by which is signified the same thing that is preached by the word; both, therefore, effect one and the same thing.

But Confirmation and Extreme Unction, are ceremonies, which originated from the ancient Fathers, and which the church never regarded as essential to salvation; for they have neither the precept nor the command of God: it is, therefore useful to distinguish these ceremonies from those mentioned above, which are instituted by the word and command of God, and have his promise appended.

By the order of priests our adversaries understand not the ministry, nor the administration of the sacraments to others, but they under-

stand an order for the performance of sacrifice, as if there ought to be, in the New Testament, an order of priests similar to the Levitical, which sacrificed for the people, and obtained the remission of sins for others. We teach that the sacrifice of Christ dying upon the cross, was sufficient for the sins of the whole world, that there is no need of other sacrifices besides this, as if this one were not sufficient for our sins. So, men are justified, not on account of any other sacrifices, but on account of the sacrifice of Christ; if they believe that they are redeemed by that sacrifice. So, they are called priests, not by virtue of any sacrifices which must be made for the people, in order that they may purchase through these sacrifices, the remission of sins for the people, but they are called to teach the Gospel and to administer the sacraments to the people. We have no other order of priests, similar to the Levitical, as the epistle to the Hebrews sufficiently proves. But if an Order of the ministry be understood, we should not be reluctant in calling that order a sacrament. For the ministry possesses a command of God, and the noblest promises, Rom. 1, 16: "The gospel is the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth." Again Isaiah 55, 11: "So shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth: it shall not return unto me void," &c. If order be understood in this way, we shall not refuse to call the imposition of hands a sacrament. For the church has a command for the appointment of ministers, which ought to be very gratifying to us, because we know that God approves that ministry and is present at its services. And it is essential to applaud the ministry as far as possible, contrary to the views of those fanatical men, who fancy that the Holy Spirit is given, not through the word, but on account of special preparations, if they sit in obscure places, at ease and in silence, expecting an illumination, as the enthusiasts formerly taught, and the Anabaptists teach now.

But the state of matrimony was not, in the first place, instituted in the New Testament, but immediately when man was first created, and it even received its origin and value from God; it likewise has a divine promise, which does not particularly belong to the New Testament, but it rather concerns the physical life. Wherefore, if any one wishes to term it a sacrament, we shall not much dissent. Yet it should, however, be separated from the *former two*, which are *especially* signs and seals of the New Testament. If the state of matrimony should be termed a sacrament, merely because God has ordered and instituted it, other offices and estates which have the word and command of God, should likewise be styled sacraments; as government, or the magistracy.

And finally, if men feel disposed to term every thing by so glorious a title as sacrament, because they are authorized by the word and command of God, they should, above all other things, reasonably apply that appellation to prayer; for it is strongly commanded of God, and many noble, divine promises accompany it. And there may also be reasons alleged for calling it so; for if a title so great were given to prayer, people would be stimulated to observe it.

Alms might likewise be added to the number of sacraments, and the crosses and afflictions of Christians, for to these the promises of God are also added. Yet no intelligent man will contend much about the number of sacraments, whether there are seven or more; nevertheless, he will feel so far anxious, as to see the word and command of God maintained.

It is, however, more necessary for us to understand the *proper use* of the sacraments, and to direct our inquiries upon it. Here we must clearly condemn the whole doctrine of the scholastics and their erroneous opinions, in which they teach, that those who simply use the sacraments, and do not oppose their operation, obtain, *ex opere operato*, the grace of God, even if the heart at the time is in possession of no good thoughts. But it is wholly a Jewish position, to maintain the opinion that we must be justified by a work and by external ceremonies, without faith, and even without sincere motives: and yet, this infamous doctrine is preached and promulgated through all the papal kingdom and churches.

Paul, (Rom. 4, 9–11,) denies that Abraham was justified through circumcision, and asserts that circumcision was a sign intended for the exercise and strengthening of faith. For this reason, we also assert that to a proper use of the sacraments faith belongs, which gives credence to the divine promises, and receives the promised favors, which are offered through the sacraments and the word. And this use of the holy sacraments is indubitable and correct; upon which our hearts and our minds may ponder and rely. For no one is able to comprehend the divine promises, unless through faith alone. And the sacraments are external signs and seals of the promises.

Wherefore, for a proper use of them, faith is required. As when we receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, Christ says clearly: "This cup is the new testament," Luke 22, 20. Here we should firmly believe that grace and remission of sins, which are promised in the New Testament, are imparted to us. And such we should receive in faith, and by it console our alarmed, timid consciences, and feel assured that the word and promises of God cannot

fail, but that they are as sure, and more certain, than if God would send unto us a new voice, or a new miracle from heaven, through which grace would be promised to us. But what would miracles benefit, if they were not believed? And here we speak of special faith, in which each one believes for himself that his sins are forgiven, and not of *fide generali*, by which we believe that there is a God. This proper use of the sacraments really consoles and vivifies our consciences.

It is, however, impossible to consider too carefully, or to write and speak too freely concerning the abuses and errors which this pernicious, impious doctrine of *opere operato* has introduced, in which they teach that if any one uses the sacraments, this performed work makes him pious before God, and obtains grace for him, even if he possesses no sincere motives in his heart at the time. Hence originated the abominable abuse of the mass. And they are unable to bring forth a single tittle or syllable from the writings of the ancient Fathers, by which the opinions of the scholastics, might be maintained. Nay, Augustine speaks directly to the contrary, that not the sacraments, but *faith* in the use of the sacraments, justifies us in the sight of God.

The fourteenth article, in which we assert that no one is permitted to preach, or to administer the sacraments in the church, except those only who are duly called, they accept, provided that we thus understand the call concerning priests who are ordained or consecrated according to the requisition in the canons. Concerning this matter, we have several times in this convention, testified that we are devotedly inclined to assist in maintaining all ecclesiastical regulations, and episcopal government, which is called *canonica politia*, if the bishops would tolerate our doctrine, and receive our priests.

But the bishops have hitherto persecuted and murdered our ministers contrary to their own laws. So we cannot as yet, cause them to desist from this tyranny. Our opponents are, therefore, to blame because obedience is withdrawn from the bishops, and we are excusable before God and all pious men. For since the bishops will not tolerate our divines, unless they reject this doctrine which we profess,—and yet we are under obligation before God to acknowledge this doctrine and to maintain it,—we must therefore reject the bishops, and be more obedient to God; and we know that the Christian church exists wherever the word of God is correctly taught. The bishops may devise a method, by which they can answer for their severing and devastating the churches, by such tyran-

VIII. OF HUMAN ORDINANCES IN THE CHURCH.

Our adversaries accept the first part of the fifteenth article, in which we say that ceremonies and ordinances ought to be retained in the church, such as can be observed conscientiously, and such as contribute to good order and tranquillity. The other part they condemn, in which we assert, that those ordinances, which are established for the purpose of reconciling God, and of obtaining the remission of sins, are in opposition to the Gospel. Although in our Confession, relative to diversity of meats, we have said a great deal concerning ordinances, yet we must in this place briefly repeat it.

Although we might have supposed that our adversaries would seek other arguments to sustain these human ordinances, yet we should not have thought that they would condemn this article, viz., that no one merits remission of sins, by human traditions. But inasmuch as this whole article is condemned, we shall find no difficulty in replying. For this is evidently a Jewish position, this is evidently calculated by the doctrine of the devil to suppress the Gospel. For the holy Scripture, and Paul especially, calls such ordinances really the doctrine of the devil, when men extol them as if they should serve the purpose of obtaining the remission of sins. For in this light, they are as directly opposed to Christ and to the Gospel, as fire and water are opposed to each other.

The Gospel teaches that through faith in Christ, without merit, we obtain the forgiveness of sins, and become reconciled to God; but our adversaries set apart another mediator, namely, human laws. By these they wish to obtain remission of sins, and by these they wish to appease the wrath of God; but Christ says clearly, "In vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men," Matt. 15, 9.

We have copiously shown above, that we are justified in the sight of God, by faith, when we believe that we have a merciful God,—not through our works, but through Christ. Now, there can be no doubt, that such is the pure doctrine of the Gospel; for Paul expressly says to the Ephesians, Eph. 2, 8, 9: "By grace are ye saved, through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God; not of works." But our adversaries say, that men merit remission of sins by these human ordinances and works. What else is this but substituting another mediator and reconciler in the room of Christ?

Paul, to the Galatians, Gal. 5, 4, says: "Whosoever of you are

justified by the law: ye are fallen from grace;" that is, if you believe that you are justified before God, by the law, Christ is of no benefit to you. For of what advantage is Christ the Mediator to those who expect to reconcile God, by the works of the law? God has offered *Christ*, because it was his will to be gracious unto us on account of this Mediator, and not on account of our righteousness. But they maintain, that God is merciful to them on account of their works and of these traditions. In this manner, they deprive and rob Christ of his honor; and there is no difference between the ceremonies of the law of Moses and such traditions, so far as they concern this subject. Paul rejects the ceremonies of Moses, even for the same reason that he rejects the commandments of men; namely, because the Jews held them as works by which men merited the remission of sins; for by this means the doctrine of Christ would be suppressed. He, therefore, rejects alike the works of the law and human commandments, and contends that remission of sins is promised, not on account of our works, but for the sake of Christ, without merit; yet in such a manner that we receive it by faith. Because the promises cannot be received otherwise than by faith.

If, then, by faith we obtain forgiveness of sins, and if by faith we have a propitious God for Christ's sake, it is very erroneous and blasphemous to suppose that we must obtain the remission of sins, by such ordinances.

If they would assert here, that we do not obtain the remission of sins by such works, but when we are already in possession of forgiveness, through faith, we should merit by such works the grace of God, it would, however, be in opposition to Paul's declaration to the Galatians, Gal. 2, 17, where he says: "But if, while we seek to be justified by Christ, we ourselves also are found sinners, is therefore Christ the minister of sin?" Again, Gal. 3, 15: "Though it be but a man's covenant, yet if it be confirmed, no man disannulleth or addeth thereto." Therefore, no one should add any thing to the covenant of God, in which he promises us that he will be gracious unto us for Christ's sake; or subjoin this to it, that we first merit the grace of God, by these works.

And even if one would establish these works, or select them for the purpose of appeasing God, and of meriting remission of sins, how could he be certain that these works are acceptable with God, without the word or commandment of God for them? How could he assure the conscience and heart, of the relation in which they stand to God, or how these works are pleasing to God, when there is no divine commandment to this effect?

The prophets every where forbid the institution of self-devised particular services to God, without the word or command of God. Ezek. 20, 18, 19: "Walk ye not in the statutes of your fathers, neither observe their judgments, nor defile yourselves with their idols. I am the Lord your God; walk in my statutes, and keep my judgments, and do them." If men have authority to institute services to God, for the purpose of enabling us to compensate for our sins, and to be justified in the sight of God, all the divine services of the heathens and all the idolatry of every impious king of Israel, of Jeroboam and others, must be admissible; for there can be no difference. If men are authorized to establish methods of worship, by which we can merit salvation, why should the self-constituted religious services of the heathens and Israelites, be unholy? The services of the heathens and Israelites, were rejected because they wished to imagine that such services were pleasing to God, knowing nothing of the highest service to God, which is faith.

Again, from what source can we be assured that such services and works, unauthorized by the word of God, justify in the sight of God, inasmuch as no man is able to experience or to know the will of God, except through his word alone? What would be the result, if God does not only contemn such services, but also views them as abominations? How then, dare our adversaries to say that they justify in the sight of God? Without the word of God, no one can assert this. Paul, to the Romans, Rom. 14, 23, says: "Whatsoever is not of faith is sin." Inasmuch, then, as these services to God have no divine authority, our hearts must remain in doubt whether they are pleasing to God.

And what need is there for employing many words on this evident point? If our adversaries defend these services as works by which men merit salvation and the remission of sins, they really establish the doctrine and kingdom of Antichrist. For the kingdom of Antichrist especially is a new service to God, devised by men, and calculated to suppress Christ; as the institutions of Mahomet himself have adopted services to God and peculiar works, by which his followers think to become holy and pious before God, and they do not maintain that men are justified by faith alone in Christ.

Thus popery is likewise a part of the kingdom of Antichrist, since it teaches that we must obtain the forgiveness of sins and a reconciliation with God, through human commands. For, by this doctrine, Christ is deprived of his honor, when they teach that we are not justified through Christ, without merit, by faith, but through such services to God; especially when they teach that such self-appointed

services to God are not only useful but necessary: as they maintain in the eighth article above, where they condemn our assertion, that it is not necessary for a true unity of the church, that human ordinances be every where uniform.

Thus Daniel describes the kingdom of Antichrist, showing that such new divine services, established by men, will be its *politia*, and true form; for says he: "But in his estate shall he honor the God of forces; and a god whom his fathers knew not shall he honor with gold, and silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things," Dan. 11, 38. Here he describes these new services to God; for he speaks of a god of whom the fathers knew nothing.

Although the holy Fathers also had ceremonies and ordinances, yet they did not believe that these ceremonies were useful and necessary to salvation; and consequently Christ was not rejected by them; but they taught that God is gracious to us for Christ's sake, and not on account of these services. But they observed these ordinances on account of bodily exercise, as festivals, &c., in order that the people might know when they should assemble themselves, that every thing might be performed orderly and decently in the church, for the sake of good example, and that the common illiterate people might be kept in good discipline. For such difference of time, and various divine services, are calculated to keep the people in discipline, and to remind them of the histories. These reasons, the Fathers had, for observing human regulations.

And in this light we likewise do not oppose them, when they are intended to keep good order. We are unable to express our surprise at our adversaries for presuming, contrary to all the writings of the Apostles, contrary to the Old and New Testaments, to teach that we should obtain, through such services to God, eternal bliss and remission of sins. For what else is this but as Daniel says, honoring God with gold, silver, and precious stones? that is, maintaining that God becomes gracious to us through various church ornaments, banners, and tapers; of which there are an infinite variety among these human ordinances.

Paul to the Colossians, Col. 2, 23, writes, that *such ordinances have a show of wisdom*. And they have an ostensible show of holiness; for disorder has an evil appearance: and such discipline as is calculated to keep order, is useful in the church. But inasmuch as the human mind does not understand faith, those judging according to their reason, immediately form the conclusion that it is a work efficacious in securing heaven for us, and a reconciliation with God.

In this manner, erroneous opinions and infamous idolatry were

situated among the Israelites; on account of which, they established one divine service after another, as in our day one altar after another, one church after another, is erected.

In the same manner, the human mind judges of other bodily exercises, as of fasts, &c. Fasts serve for the purpose of mortifying the old Adamic nature; but reason directly takes up the view that they are works which reconcile God; as Thomas writes: "Fasts are works which are efficacious in removing crime from before God, and in preventing its farther progress." These are the express words of Thomas. Thus, these divine services, which seem plausible, have a great show and semblance of holiness before the people. And to this effect, the examples of the saints contribute, where it is said: "Francis wore a cap." In this example, they take nothing into consideration but the external exercise; not the heart and faith.

And when people are thus deceived by this great, ostensible semblance of holiness, an apathy to the knowledge of Christ and the Gospel, results from it, to their serious danger and misery; and in consequence of this, their whole confidence is placed on such works. And moreover, really good works, which God requires in the ten commandments, are, (dreadful to relate,) wholly suppressed by such hypocritical works; for it seems that a performance of these alone, must bear the title of spiritual, holy, and perfect life, and they are much preferred to the right, holy, good works which each one is bound according to the command of God, to perform in his vocation; as for example, a faithful and diligent administration of government, a Christian discipline which parents should exercise over their children and domestics, and a faithful obedience of servants to their masters. These works are not considered divine, but worldly; in consequence of which opinion, many people have been much disturbed in their minds: it is known, that some have abandoned their princely dignity, and others, their matrimonial condition, and entered into cloisters, for the purpose of becoming holy and spiritual.

And besides this erroneous opinion, there is an evil connected with it: when men have fallen into this misconception, that such ordinances are essential to salvation, their consciences are continually harrassed with disquietude and torment, because they have not so strictly observed their orders, their monastic rites, and imposed works; for who is able to enumerate all these ordinances? There are books without number, in which there is not a tittle or a syllable written concerning Christ, concerning faith, or the really good works which God commands, and which each one is under obligation to do according to his calling: but concerning these ordinances alone do they

write, as, forty days fasting, hearing of masses, canonical hours, &c.; here there is no end to interpretations and dispensations.

How miserably the good and pious man Gerson tormented himself, how he grieved and wept over these things, when he desired to relieve the minds of men with true consolation; when he sought grades and latitudes of precept, for the purpose of determining to what extent these commands were binding; and yet he was unable to discover any indubitable limit upon which he could with certainty promise the heart peace and security. He, therefore, complained most bitterly on account of the great danger to which the conscience is subjected, by requiring an observance of these ordinances, under the impression that a neglect of them incurs irrevocable guilt.

But, in opposition to such hypocritical ordinances, which have a show of wisdom, and by which many are misled and tormented in their minds without cause, we should fortify and strengthen ourselves by the word of God, and in the first place, hold with confidence that remission of sins is not purchased by such ordinances. We have already quoted the Apostle to the Colossians: "Let no man, therefore, judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a holy-day, or of the new-moon, or of the sabbath-days," Col. 2, 16. And the Apostle designs to embrace alike the whole law of Moses with such traditions; our adversaries, therefore, cannot, as they are accustomed to do, distort this passage, as if Paul spoke only of the law of Moses. But he clearly indicates that he also speaks of human ordinances; our adversaries however, do not know what they say. If the Gospel and Paul clearly imply that the ceremonies and works of the law of Moses, do not avail in the sight of God, human ordinances will be of much less efficacy.

The bishops have, therefore, no authority or power to establish, according to their own choice, services to God, which should make the people holy and pious before God; for the Apostles, Acts 15, 10, say: "Why tempt ye God, to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciple?" &c. Here Peter censures this as a great sin, by which men blaspheme and tempt God. This, therefore, the meaning of the Apostles that this freedom should remain in the church,—that no ceremonies, either of the law of Moses or other ordinances, should be considered as necessary services to God, as certain ceremonies of the law of Moses had to be regarded, for a time, under the Old Testament dispensation. We must, therefore, endeavor to prevent the preaching of grace, of Christ, of the remission of sins by grace alone, from being suppressed, and the erroneous opinion from being insinuated that these ordinances are necessary to justification in the sight of God.

Gerson and many other pious and faithful men, having been moved with a feeling of compassion on account of the great dangers in which men's consciences are placed, sought ἐπιείκειαν and mitigation for the purpose of assisting the conscience under these circumstances, so that they might not be tormented in so many ways, by these traditions; but they were unable to find any thing sufficient to liberate the conscience from these bonds. But the holy Scripture and the Apostles immediately burst them asunder, and in a few words effect an alleviation, saying that we in Christ are free from all traditions, especially when men seek to obtain through traditions salvation and remission of sins. For this reason, the Apostles likewise teach that we should strive against this pernicious doctrine of the Pharisees, with doctrines and examples.

We teach, therefore, that such ordinances do not justify us in the sight of God, that they are not essential to salvation, and that no one should establish or receive them, with a view to be justified before God, by them. But he, who wishes to observe them, let him observe them, as he may observe any other custom of the town in which he lives, without a thought that he will be justified before God, by them. As, for example, a person living in Germany, dresses according to their custom; living in Wales, according to theirs; observing it as a custom of the country,—not to be saved by it.

The Apostles, as the Scripture shows, violated such ordinances, and they were commended by Christ for it. For it was necessary to show and prove to the Pharisees, not only by doctrines and instruction, but also by actions, that such services to God are unessential to salvation. And if, indeed, our divines have omitted some traditions and ceremonies, they are abundantly excusable; for the bishops require them as necessary to salvation,—a thing which is so erroneous that it cannot be tolerated.

Further, the most ancient ordinances, however, in the church, as the three chief festivals, Sundays, and the like, which were established for the sake of order, union, and tranquillity, we observe with willingness. And with regard to these, our ministers preach to the people in the most commendatory manner; in the meantime, however, holding forth the view, that they do not justify before God. For this reason our adversaries allege their assumed power, and do us altogether injustice in the sight of God, by accusing us with abolishing and suppressing all good ceremonies and regulations in the church. For we may assert with truth, that proper forms of divine worship are observed in our churches, in a manner more Christian and honest, than they are by our adversaries. And if pious, intelli-

gent, and impartial individuals would carefully consider and view this matter, they would discover that the old canons and *mere legis* are observed by us, more strictly, purely, and diligently, than by our adversaries. For our adversaries without shame trample under foot the most excellent canons, as they do Christ and the Gospel. In their convents, the priests and monks abuse the mass in the most terrible and abominable manner, holding masses daily in great numbers, for the sake of interest, money, and sensual gratification. They sing Psalms in the convents, not because they study or pray sincerely, (for the greater part do not understand one verse in the Psalms,) but they hold their matins and vespers as a divine service, exercised for the purpose of obtaining for them their interests, and rents. They cannot deny any of these things. And some honest persons among them, feel ashamed of this annual fair, and say the *clerus* (clergy) needs a reformation.

Among us, the willing and unconstrained people use the holy sacrament every Sunday; they are, before they participate, examined whether they have been instructed in the Christian doctrines, and whether they have some knowledge of the Lord's prayer, of faith, and the ten commandments. Again, the youth and the common people sing systematic Latin and German Psalms, in order that they may become accustomed to the passages of Scripture, and learn to pray. Among our adversaries there is no catechism, yet the canons speak of it. By us the canons are observed, in order that the pastors and church officers may instruct publicly and privately the children and youth in the word of God. And catechising is not a frivolous exercise like the bearing of banners and candles, but a very useful instruction.

Among our adversaries in many countries, as in Italy and Spain, there is no preaching during the whole year, except only in Lent. Here they should cry out and justly complain; for this is at once subverting all divine worship. For the most eminent, holy, and useful divine service which God has required in the first and second commandments, is the preaching of his word; for the ministry is the highest office in the church. How, then, can there be a knowledge of God, of the doctrine of Christ, or of the Gospel, where this divine service is omitted? And even when they do preach during this fast or at other times, they teach nothing but such human ordinances, the invocation of saints, holy water, and the like foolish works: and this custom exists, that their people immediately, after the text of the Gospel is read, go out of the churches; which practice they may perhaps have commenced, in order that they might

not hear the falsehoods which were afterwards uttered. Some few of them have now begun to preach concerning good works. But concerning the knowledge of Christ, concerning faith, and the consolation of the conscience, they cannot preach any thing; on the contrary, they call this blissful doctrine, this beloved holy Gospel, Lutheran doctrine.

But in our churches, our ministers assiduously treat of the following important subjects:—true repentance,—the fear of God,—faith and its import,—the knowledge of Christ,—and that righteousness which comes from faith. They teach how the conscience, in anguish and temptations, should seek consolation; how faith has to be exercised by various temptations; what true prayer is, and how we should pray. They maintain that a Christian should deeply assure himself, that God in heaven hears his invocation and prayers; they speak of the holy cross,—of obedience to government, and they teach how each one in his station may live and act in a Christian manner;—they teach obedience to the commands of officers,—our duty towards temporal regulations and laws; and they instruct the people how to distinguish between the spiritual kingdom of Christ and the civil governments of the world; how to determine the nature of matrimony and the Christian duties connected with it. They promote the Christian discipline of children, continence, and all kinds of reciprocal duties between neighbors. In this manner our churches are provided with doctrines and rules of conduct. From this, impartial persons can easily perceive and observe that we do not abolish rational and Christian ceremonies, but that we observe them in the most faithful manner.

And with respect to the mortification of the flesh or the old Adamic nature, we teach, as our Confession declares: that real mortification takes place, when God breaks our will, and sends crosses and afflictions, so that we may learn to be obedient to his will, as Paul, Rom. 12, 1, says: "Present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God." And these are true and holy mortifications, thus in temptations, to learn to know God, to fear and to love him, &c.

And besides these tribulations, which are not subject to our will, there are also bodily exercises, of which Christ speaks: "Take heed to yourselves, lest at any time your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness," Luke 21, 34. And Paul to the Corinthians says: "I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection," &c., 1 Cor. 9, 27. These exercises should be performed, not because they are necessary services to God through which men are justified before God, but for the purpose of keeping our flesh in restraint, so that we may not by excess and overcharging of the body,

become secure and negligent, following the allurements of the devil and the lusts of the flesh. These fasts and mortifications should be attended to, not only at fixed times, but continually. For God desires us always to live moderate and temperate. And, as experience shows, these prescribed fasting-days avail but little in restraining the flesh. For men live more extravagant and sumptuous, on fish and various fast-meats, than when they are not fasting. And our adversaries themselves, have never observed the fasts according to the manner in which they are laid down in the canons.

Many and difficult disputations and inquiries are connected with this article concerning human traditions or ordinances, and experience has shown too forcibly, that they are very severe fetters and bonds, miserably torturing the conscience. For, when the misconception prevails, that they are essential to salvation, they torment a poor conscience beyond measure; as pious hearts really experience, when they have omitted a *completory* in the canonical hours, or otherwise acted contrary to them. Again, there are also important considerations and inquiries connected with the teaching of liberty, inasmuch as the common people are in need of external discipline and instruction.

But our adversaries themselves render this subject easy and simple; for they condemn us because we teach that we do not merit, by human ordinances, the remission of sins before God. Again, they wish to have their ordinances observed universally in all the churches, as indispensably necessary, and they place them in the room of Christ.

We have in our favor a strong advocate, the apostle Paul, who every where maintains that such ordinances do not justify in the sight of God, and that they are not necessary to salvation.

And our divines teach clearly and explicitly, that men should so use Christian liberty in these things, that no offence be given to those who are weak and uninstructed in these things, and that those, who abuse this liberty, may not in some way deter weak persons from the doctrines of the Gospel. For this reason, our preachers likewise teach that without special and admissible causes, nothing shall be altered in church usages, but that for the sake of peace and union, men shall observe those customs which can be observed without sinning and oppression to the conscience. And in the diet at Augsburg, we sufficiently expressed ourselves, and manifested that for the sake of love, we wished to be unmolested, to hold certain *adiaphora* (things indifferent) with others. For we have considered among ourselves, that common union and peace, in so far as they

can be maintained without being oppressive to the conscience, should justly be preferred to all other minor things. But we shall, hereafter, speak further concerning all these things, when we come to treat of *monastic vows* and the *power of the church*.

Our adversaries, without any further inquiry, receive the sixteenth article, in which we, in our Confession, assert and teach that a Christian may, consistent with the will of God and the dictates of conscience, hold civil offices, may rule countries and people, pronounce judgment and decide cases according to statute and other existing laws, inflict just punishments, wage just wars, make lawful contracts, hold property and possessions, make oaths when required by the magistrate: in short, that article in which we teach that the magistracy and government, their right and punishment, and all that pertains to them, are good regulations and ordinances of God, which a Christian may lawfully use. This article, our adversaries readily approve.

This most weighty, useful article concerning a distinction between the spiritual kingdom of Christ and temporal authority, which it is altogether necessary to understand, our preachers illustrate particularly, judiciously, and explicitly, to the benefit and evident consolation of many persons.

For we have clearly taught, that the kingdom of Christ is spiritual, in which he reigns through the word and the ministry, operates through the Holy Ghost, and increases faith in us, the fear of God, love, and patience within our hearts, and begins in us here upon earth God's kingdom and eternal life. But while this life endures, he permits us, nevertheless, to use the laws, the ordinances, and estates which are current in the world, according to the vocation in which each one is employed, even as he permits us to use medicines, architecture, agriculture, air, and water.

And the Gospel does not introduce new laws into temporal government; but it commands and desires us to be obedient to those laws and the government, under which we live, whether it be heathen or Christian, and that in such obedience we should manifest our love. For Carlstadt in this case acted unwise and imprudent, by teaching that civil authorities should be established according to the law of Moses.

Concerning this subject we have, for this reason, written the more explicitly, because the monks have taught many and very pernicious errors in the church; for they have called evangelical life, a state in which a person lives destitute of any possessions, destitute of the exercise of punishment and revenge, and destitute of wife and children. Such doctrines wholly suppressed the pure evangelical doc-

trine, so that persons did not understand what is Christian, or the spiritual kingdom of Christ; and they intermingled the worldly and spiritual kingdom, from which resulted many injuries and seditious, ruinous doctrines. For the Gospel does not abrogate temporal government, domestic affairs, the making of lawful contracts, and other civil regulations; but it sustains the public authority and their jurisdiction, and it commands us to be obedient to them, as the ordinances of God, not merely on account of punishment, but for the sake of our conscience.

Julian the apostate, Celsus, and some others, alleged against the Christians, that their Gospel separates and severs temporal government and authority, because it forbids men to take revenge, and the like: and these questions gave Origen, Gregory, and some others, much trouble; yet it is easy to reply to them, when we know that the evangelical doctrine does not make new laws concerning worldly governments, but it preaches remission of sins, and that the spiritual kingdom and eternal life begin in the hearts of believers.

But the Gospel does not only permit these external constitutions, temporal government, and ordinances, to remain, but it also desires that we should be obedient to them, even as in this temporal life we should and must be obedient and submissive to the common course of nature as the regulation of God: we permit it to be winter and summer, &c., this prevents nothing in the spiritual kingdom.

The Gospel forbids only private revenge, so that no one may usurp the authority of the magistracy; and Christ so frequently manifests this, in order that the Apostles might not think that they ought to be worldly lords, and take away the kingdom and magistracy from those who were in dominion at that time, as the Jews thought concerning the kingdom of the Messiah; but that they might know that it was their duty, to preach concerning the spiritual kingdom, and not to change worldly government: wherefore, this command, in which Christ forbids a person to take revenge himself, is not only a counsel, but it is an earnest command, Matt. 5, 39, and Rom. 12, 19.

The revenge, however, and the punishment of offence, which are imposed by the magistrates, are not forbidden by it, but rather commanded; *for it is the work of God*, as Paul says, Rom. 13, 2–5. This revenge takes place, when criminals are punished, when war is waged for the sake of general peace, and sword and horse and harness, are used. Concerning these things, some teachers have taught errors so pernicious, that very nearly all the princes, lords, knights, and servants, have considered their proper offices as wo[illegible]

ly, ungodly, and condemned. And it is not easy to express with words the ineffable danger and injuries to the souls and consciences, resulting from this. For men taught, as if the Gospel and the Christian doctrine were mere monastic life, and they did not perceive that the Gospel teaches, how men shall be released from sin, hell, and the devil, before God, and that it does not interfere with the civil government in external things.

Their doctrine, that Christian perfection consists in a state destitute of property, is a falsification and deception, which they have impressed on the minds of the people, without shame. For Christian perfection does not consist in external piety and a separation from worldly affairs; but faith and real fear of God in the heart, is perfection. For Abraham, David, and Daniel, were in royal estates, in great princely councils and offices, and they also possessed great wealth; and yet they were more holy and perfect than any monk or Carthusian friar that ever existed.

The monks however, especially the Cordeliers, have cast a semblance before the eyes of the people, in consequence of which no one knew in what true holiness consists. For how supremely evangelical, how eminently holy, have the monks deemed this state in which a person holds no possessions and is willingly poor? But these are very pernicious doctrines, inasmuch as the Scriptures indicate nothing concerning them, but teach directly in opposition. The ten commandments of God say clearly: "Thou shalt not steal;" here God, indeed, permits each one to possess that which is his own.

On this subject Wickliffe raved, insisting that no bishop or pastor should hold possessions. So there are innumerable, complicated disputations and contracts, concerning which it is impossible ever to pacify Christian consciences, unless they are instructed on this necessary subject, that a Christian may with good conscience, act according to the laws and customs of the country. For this instruction relieves many consciences, in which we teach, that a contract is lawful before God, in so far as it is approved by such common laws and usages of the country, as are considered just.

This high and useful article, viz. concerning the magistracy and civil laws, is clearly and judiciously illustrated by our divines, so, that many excellent, honest men, who were compelled according to their office, to be occupied in government and important affairs, acknowledged that their conscience received perceptible consolation, which before, in consequence of the erroneous opinion of the monks, had suffered ineffable torments, and stood in doubt, whether their offices were Christian, and whether the Gospel allows them.

This we have related, in order that foreigners, foes and friends, might understand, that by this doctrine, the magistracy, political enactments, imperial laws, and others, are not overthrown, but rather highly exalted and defended, and that this doctrine alone properly informs us how glorious, how great an office, full of Christian good works, is the administration of government. All of which, heretofore, in consequence of the hypocritical doctrines of the monks, were regarded as sinful, worldly estates, life, and conduct, to the unspeakable danger of the conscience. The monks devised such hypocrisy; they extol and esteem their humility and poverty much more highly than the office of princes and lords, or that of father and mother, or domestic government; yet these estates are authorized by the word and command of God, but monachism has no command of God.

Our adversaries accept the seventeenth article, in which we acknowledge, that Christ shall come on the last day, and raise up the dead, and give unto the pious eternal life and endless joys, and condemn the impious to everlasting punishment with the devil.

Our adversaries accept the eighteenth article concerning free will, although they allege some passages of Scripture, which are not appropriate to the subject: they also proclaim greatly concerning it, that the freedom of will should not be so highly esteemed as the Pelagians esteem it; nor should we detract too much from it as the Manichæans do. All this is well spoken indeed; but what is the difference between the Pelagians and our adversaries? as they both teach that man, unaided by the Holy Spirit, can love God, keep the commandments of God, *quoad substantiam actuum;* that is, they presume to be able to do the works by the power of natural reason, without the agency of the Holy Ghost, thereby to merit the grace of God.

How incalculable are the errors which result from these Pelagian doctrines! yet they pressingly inculcate and teach them in their seminaries. In opposition to these same errors Augustine contends on the authority of Paul, the import of which we have examined above in treating of justification; and we also affirm that the understanding does possess some portion of free will; for in determining a matter which is presented and rendered apparent to the power of reason, we possess a free will. There is an ability within us in some measure, to live honorably as to external deportment,—to discourse of God, to exhibit an external appearance of divine service, to obey parents and superiors, not to steal, not to commit murder.

For, since the fall of Adam, as the natural faculties of reason still remain, so that I can perceive good and bad in an object which may

be contemplated by the power of thought and the operation of the mind, so there is also, to some extent, an ability in the freedom of will, to live honorably or dishonorably. This is termed by the holy Scripture the righteousness of the law, or of flesh, which the power of reason is able in some measure to attain, independent of the Holy Ghost. Yet unholy, hereditary desire is so powerful, that men more frequently follow it, than the dictates of reason: and the devil, who, as Paul says, (Eph. 2, 2,) powerfully influences the ungodly, drawing without intermission poor, feeble nature into all manner of sins.

And this is the reason why there are but few, who according to the natural powers of the mind, ultimately follow out an honorable course of life, as we see that but few philosophers, who though they have zealously exerted themselves, have led with propriety a life externally honorable. But that these same persons, who observe these moral duties without grace, should exist without sin, or that these virtuous actions of moral conduct *de congruo*, should merit the forgiveness of sins and the gift of grace, is false and fictitious. For the hearts which are without the Holy Ghost, are without the fear of God, without faith, without confidence, do not believe that God hears them, that he forgives them their sins, that he assists them in time of need: for this reason they are ungodly.

Now, "a corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit," Matt. 7, 18; and "without faith it is impossible to please God," Heb. 11, 6; wherefore, even admitting that there may be some ability within us to perform these external duties, we still affirm that the liberty of the will, and the powers of the mind, *accomplish nothing in spiritual matters;* namely, to believe God in earnest sincerity, to cherish an assured confidence that he is near us, hears us, forgives our sins, &c. For these are the right, the noble, the virtuous, the exalted duties comprised in the first table of the Decalogue, which no man without the light and grace of the Holy Spirit can accomplish; as Paul, 1 Cor. 2, 14, says to the Corinthians: "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God;" that is, a man who is not enlightened by the Spirit of God, cannot form the slightest conception in his natural understanding, as to the will of God or divine matters.

And men perceive this when they ask their hearts how their minds are inclined towards God, whether or not they entertain an assurance that God observes and hears them. For, to believe this with sincerity, to repose and confide thus upon an invisible God, and, as Peter, (1 Pet. 1, 8,) says, thus to *esteem* Christ preeminently whom we do not see, is difficult indeed even to the holy; how then

should it be light to the ungodly? For we attain a proper degree of faith, when our hearts have first been alarmed, and when they have been raised up again through Christ, then as already asserted, we shall have been born anew through the Holy Ghost.

It is, therefore, proper to make this distinction clearly, in which we attribute to the faculties of the mind and the freedom of will an ability, to some extent, to live outwardly honest, and to the operation of the Holy Spirit alone the act of being born anew, and the formation of another heart, mind, and disposition within. In this manner civil discipline is retained; for an immoral, wild, impertinent course of life and conduct is incompatible with the will of God; and yet a proper distinction will appear, between outward moral conduct and piety, and that piety which avails in the sight of God, and which is not philosophical, external, but exists within the heart.

And this distinction has not been devised by us, but the holy Scripture expressly teaches it. Augustine in like manner treats of it, and recently it has been assiduously treated and written upon by William of Paris. This essential doctrine, however, has been shamefully suppressed by those persons who fancy that men are able to keep the law of God, independent of the Holy Ghost, and that the Holy Ghost grants us grace in consideration of our merit.

Our adversaries accept the nineteenth article, in which we teach that although God alone has created the whole world and all nature, and preserves all creatures every hour, yet he is not the cause of sin; but the evil will in devils and men, which turns itself away from God, is the cause of sin; as Christ says of the devil, John 8, 44: "When the devil speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own."

On the twentieth article, they clearly express themselves in these terms:—that they reject and condemn our doctrine in which we assert, that people do not merit the remission of their sins by good works. May each one observe this carefully, that even this article they reject and condemn in express terms. What need is there, then, of employing many words on this evident point? The illustrious doctors and framers of the Confutation, manifest here clearly and openly the manner of spirit that speaks out of them. For this is by no means a minor article in the Christian church, but it is the chief and the most important article, viz. that we obtain remission of our sins, without our merit, through Christ, and that not our works, but Christ, is the propitiation for our sins; as Peter, Acts 10, 43, says: "To him give all the prophets witness, that through his name, whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins."

This strong evidence of all the holy prophets may be justly termed a resolution of the universal Christian church. For even one single prophet is great in the estimation of God, and is a treasure worth the world to this same holy church; and we should believe more justly the unanimous voice of all the prophets, than the ungodly, flagitious sophists who have made the Confutation, and so blasphemously calumniated Christ. For, although some teachers in reference to this subject have asserted that after our sins are forgiven, we obtain grace, not through faith, but through our own works; yet they did not maintain that we obtain the remission of sins on account of our works, and not for Christ's sake.

It is, therefore, a detestable blasphemy thus to attribute the honor of Christ to our human performances. And we cherish the hope, and feel assured of this exalted, princely virtue, that your imperial Majesty, and other princes, had they been apprized of it, would not in any way have permitted things so evidently false and unfounded, to be inserted in the Confutation, by which God and the Gospel are calumniated before the whole world. For the purpose of proving the divine authenticity of this article, and that it is a holy and heavenly truth, we could adduce passages almost without number from the Scriptures, and also from the writings of the Fathers. And there is scarcely a page in the Bible, in the principal books of the sacred writings, which does not clearly indicate this. We have also said much concerning this same subject above; and pious, sincere persons, having the fear of God before their eyes, and a proper conception of the purpose for which Christ was given, would not for all the possessions and dominions of the earth, that Christ should not be our only Treasure, our only Mediator, and Reconciler; and they must, on seeing the manifest rejection and condemnation of the holy word and the divine truth by presumptuous man, feel shocked and alarmed. Isaiah the prophet, Isa. 53, 6, says: "The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all." But our adversaries presume to make Isaiah a liar, and the whole Bible false, saying that the Lord laid our sins on us, and on our works and beggarly expiations. I shall, however, here pass over those puerile works—rosaries, pilgrimages, and the like.

We are well aware of the severe mandate and imperial edict issued against us and our doctrine; and this should reasonably alarm us, if we had light and unimportant matters to treat of, or matters which are doubtful; but inasmuch as we, (God be praised,) without the least shadow of doubt before God, feel assured from the word of God, in our hearts and consciences, that our adversaries condemn

the open, divine truth, the right, the Christian, the blissful, and holy doctrine, without which a Christian church can exist no where, and which every Christian, in so far as his physical powers and mental abilities permit, is under obligation to the honor of God, to acknowledge, maintain, and defend; we shall, therefore, not permit ourselves to be deterred from a doctrine so wholesome. For who would not wish, even in his last moments, that he might die in the acknowledgment of this article,—that we obtain the remission of our sins through faith, by the blood of Christ, without our merit and works?

Experience has shown, and the monks themselves must confess, that the conscience of men cannot be pacified or restored to peace, except through faith in Christ; and they are unable to feel a real, firm consolation in their severe agonies in the hour of death, and in their struggles against the great terrors of death and sin, if they do not support themselves by the promises of grace in Christ. Nor can they have any impregnable defence against the devil, who then boldly obtrudes himself into their hearts, fills them with anguish, leads them into despair, and in one instant sweeps away with a single blast all their works like dust, if they do not firmly sustain themselves by the Gospel, by this doctrine, that they obtain the remission of sins, without any of their merit, by the precious blood of Christ. For faith alone vivifies and supports us in the great pangs of death and its severe agonies, when no creature can lend us aid, yea, when we shall die and be separated from this whole visible creation, and be transferred into another world and another existence.

This is a matter then, worthy of these remarks, and one too, for the sake of which every Christian should, with a sincere heart, hazard all things freely, even in the midst of danger. All those, for this reason, who adhere to this Confession of ours, have no occasion to be alarmed or to permit themselves to deviate from truth; but, assured of divine aid and the approbation of Christ the Lord, they may with all joyfulness venture to embrace it without hesitation, and confess this evident truth in opposition to all the world, to all the tyranny, wrath, menaces, and alarm, even to all the tyrannical murders and persecutions which take place every day. For who would suffer himself to be deprived of this great, yes, of this eternal consolation, on which the whole Christian church and all its bliss depend.

Whoever takes up the Bible and reads it with sincerity, will soon discover that this doctrine is every where founded in the Scripture. For Paul, Rom. 3, 24, and 4, 16, states clearly, that sins are forgiven without merit, for the sake of Christ; and for this reason he says: *We are justified through faith without merit, that the pro-*

mise might be sure; that is, if the promise depended on our works, it would not be sure. And if grace or the remission of sins were granted on account of our works, when could we ascertain with certainty, that we had obtained grace? when could our conscience find a work which would be sufficient to appease the wrath of God? We have said enough above concerning this subject, *there* each one may examine the passages of Scripture, which establish this doctrine. For in that place I was moved to complain so vehemently, on account of the abominable, shameless, premeditated wickedness of our adversaries, manifested in clear terms, in rejecting this article, that we obtain remission of sins, not through works, but without merit, through faith in Christ.

Our adversaries also adduce some passages of Scripture as a reason for their condemnation of this article; as for example, they allege this declaration of Peter: "Give diligence to make your calling and election sure," *through good works, &c.* Here every person can see that our adversaries did not spend their money in vain, when they studied dialectics; for they have become able to adduce passages of Scripture adequate, or inadequate, conclusive, or inconclusive, according to their own pleasure, and as it suits them. For in this manner they draw their conclusion:—"Peter says, *give diligence to make your calling and election sure,* through good works; therefore we merit the remission of sins through works." This is indeed a fine argument; as for instance, if one would thus reason upon a defendant in criminal court, whose life had been reprieved:—the judge has commanded that he should henceforth refrain from such evil deed; therefore he has, by thus refraining, merited the prolongation of his life. Thus to argue, may be termed making *ex non causa causam*; (a cause out of no cause;) for Peter speaks of good works and fruits which follow faith, and he indicates a reason for the performance of them, namely, that we may make our calling sure; that is, that we may not fall from the Gospel, when we sin again. He wishes to say: do good works, in order that you may remain in the Gospel, in your heavenly calling, that you may not fall back, become cold, and lose that spirit and gift which were imparted unto you by grace through Christ,—not on account of the works which follow; for men remain firm in their calling through faith; but faith and the Holy Spirit do not remain in those who lead a sinful life.

They assign still more passages and testimonies, which are just about as applicable as the one mentioned. In addition to this, they dare to affirm that this opinion was condemned a thousand years ago

in Augustine's time. This is not true, for the Christian church has always maintained that the remission of sins is granted to us without merit; and the Pelagians were condemned because they asserted that grace is imparted unto us for the sake of our works.

We have sufficiently shown above that we also teach that wherever faith exists, there also good fruits and good works must follow; for "We do not make void the law, but we establish it," as Paul says, Rom. 3, 31. For when we have received the Holy Spirit through faith, good fruits follow; and then we increase in love, in patience, in continence, and other fruits of the Spirit.

IX. OF THE INVOCATION OF SAINTS.

Our adversaries condemn the twenty-first article entirely, because there is nothing taught in it relative to the invocation of saints, and they handle no subject with greater prolixity than they do this; and yet they do not, however, accomplish any object, but their assertion that the saints should be honored. Again, they assert that *living* saints pray for one another; from this they conclude, that men should and must invoke *dead* saints.

They allege that Cyprian entreated Cornelius while he was yet living, to pray for the brethren when he would be dead. By this example, they wish to prove that men must invoke dead saints. They also refer to Jerome against Vigilantius, saying that in this matter Jerome has overcome Vigilantius a thousand years ago.

In this manner they proceed under the impression that they have won by far, and the egregious dolts do not see that in the writings of Jerome, there is not a syllable extant in opposition to Vigilantius concerning the invocation of saints. Jerome does not treat of the *invocation* of saints, but of the *honor* paid to them. Nor did the ancient teachers, prior to Gregory's day, think of the invocation of saints. The invocation of saints, as well as the application of their merit, concerning which our adversaries teach, is by no means founded in the Scripture.

We do not deny in our Confession that men should *honor* the saints; for there are three kinds of honor by which men honor saints. *First*, we should be thankful to God because he has shown unto us his favors through the examples of the saints, and because he has supplied the church with teachers and other gifts; and these gifts, since they are great, we should esteem highly, and praise the saints themselves who have made proper use of them, as in the Gospel Christ praised the faithful servant, Matt. 25, 21, 23.

The *second* honor, which we confer on the saints, is to *strengt*

our faith by their examples; as, for instance, when we see that sins were remitted unto Peter through grace so abundant, when he had denied Christ, our hearts and our consciences are so strengthened that we believe grace to be more powerful than sins, Rom. 5, 20.

In the *third* place, we honor the saints, when we, according to our several vocations, follow out the examples of their faith, of their love, and of their patience.

Our adversaries say nothing at all relative to the proper method of honoring the saints, but they cavil merely about the invocation of them, which, were it not calculated to endanger the conscience, would still be unnecessary.

We grant, moreover, that angels pray for us. For we have evidence in Zechariah of the fact that an angel prayed, "O Lord of hosts, how long wilt thou not have mercy on Jerusalem?" Zech. 1, 12. And although granting, that as the living saints pray for the whole church in general, so the saints in heaven may pray for the whole church; yet there is no evidence to this effect in the Scripture, excepting only the dream which was taken out of the book of Maccabees, 2 Mac. 15, 14.

Further, if the saints even do pray for the church, it does not, however follow, that men should invoke them. Our Confession, however, affirms this only, that the Scripture teaches nothing concerning the invocation of saints, or that men should seek aid from them. Inasmuch then as no one is able to adduce either a command or a promise or an example from the Scripture, it follows that no one can sincerely and conscientiously depend on it. For since every prayer must proceed from faith, from what source can we know that the invocation of saints is pleasing to God, when we have not the word of God for it? By what means can I be assured that the saints hear my prayers and the prayers of each one in particular?

Some evidently make gods out of the saints, and assert that they are able to know our thoughts and to see into our hearts. These things they devise, not for the purpose of honoring the saints, but in order to maintain their charlatanry and their annual fair, which bring them money. We still say as we have said, that there is no evidence in the writings of God's word that the saints understand our invocation; and if they do understand it, that God permits that circumstance to be pleasing to him; consequently it has no efficacy. In opposition to this fact our adversaries are unable to allege any thing; they should, for this reason, not endeavor to compel or to force us to accept things which are uncertain; for a prayer without faith is not really a prayer. Although they assert that it is a custom in the

church; yet it is certain that it is a recent custom in the church; for the ancient *Collects*, if they do mention the saints, do not invoke them.

Our adversaries, moreover, treat not only of the invocation of saints, but they also assert that God accepts the merit of the saints for our sins; and in this manner they make out of them not only intercessors for us, but mediators and reconcilers. This can by no means be tolerated; for in this way they confer upon them the honor which is due to Christ alone, by constituting out of them mediators and reconcilers.

And although they wish to make a distinction between the mediators who intercede for us, and the *one* who has redeemed us, and propitiated God; yet they make out of the saints mediators through whom the people are reconciled. And their assertion too, that the saints are mediators to intercede for us, is made without any authority from the Scripture; and if we were to speak of this matter even in the most moderate terms, it would still be calculated to suppress the doctrine and meritorious deeds of Christ, and that confidence would be placed on the saints which should be placed in him; for they have framed unto themselves a misconception, that Christ is a severe judge, and that the saints are kind, merciful mediators; thus they flee unto the saints, and are as fearful of Christ as they would be of a tyrant, relying more upon the goodness of the saints than upon the goodness of Christ, fleeing from him and seeking help from them: thus in principle they still make *mediators of redemption* (*mediatores redemptionis*) out of the saints.

We shall, for these reasons, show that they make out of the saints not only intercessors, but propitiators, and *mediatores redemptionis*. In this place we do *not now speak respecting the gross abuses* in which the populace carry on public idolatry with the saints and pilgrimages: but we speak of that which their learned men preach, write, and teach in their schools, concerning this subject. With respect to the other consideration, viz. the gross abuses, even the common inexperienced people can judge and determine for themselves.

Two things belong to a mediator and a propitiator: *first*, an indubitable, clear declaration and promise of God, that through this mediator he will hear all those who call on him. A divine promise like this, is extant in the Scriptures, concerning Christ: "Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you," John 16, 23. Concerning the saints no such promise is extant any where in the Scriptures; consequently, no one can conclude in his mind with certainty, that he will be heard through the invocation of

saints; therefore, such invocation cannot proceed from faith. That we shall call on Christ, we have, moreover, the word and commandment of God, where he says: "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest," Matt. 11, 28. "Even the rich among the people shall entreat thy favor," Psalm 45, 12. And Psalm 72, 11: "All kings shall fall down before him; all nations shall serve him." And a little after, verse 15: "And daily shall he be praised." And in John 5, 23, Christ says: "That all men should honor the Son, even as they honor the Father." Again 2 Thess. 2, 16, 17, Paul praying, said: "Now, our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and God, even our Father, comfort your hearts, and establish you in every good word and work." These are genuine passages concerning Christ. But concerning the invocation of saints, our adversaries are unable to adduce a divine command, or an example from the Scripture.

Secondly, it belongs to a propitiator, that his merit compensate for other people's demerit, and that others become participants in his merits and compensation, as if they had made payment themselves. When a good friend pays a debt for another, the debtor is discharged of the debt, by this payment as by his own. In this manner the merit of Christ is imparted and accounted to us, when we believe in him, precisely as if his merit were ours, so that his righteousness and his merit are imputed unto us, and his merit becomes our own.

Upon both these principles, namely, upon the divine promises, and upon the merit of Christ, a Christian prayer must be founded. A faith like this, in the divine promises and on the merit of Christ, belongs to prayer. For we should, undoubtedly, entertain the opinion that we are heard for Christ's sake, and that for his sake we have a merciful God.

Here our adversaries teach that we should invoke the saints, while at the same time we have neither a command, nor a promise, nor an example in the Scripture to this effect; and in this way they cause greater confidence to be placed on the saints than on Christ; yet Christ, Matt. 11, 28, says: "*Come unto me*," not unto the saints.

In the second place, they assert that God accepts the merits of the saints as a recompense for our sins, and thus they teach that men should rely on the merits of the saints, not on the merit of Christ. And this doctrine they expressly teach concerning indulgences by which they distribute the merits of the saints, as *satisfactions* (expiations) for our sins.

And Gabriel, who explained the canon of the mass, dared without hesitation to assert: "That we, according to the order which God has instituted, should flee to the saints, so that through their aid and merits we might be saved." These are the express words of Gabriel. And in various places in the writings of our adversaries, we find many things still more inadmissible, concerning the merits of the saints. Is this not constituting the saints as propitiators? For in this way they become quite equal to Christ, if we must believe that we are saved through their merits.

But where is this order instituted of God, concerning which Gabriel speaks, that we should flee to the saints? Let him adduce a word, a single example from the Scriptures. They derive this order perhaps from the custom prevalent in the courts of temporal princes, in which the counsellors of the prince bring forward the affairs of poor people, and advocate as mediators. But how, if the prince or the king would appoint only one mediator, and would not hear the cases through any other one, in mercy, or would hear all prayers through this one alone? Wherefore, then, since Christ alone is appointed high priest and mediator, do we seek others? What can our adversaries allege in opposition to this?

There is a common form of absolution in use up to this day, which reads thus: "The passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, the merits of the mother Mary and of all saints, shall be unto you for the remission of sins." Here absolution is openly announced, not only through the merit of Christ, but also through the merit of the saints, that through these, we should obtain grace and the remission of sins.

Some of us have seen a doctor of divinity in agony, on his death bed, unto whom a monk was sent for the purpose of consoling him. He proclaimed and repeated for the dying man nothing but this prayer alone: "Mary, thou mother of goodness and of grace, guard us against the enemy, and in the hour of death receive us up, *Maria Mater gratiæ*," etc.

If even Mary the mother of God, were to pray for the church, it is still too much to say that she would be able to overcome death, or to guard us against the great power of Satan. For of what need would Christ be, if Mary were able to accomplish these things? For although she is worthy of the highest praise, yet she does not wish to be held equal with Christ, but she desires rather that we should follow the example of her faith and of her humility. Now, it is clearly evident, that by such false doctrine Mary is placed in the room of Christ,—her they have invoked, upon her goodness they have trusted, through her they have wished to propitiate Chris[illegible]

if he were not a propitiator, but only a terrible, vindictive judge.

We maintain however, that no one should teach men to rely on the saints, as if their merits save us; but that we obtain remission of sins and salvation for the sake of Christ's merits alone, when we believe in him. Concerning the saints it is said, (1 Cor. 3, 8,) that each one will receive a reward according to his labor. That is, we teach that among themselves they are unable to impart their merits to one another, as the monks without shame have sold to us the merits of their orders. And Hilary says concerning the unwise virgins: "Inasmuch as the foolish virgins could not go out to meet the bridegroom, because their lamps had failed, they entreated the wise to lend them oil. But these answered: that they could not lend unto them; for both might fail, there not being enough for all." By this he shows that no one among us can help another by supererogatory works or merits.

Since, then, our adversaries teach that we should rely on the invocation of saints, having at the same time no divine command, no declaration of God, or example either in the Old or New Testaments; and since they esteem the merits of the saints as highly as those of Christ, and confer upon them the honor which belongs to him, we cannot commend or embrace their views and practice relative to the supplication or the invocation of saints. For we know that we should place our trust in Christ: to this effect we have the promise of God, that Christ shall be the Mediator; hence we know that the merits of Christ alone are a propitiation for our sins. For his sake we are reconciled, when we believe in him, as the text, Rom. 9, 33, 10, 11, says: "Whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed." And we should not believe that we are justified before God on account of the merit of Mary.

Thus their divines likewise teach without shame, that each one of the saints can impart a particular gift; as, St. Anna guards against poverty, St. Sebastian, against pestilence, St. Valentine, against epilepsy, the knights have invoked the sainted chevalier, St. George, to guard against the dagger and the ball and every kind of danger: and all this in its foundation has originated from the heathens.

And even suppose that our adversaries did not teach, in so shameless a manner, profane falsehoods concerning the invocation of saints, their example is dangerous however, because they have no command or testimony in the word of God for it, and because they are unable to adduce any thing definite about it from the writings of the ancient Fathers. With what propriety then can men presume to defend things so unfounded?

But this is especially the more dangerous, because if men seek other mediators besides Christ, they will place their confidence in these, and in this manner, as we, alas! have experienced, the doctrine of Christ and a proper knowledge of him, will be wholly suppressed. For it may be that at first in their prayers, some with a good intention, *remembered* the saints; immediately after this, the *invocation* of the saints followed; and soon after the invocation, other strange, profane abominations and abuses were insinuated one by one, as the persuasion that the images had a peculiar, secret power, as maintained by the magicians, that if a person at a particular time, would engrave or depict on gold or other metal certain sidereal signs, they would have a secret, mysterious power and effect.

Some of us once observed in a monastery an image of the virgin Mary, cut out of wood, which could secretly be so drawn by small cords concealed in the interior, that it appeared to the spectator as if it moved voluntarily, and nodded with its head toward the worshippers whom it heard, and it turned away its face from the worshippers, who brought but small sacrifices, and whom it did not wish to hear.

And if this abomination, this idolatry, these pilgrimages and delusions with images, were not innumerable and indescribable, yet there were fables and false legends publicly preached concerning the saints, still more abominable and detestable. For instance, they preached concerning St. Barbara, that she at her death entreated God to grant her this reward for her torments, that whoever invoked her, might not be able to die without the Eucharist.

St. Christopher, a name which signifies *bearing Christ*, once had a white man painted for children, of an enormous size, in order to show that there must be a greater power than human in those who are to bear Christ, in those who are to preach and profess the Gospel. For they must wade through the great sea by night, &c.; that is, they must endure all kinds of great temptations and dangers. Thither the foolish, illiterate, ungodly monks afterwards came, and thus taught the common people to invoke Christopher, as if at some time such a great giant had been bodily present, who had carried Christ through the sea.

And as the almighty God through his saints as a peculiar people, has performed many great things, both in the church and in temporal affairs, many excellent examples may be selected from the course of their lives, which would be of great utility to princes and lords, to true preachers and pastors, both in temporal government and church regulations, especially for the purpose of strengthening their

faith in God; but these they have passed by unnoticed, and preached the most insignificant things about the saints; as their hard couches, their under garments made of hair, &c. which are for the most part, even false.

And it would indeed be useful and very consolatory to hear how certain great and holy people, (as it is related, in the Scriptures, of the kings of Israel and Judah,) ruled the country and the people under their jurisdiction, and how they taught and preached. Again, it would afford us consolation and benefit, to hear the diverse dangers and temptations which they encountered, and how many learned individuals gave advice and comfort to princes and lords in great and dangerous enterprises, and how they preached the Gospel and withstood various struggles with the heretics. And the examples in which God manifested great and special mercy to the saints, would likewise be useful and consoling; as when we see that Peter, who denied Christ, obtained grace; that Cyprian was forgiven his magic. Again, we read that Augustine, when he was mortally sick, first experienced the power of faith, and publicly confessed to God in these words: "Now I have first perceived that God hears the groans and prayers of the believer." Such examples of faith should have been clearly and faithfully preached and described concerning the saints, as instruct men to fear God and to trust in him, and which give them a proper conception of the state of affairs, with pious men in the church, and in important matters of civil government.

But certain idle monks and loose knaves, who did not understand how weighty and difficult a matter it is to govern the church or the people in other respects, have partly from books of heathens, devised fables which contain nothing but examples, showing that the saints wore under garments made of hair, that they prayed at their prescribed times, and that they ate bread and water. And all this they have devoted to their charlatanry, for the purpose of procuring money by pilgrimages. For the same purpose, they have introduced their miraculous signs; they boast concerning rosaries, and similar ceremonies of which the Cordeliers boast. And there is but little need for introducing examples here; their legends are still at hand, so that they cannot deny the charge.

These abominations against Christ, this blasphemy, these calumnious falsehoods and fables, and these false preachers, the bishops and theologians can tolerate, and have tolerated them to the great injury of the conscience, and to such an extent as is frightful to reflect upon; yet these falsehoods afforded them money and interests. But although we assail only the invocation of saints, in order that

Christ alone may remain the Mediator, and that this great abuse may be extirpated; yet they would willingly exterminate us, who preach the Gospel in its purity. And long too, before the time in which Dr. Luther wrote, their own theologians themselves, as well as all pious upright men, cried out against the bishops and preachers because they passed over with impunity these abuses which were tolerated for the sake of sensuality and pecuniary interests; and yet our adversaries do not, in the slightest manner, take these abuses into consideration in their Confutation; consequently, if we embrace the Confutation, we must enter alike into all their open abuses.

So full of fraud and fearful deception is their whole Confutation, not only in this place, but every where. They pretend as though they were as pure as gold, and as if they had never muddied any water. But in no place do they distinguish from their dogmas or doctrines, these manifest abuses; and yet many of them are honest and upright enough to acknowledge, that there are many errors in the scholastical and canonical books, and that many abuses were insinuated in the church, through illiterate preachers and the gross, scandalous negligence of the bishops.

It is not Dr. Luther alone, nor was he the first, who cried out and made complaint against these incalculable abuses. There were many learned and pious individuals before that time, who deplored the great abuse of the mass and of monasteries, and the mercenary and lucrative fairs of pilgrimages: and especially did they complain, because the most essential article concerning repentance and Christ, was so miserably suppressed,—an article without which it is impossible for a Christian church to exist or to continue existing, and which above all others should be taught purely and judiciously.

Our adversaries by passing over in silence these palpable abuses in their Confutation, have not acted faithfully and in a Christian manner. And if they had felt a sincere desire to assist the church and relieve the poor conscience, and not rather to maintain their pride and avarice, there would have been proper inducements and good reasons, and they should, especially on this occasion, have felt a willingness to solicit in the most submissive manner, your imperial Majesty, our most gracious lord, to remove these gross, palpable, opprobrious abuses, which bring us Christians into contempt even among the Turks, Jews, and all unbelievers.

We feel satisfied from our own observations on many points, that your Majesty, our most gracious lord, undoubtedly searches and seeks after truth with the greatest fidelity and assiduity, and

you desire to see the church regulated and established. But our adversaries, unconcerned about devising a method for the purpose of satisfying the wish, the Christian disposition, and the kind considerations of your imperial Majesty, or to meliorate this state of affairs, devote themselves wholly to the suppression of the truth as well as our person. For they sacrifice but little repose, in order that the Christian doctrine and the Gospel may be preached in their purity. The ministry they leave entirely vacant; they defend their open abuses, shed innocent blood daily, through unheard of cruelty and fury, for the purpose alone of sustaining their palpable falsehoods.

And they are likewise unwilling to tolerate pious Christian preachers. It is easy for intelligent men to judge in what this will finally result. For they will not be able to rule the church long, by mere violence and force. And even if our adversaries seek to sustain nothing but the kingdom of the pope, this would still not be a prudent mode of accomplishing it, but it would ultimately lead to a dissolution of the kingdom and the church; for even if they would have all pious Christian preachers thus murdered, and if the Gospel were suppressed, men influenced with fanatical and enthusiastic spirits, would still rise up and fight in a riotous and in a seditious manner, distress the congregations and churches with false doctrines, and destroy all church regulations which we would willingly preserve.

Inasmuch then, most gracious Emperor, as we entertain no doubt that it is the intention and sincere desire of your Majesty, to preserve the divine truth, the honor of Christ, and the Gospel, and that it may always abundantly increase, we entreat in the most submissive manner, your imperial Majesty, not to indulge the unjust designs of our adversaries, but mercifully to seek other means for a union, so that the conscience of Christians may not be thus encumbered, that the divine truth may not be thus suppressed with violence, and that innocent people may not be murdered on account of it, through mere tyranny as hitherto has been the case.

For your imperial Majesty is no doubt aware, that it is especially the office of your Majesty, so far as it lies within human power, so to preserve the Christian doctrine, that it may be propagated to posterity, and to protect and support true pious preachers. For God requires this of all kings and princes, by conferring upon them his own title, calling them gods, where he says: "Ye are gods," Psalms, 82, 6. But he calls them gods, because they should perpetuate, defend, and preserve divine things on earth so far as it is possible, that is, the Gospel of Christ and the pure

heavenly doctrine; and because they, instead of God, should shelter and protect the true Christian doctrine and the preachers against unjust powers.

X. OF BOTH ELEMENTS IN THE LORD'S SUPPER.

There can be no doubt that it is divine, that it is right, that it is conformable to the command of Christ and the words of Paul, to use *both* elements in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. For Christ has instituted both elements, not only for a part of the church, but for the whole church. For not only the priests, but the whole church use the sacrament from the authority of Christ, not from the authority of men: and this our adversaries must acknowledge.

Now, if Christ instituted the whole sacrament for the whole church, why then do they take away from the church *one* of the elements? Why do they alter the order of Christ; especially, since he calls it his testament? For if no one ought to break the testament of a man, much less should he break the testament of Christ. And Paul, 1 Cor. 11, 23, says: "For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you." Now, he did, indeed, deliver unto them both elements, as the text clearly indicates, 1 Cor. 11, 24: "This do," says he, "in remembrance of me." Here he speaks concerning the body. Afterwards he repeats these same words concerning the blood of Christ; and a little after this, he says: "Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup," &c., 1 Cor. 11, 28. Here he mentions them both.

These are the express words of the apostle Paul; and a little before he makes an introductory remark, that those who would use the sacrament, should use it in the supper. It is, therefore, certain that it was instituted not only for the priests, but for the whole church.

And this custom is retained in the Greek church even to this day. And so it was also the custom in the Latin or Roman church, as Cyprian and Jerome testify. For thus says Jerome concerning the prophet Sophonias: "The priests, who administer the sacrament, distribute the blood of Christ unto the people," &c. The Toletanian synod testifies the same thing; and it would be very easy to collect many passages and testimonies in reference to this, but in order to be brief we shall omit them. Each Christian reader can judge for himself, whether or not it is prudent and right to forbid and alter the order and institution of Christ.

Our adversaries, in their Confutation, do not consider how

the consciences of those from whom the one element has been withheld under popery, are to be exculpated and consoled. It was undoubtedly incumbent on learned and pious doctors, to exhibit firm and indubitable reasons, for the purpose of consoling these consciences.

They urge strenuously, that it is right and consistent with Christianity, to forbid the one element; and they will not allow both to be used. In the first place, they imagine that in the beginning of the church, there was a custom to administer only one element to the laity; and yet they are unable to adduce any authentic example of this custom.

They produce several passages from Luke the evangelist, concerning the breaking of bread, where it is written, that the *Lord was known of the disciples in breaking of bread*, Luke, 24, 35. They allege still more passages concerning the breaking of bread. Now, although we should not much dissent, if some of them would be understood as alluding to the sacrament, yet it does not follow that in the beginning only one element was administered; for it is a common thing for men to mention a part and mean the whole.

They likewise refer to the laical communion, (*laica communio*,) as if only one element had been used in it, which is not true. For when the canons enjoin it upon the priests to use the *laical* communion, it is implied, that by way of chastisement, they should not themselves consecrate the elements, but that they should, nevertheless, receive from one another both elements. And our adversaries are by no means ignorant of this; but in this way they make a semblance before the illiterate and inexperienced. For when these hear the words *communio laica*, they immediately think that it was a communion, such as at our day, in which the laity were nourished with one element only.

But let us see still further, how impudently our adversaries write against the order and institution of Christ. Among other reasons for not administering both elements to the laity, Gabriel assigns this one also: that there *must* be a difference between the priests and the laity. And I truly believe that the principal and the greatest reason for maintaining this doctrine so strenuously at this day, is, that the order of priests may appear the more holy before the laity. This is a human device, the design of which can easily be inferred.

And in the Confutation they refer to the children of Eli, 1 Sam. 2, 36, where the text says: "That every one that is left in thine house shall come and crouch to him for a piece of silver and a morsel of bread, and shall say, put me, I pray thee, into one of the

priest's offices, that I may eat a piece of bread." Here they say, the one element is signified; and they add, that so our laity should likewise be satisfied with the one part enjoyed by a priest, that is, with one element.

The authors of the Confutation are indeed impudent, egregious dolts; they play and cavil upon words in the Scripture as they please, explaining the history concerning the children of Eli, as alluding to the sacrament. For in this place, the condign punishment upon Eli and his children, is described. Will they also assert that the one element is granted to the laity for a punishment? They are silly and foolish enough.

The sacrament was instituted by Christ, to console the conscience of alarmed persons, and to strengthen their faith when they believe that the flesh of Christ was given for the life of the world, and that through this nourishment we become united with Christ, and have grace and life.

But our adversaries thus conclude: that those who receive this sacrament in one element, are punished by it; and they declare that the laity shall and must permit themselves to be satisfied. This is an arrogant assumption. How, ye lords, dare we not also ask reasons *why* they *must* permit themselves to be satisfied? Or shall all be considered as pure truth, what you desire and say?

It seems strange, how insolent and destitute of shame our adversaries are: they dare to deliver their words as imperious commands; they say freely, that the laity *must* be satisfied: but why must they? Are these the grounds and reasons, by which those are to be exculpated before the judgment-seat of God, who have hitherto withheld the people from the one element, and murdered innocent people on account of it? Shall they comfort themselves with the declaration relative to the children of Eli, that *they shall beg?* This will be a futile exculpation before the judgment-seat of God.

They assign more reasons still, why both elements should not be administered; viz., for fear that at some time a drop might be spilled out of the cup. And they adduce still more dreams of a similar character, for the sake of which the order of Christ should justly not be altered.

But even admitting, that it were left discretionary, to use one or both elements, yet how could they prove that they have power to forbid the use of both elements? Although it does not belong to men or the church, to assume such liberty, or to make out of the order of Christ *res indifferentes*, that is, things indifferent.

These poor consciences, which have been deprived by force of the

use of one element, and which have been compelled injustice, we judge not here. But those who have use of the one element, and who besides, have not only but also thus publicly preached and taught, seized and people on account of it, these heap upon themselves judgment and wrath of God, and we know no way them; they may examine how they will be able to give an account unto God for their assumptions. Nor should we receive too hastily, as the decision of the *church*, that which the bishops and priests resolve; especially, since the Scripture and the prophet Ezekiel say, that *priests and bishops will come who know no divine command or law*, Ezekiel, 7, 26.

XI. OF THE MARRIAGE OF PRIESTS.

Although the great and unheard of fornication and adultery among priests, monks, &c., in high institutions, churches, and monasteries, are so apparent throughout the world, as to excite public derision; yet our adversaries, who framed the Confutation, are so entirely deluded and destitute of shame, as to defend the papal law by which marriage is forbidden, even under the false appearance of spirituality. And although they should feel ashamed in their hearts, of this unrestrained, incontinent, dissolute life, tolerated in their institutions and monasteries, and on account of this alone, they should hesitate to appear openly amid the rays of the sun; and although their evil, restless hearts and minds reasonably make them so fearful, that they shrink back and tremble, on lifting up their eyes upon an emperor so amiable and exalted; yet they have, however, the audacity of a hangman; they act like the devil himself, and like all insolent, profligate people, they go on in their blind perverseness, forgetful of every kind of honor and reserve. And these impure, these incontinent people dare to admonish your imperial Majesty, the electors, and princes, "not to tolerate the marriage of priests, to the infamy and ignominy of the Roman empire." For these are their words; as though their shameful life were very honorable and commendable to the church.

How could our adversaries, with greater impropriety and impudence, have more openly stamped and divulged their own defeat and shame? It is impossible to find in the records of history, propositions to a Roman emperor so barefaced as these. Were they not known to the world, had not many pious and upright people, even their own canonists, made complaint among themselves, for a considerable length of time, on account of a state of affairs so shameful, irregular, and dishon-

orable: if their dissolute, shameful, unholy life, carried out after the manner of heathens and epicureans, and if the very dregs of every species of incontinence, were not so apparent at Rome, that they will not admit of being cloaked or colored,—their great purity, their uncontaminated chastity, might be considered a reason that they do not wish to hear any one make mention of a wife, or of the state of matrimony, and that they stigmatize this holy estate, which the pope himself styles a sacrament of holy matrimony, by the title of *Infamiam Imperii*.

We shall hereafter repeat their arguments and reasons. But let each Christian reader carefully and seriously consider how totally destitute of respect and honor, and of every kind of modesty these persons must be, who dare to call holy matrimony, which the sacred Scriptures commend and extol in the highest terms, a disgrace and an infamy to the Roman empire; as if their scandalous, abominable incontinence, such as is known to be the conduct of the Romanists and bishops, were a great honor to the church and the empire.

And these people seek aid from your imperial Majesty, most gracious Emperor, who art called in ancient writings, a chaste prince and king—for surely this passage was written concerning your imperial Majesty: *Pudicus facei regnabit ubique*;—yes, they dare without shame, to demand your imperial Majesty and the beloved estates of the empire, to countenance (God forbid) such abominable licentiousness. They require you to employ your imperial power,—which the Almighty has graciously granted for the purpose of sustaining hitherto your imperial Majesty victorious and secure,—in the protection and defence of this infamous sensuality and unheard of vice, regarded as abominable even by heathens. And they are so disposed in their blood-thirsty, deluded hearts, that they would freely, disregarding all divine and natural laws, the councils and their own canons, sever with violence the matrimonial estate of priests at once; that they would execute unfeelingly on the gallows, and with the sword, many poor innocent people, for no other offence but their matrimonial estate; that they would murder the priests themselves, as the great evil-doers, on account of their marriage,—a cruelty of which even a heathen would not be guilty; they would force into exile many pious, innocent wives and children, making them poor forsaken widowed women and orphan children, and satiate their diabolical hatred in innocent blood. To the perpetration of these acts, they dare to admonish your imperial Majesty.

But inasmuch as the almighty God has blessed your Highness with special, native goodness and modesty, so that your Majesty, in-

exceed by your high, noble, Christian dispositions, will feel averse from countenancing this great licentiousness, or from exercising this unheard of tyranny; and there is no doubt that you will take into consideration this affair in a manner far more becoming a prince and a Christian, than that in which these dissolute people do; we therefore, entertain the hope, that you will approve yourself in this matter nobly and graciously, and consider that we have good grounds and reasons for it in the holy Scriptures, against which our adversaries adduce nothing but falsehoods and erroneous opinions.

Nor are they really sincere in defending this state of celibacy and single life. For they know full well, how incontinent they are, and how few among them keep their chastity. But they adhere to that consolatory phrase which is found in their writings: *Si non caste, tamen caute;* and they know that to call themselves chaste and to boast of it, yet at the same time not to be so, has an appearance of chastity in the world; that by this also their papacy and priestcraft appear the more holy before the world. For the apostle Peter has duly apprised us that false prophets will deceive the people with delusive words, 2 Peter 2, 3.

Our adversaries do by no means take up the subject of religion, which is the principal thing, with sincerity. Whatever they do write or treat of, contains nothing but appeals *ad hominem*, that is, without earnestness, without fidelity, and without cordial feelings for the common good, in assisting the dictates of poor conscience or the church: in a word, they strive for the mastery, of which they are suspicious, and finally, they prop themselves with mere ungodly hypocritical falsehoods; consequently, they must dissolve like butter before the sun. For this reason we cannot accept this law concerning a state of celibacy; for it is contrary to divine and natural rights, contrary to all the sacred writings, and contrary to the councils and canons themselves. It is, moreover, nothing but hypocrisy; it is dangerous to conscience and altogether pernicious; innumerable provocations, detestable and frightful sins and infamy, result from it, and, as we see in the priest-towns and residences as they call them, a dissolution of all domestic honor and chastity.

The other articles of our Confession, although they are substantially founded, are not, however, so clear that they might not be plausibly assailed. But this article is so clear, that it is hardly necessary to say any thing on either side; only that whoever is honest and fears God, can easily decide for himself; and although we have the open truth before us now, our adversaries still seek artifices for the purpose of assailing our positions in some way or other.

In the first place, it is written in Gen. 1, 28, that man and woman were so created of God, that they should be fruitful, &c.; and that the woman should have an affection towards the man, and the man in return, towards the woman. And we do not speak here of the inordinate desire which succeeded the fall of Adam, but of natural affection between man and woman, which affection would have been in nature, even if it had remained pure. And this is the creation and order of God, that the man feel an attachment for the woman, the woman for the man. Now, as no one can, or should alter the divine order and the constituted nature of things, except God himself, it follows, that the state of matrimony can not be abolished by any human statute or vow.

Our adversaries cavil against these strong reasons, asserting that immediately after the creation, this command: "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth," was admissible: but now, as the earth is replenished, marriage is not recommended. But observe, how wonderfully learned and prudent are the conclusions of our adversaries. By this divine declaration, "Be fruitful, and multiply," which still continues and never has ceased, man and woman were so constituted, that they should be fruitful, not only in the beginning, but as long as nature endures. For even as, by this declaration, Gen. 1, 11, where God said: "Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed," &c., the earth was so constituted, that it brought forth fruit, not only in the beginning, but that it bring forth grass, herbs, and other productions every year, while nature endures; so man and woman were also constituted, to be fruitful, as long as nature continues existing. Now, as human commands and laws cannot so effect a change, that the earth should become unproductive, so also no monastic vow, or human command can so change human nature, that there should not be mutual affection between the sexes, without a special operation of God.

In the second place, since this divine constitution, this order of God, is a natural right, a natural law, the *Jurisconsulti* have rightfully said, that man and woman were mutually designed for each other, according to natural right. But, as this natural right is immutable, every one must be left at liberty to contract marriage. For where God does not alter the nature, *there* the property must also remain, which he has implanted in nature; and it can not be changed by human laws. It is, for this reason, puerile for our adversaries to say, that in the beginning, when man was created, matrimony was commanded, but not now. For it is even as if they would say, that about the time of Adam and the patriarchs, when

a man was born, he had the properties of a man, when a woman was born, she had the properties of a woman, but now it is otherwise; in former times, a child was born with its natural properties, but not now. We shall, therefore, justly adhere to the declaration which the *Jurisconsulti* have wisely and rightfully made, *that matrimony is a natural right.* If, then, it is a natural right, it is the order of God thus implanted in nature, and so it is also a divine right. Inasmuch, then, as no one has power to change either a divine or a natural right, except God himself, every one must be at liberty to contract marriage. For the native sentiments of affection between man and woman, are the creation and order of God. It is therefore right, and neither angel nor man has power to alter it. The Lord God created not only Adam, but Eve also, not only a man, but a woman, and blessed them, that they might be fruitful. And we speak, as we have said, not of the inordinate desire which is sinful, but of the natural affection, which would likewise have existed between man and woman, if their nature had remained pure. The evil lust since the fall, has made such inclination still stronger, so that we have much greater need now, of matrimony, not only for the purpose of perpetuating the human family, but also to prevent sin. These are arguments so clear, that no one will attempt to overthrow them; but the devil and all the world must permit them to stand firm.

In the third place, Paul says: "To *avoid* fornication, let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband," 1 Cor. 7, 2. This is a general command, and it pertains to all who are not naturally subjected to a state of celibacy. Our adversaries require us to show a command of God, in which he enjoins upon priests to marry; as if priests were not people. Whatever the Scripture says in general concerning the whole human race, certainly pertains to the priests in connection. Paul commands here, that those who have not the gift of continence, should marry; for a little afterwards, he explains himself, where he says: "It is better to marry," &c., 1 Cor. 7, 9. And Christ, Matt. 19, 11, clearly says: "All *men* cannot receive this saying, save *they* to whom it is given."

As then, since the fall of Adam, both the natural affection and the evil propensity exist in all of us, which propensity foments the natural desires, so that the estate of matrimony is more necessary, than when nature was unpolluted, Paul speaks thus of matrimony, for the purpose of assisting our weakness by it; and in order to avoid this excess of passion, he commands those to marry, who see

proper to do so. And this declaration: "It is better to marry," &c., cannot be abolished by a human law or a monastic vow. For no law can make nature otherwise than it was created or constituted. Therefore, we have liberty and a right to marry, all who feel thus disposed; and all those who are unable to continue pure and continent, are under obligation to follow this declaration and command of Paul: *To avoid fornication* let *each one have his own wife.* In this matter each one must examine his own conscience.

Now, as our adversaries assert that men ought to entreat and invoke God for continence, and that they should mortify their bodies by fasting and labor, *they* should justly begin such mortification. But, as we have already said, our adversaries do not consider this subject sincerely—they cavil and prevaricate at their pleasure. If it were possible for every one to keep himself purely continent, there would be no need of a special divine gift: Christ the Lord says that there is a special gift of God, and that *all men cannot receive this saying.* God therefore wishes others to use the state of matrimony which he has instituted. For he does not desire his creation and ordination to be rejected; yet he desires them to be chaste, viz., to use the state of matrimony which he has instituted for the purpose of preserving conjugal purity and chastity, as he also wishes us to use the meats and drinks which he has created for our subsistance. And Gerson testifies, that there were many pious and eminent persons, who wished to be continent by mortifying the body, and yet failed in accomplishing it. St. Ambrose has, therefore, correctly stated, "That pure continence is a thing which may be advised only, and not commanded." If one should wish to assert here, that Christ the Lord commends those who have made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of heaven, he should likewise consider, that Christ speaks of those who have the gift of continence; for this reason, he adds: "He that is able to receive it, let him receive it," Matt. 19, 12. For such impure continence, as exists in monasteries and cloisters, is not pleasing to Christ the Lord. We admit too, that real continence is a fine, noble, divine gift. But we speak here of the injustice of such law and *prohibition* concerning those who have not got this gift of God. Therefore, every one shall be at liberty to marry, and the conscience of men shall not be beset with such snares.

In the fourth place, this papal law is contrary also to the canons and to the ancient councils. For the ancient canons do not forbid marriage, nor do they dissolve the state of matrimony; although they remove those from their ecclesiastical office, who contract

marriage. At that time, for the sake of convenience, this was rather a favor than a punishment. But the new canons, which were not made in the councils, but by the popes, forbid marriage and dissolve the existing contracts of marriage. It is evident, then, that this is contrary to the Scripture, and to the commandment of Christ, where he says: "What therefore God hath joined together, let no man put asunder," Matt. 19, 6.

Our adversaries maintain, that the priests are commanded in the councils to continue in a state of celibacy, or to observe entire continence. We do not oppose this part of the councils; for they do not forbid marriage: but we assail this new law which the pontiffs have made contrary to the councils. The pontiffs themselves thus reject the decision of the councils, yet at the hazard of incurring the divine wrath and eternal condemnation, they dare to command others to observe those decisions. Therefore, this law, by which the marriage of priests is forbidden, is really a pontifical law of Roman tyranny. For thus the prophet Daniel has described the kingdom of Antichrist: "Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women," Dan. 11, 37.

In the fifth place, they do not, however, maintain this ungodly law for the sake of holiness, or through ignorance; for they certainly know, that they do not observe entire continence; consequently, they give occasion for incalculable hypocrisy, by holding forth an appearance of holiness. They say that priests should observe entire continence, because they must be holy and pure: even as if the state of matrimony were an impurity, and as if a man became holy and just in the sight of God, rather through a state of celibacy than a state of matrimony. And to prove this they refer to the priests under the law of Moses; asserting that when the priests were occupied in the temple, they were under obligation to abstain from their wives; therefore, say they, as under the New Testament dispensation, the priest should always pray, they should observe perpetual continence. This inappropriate foolish similitude they introduce as an argument altogether clear and definite, by which evidently to show that the priests are under obligation to observe perpetual continence. And even if this similitude were applicable here, or appropriate, they could still maintain nothing more by it, than that it is necessary for the priests to be absent from their wives for a time only; namely, when they are engaged in serving the church. It is likewise one thing to pray, and another to fill the office of a priest in the church. For many saints have prayed in sincerity, even when they did not serve in the temple, and in this re-

spect, their matrimonial estate was no impediment to them.

We shall reply to these fictitious devices in regular order. *First*, our adversaries, not being able to deny it, must acknowledge that the bond of marriage between believing Christians, is a pure and holy tie; for it is sanctified by the word of God. For it was instituted of God, and it is established by his word, as the Scripture abundantly testifies. Christ says: "What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder," Matt. 19, 6. In this place Christ says that God joins conjugal persons in a state of matrimony. It is, consequently, a pure, holy, noble, commendable work of God.

And concerning marriage, meats, and the like, Paul, 1 Tim. 4, 5, says: "For it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer"—*First*, by the divine word, through which the heart is assured, that a state of matrimony is pleasing to the Lord God; *second*, by prayer, that is, by returning of thanks, which takes place in faith, when we use the state of matrimony, meats, and drinks, with thankfulness.

1 Cor. 7, 14: "The unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife"—that is, the state of matrimony is pure and good, Christian and holy, on account of faith in Christ, and we may use it with thanksgiving, as we do meats and drinks.

Again, 1 Tim. 2, 15: "Notwithstanding, she shall be saved in child-bearing, if they continue in faith," &c. If our adversaries were able to adduce one passage like these, for their pontifical continence, how should they triumph? Paul says that the wife shall be saved in parturition. How could the holy apostle have spoken more explicitly against this shameful hypocrisy of obscene, false continence? For he says they shall be saved in the duties connected with their matrimonial estate, in their domestic offices, &c. But how does Paul limit these expressions? He states in express words, *if they continue in faith*, &c. For the duties and labors connected with a state of matrimony, are not alone, independent of faith, commended here. He, consequently, desires above all things, that they be in possession of God's word, and that they be faithful: through faith, (as he every where says,) they receive the remission of their sins, and become reconciled to God. He afterwards takes into consideration the duties of their female offices and vocations, that each one should perform something according to her calling, as good works should follow from faith in every Christian, in order that he benefit his neighbor; and as these good works are pleasing to God, so do also those works, which a believing woman does according to her vocation, please God; and a woman, who thus, according to her calling, in her matrimonial estate fills her office, shall be saved.

These passages show that the state of matrimony is holy and Christian. Now, as that may also be styled *purity*, which is holy and acceptable in the sight of God, so marriage is holy and acceptable; for it is established by the word of God. And Paul, Tit. 1, 15, says: "Unto the pure all things are pure"—that is, unto those who believe in Christ. Wherefore, as continence in the ungodly is impure, so a state of matrimony, is holy in the believing, on account of the divine word and faith.

If, however, our adversaries style purity, that state in which there is no concupiscence, the purity of the heart must be called that state in which the evil desire is mortified. For the law of God does not forbid marriage, but it forbids concupiscence, adultery, and fornication; therefore, to live outwardly in a state of celibacy, is not true purity; yet there can be a greater purity of the heart in a husband, as in Abraham and Jacob, than is found in many who according to their physical purity, have observed inviolable continence.

Finally, if they call continence purity, because they are under the impression that a person should be justified before God rather by it, than by a state of matrimony, it is erroneous. For we obtain the remission of sin without merit, for the sake of Christ alone, when we believe that we have a gracious God, through the blood and death of Christ. But here our adversaries will exclaim, that we, as Jovian did, regard marriage equal to celibacy. But merely for the sake of their declamation, we shall not deny the divine truth and the doctrine concerning Christ, and the righteousness of faith, which we have exhibited above. Yet granting all the praise and commendation due to a state of celibacy, we also assert that one gift is higher than another. For, even as wisdom to rule, is a higher gift than some others; so virgin purity or continence is a higher gift than a state of matrimony. And yet, as the sovereign on account of his ability and prudence, is not more just before God, than another one is on account of his profession; so the continent is not more just before God, on account of his virtue, than the espoused on account of their condition; but each one should faithfully subserve his endowment, and he should know, moreover, that he has the remission of sins for Christ's sake, through faith, and that he will be accounted just before God.

Christ the Lord as well as Paul, commends a state of celibacy; not because it justifies before God, but because those, who preserve a state of celibacy, being unembarressed by domestic affairs, the management of a family, &c., have a better opportunity to read, to pray,

write, and serve. For this reason, Paul says unto the Corinthians: celibacy is commended, because in this state a person has more time to devote to reading God's word and to the instruction of others. In like manner, Christ also does not merely commend those, who made themselves eunuchs, but he adds, for the sake of the kingdom of heaven; that is, because they can more easily learn and teach the Gospel. He does not assert that celibacy merits the forgiveness of sins.

With respect to the example concerning the Levitical priests, we have replied that it is by no means shown by that fact, that perpetual celibacy should be imposed on the priests. Nor does the law of Moses together with the ceremonies respecting purity or impurity, concern us Christians in any way. Intimacy, contrary to the law of Moses, was impure, but now it is not impure to an espoused Christian. For the New Testament says: *Unto the pure all things are pure.* For by the Gospel, we are liberated, not only from the law concerning impurity, but from all the ceremonies of Moses. Yet if any one would defend celibacy for the purpose of imposing upon the conscience these Levitical restrictions, we must oppose him even as zealously as the Apostles opposed the Jews, Acts 15, 7–10, because they wished to urge the Christians to the law of Moses and to circumcision.

But here pious Christians, who enjoy a state of matrimony, will know how to observe moderation in their matrimonial obligations. For those who are engaged in the affairs of government, or in ecclesiastical offices, and have to labor, must indeed be chaste even in a state of matrimony. For, to be burdened with heavy duties and obligations upon which depends the welfare of nations and people, and governments, and churches, is a good remedy to prevent the old Adamic nature from becoming inordinate. So the pious likewise are aware that Paul, 1 Thess. 4, 4, 5, says: "That every one of you should know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honor; not in the lust of concupiscence." But on the contrary, what kind of continence can there be among so many thousands of monks and priests, who, without any concern, live in all manner of indulgence, idle and extravagant, not having the word of God, neither learning nor regarding it? Hence every species of incontinence must follow. Such people are able to observe neither Levitical nor unintermitted continence.

Many heretics, who understood neither the law of Moses nor its application, spoke contemptuously concerning marriage; yet on account of this hypocritical pretence, they were regarded as holy. And Epiph-

anius complained violently, because the Encratites gained reputation among the inexperienced by this hypocritical demeanor, especially of continence. They drank no wine, not even in the sacrament of the Lord's supper; they abstained from eating fish and meat; they were more holy still than the monks who eat fish. They also abstained from marriage. This at first made a strong impression, and they maintained that they reconciled God by these works and by this fictitious holiness, as our adversaries teach.

In opposition to this false pretence of angelic holiness, Paul contends forcibly to the Colossians. For when men fall into an opinion so erroneous, that they hope to be pure and holy in the sight of God through such hypocrisy, it is calculated to suppress entirely the doctrine of Christ. Consequently, these hypocrites do not understand the gift of God, or his command; for it is the will of God, that we should use his gifts with thanksgiving.

And we are not at a loss for examples which we might adduce for the purpose of showing that many pious, sincere, and conscientious persons have been disturbed and endangered, because they were not properly informed that the state of matrimony, its obligations, and whatever belongs to it, are holy and Christian. This great delusion resulted from the irrational homilies of the monks, who inordinately commended celibacy and continence, and decried the matrimonial estate as an impure condition of life, full of sins and very pernicious to salvation.

But our adversaries do not contend so strenuously about a state of celibacy, merely on account of this appearance of holiness; for they know that at Rome as well as in all their institutions, there is nothing but lasciviousness, without simulation or concealment. Nor have they a sincere desire to live continent, but knowingly do they make this pretence before the people; they are, for this reason worse, and their hypocrisy is more detestable than the heretical Encratites, among whom there was more earnestness: but among these epicureans there is no sincerity; on the contrary, they deride God and the world, and assume this pretence for the purpose of justifying their unbridled indulgence.

In the sixth place, though we have so many reasons for disapproving this papal law concerning celibacy, there are besides these, still incalculable dangers of conscience, and an inexpressible number of offences. Wherefore, if this papal law were even not unjust, yet this oppression of conscience, by which an ineffable number of souls are injured, should reasonably deter all honest persons.

Long before this time, many honorable men, even the bishops

among them, the canonists, &c., have made complaint on account of the excessively severe burden of celibacy; and they discovered that they themselves as well as other persons, fell into great danger of their conscience on account of it. But there was no one to remedy this grievance. It is, moreover, manifest, that in consequence of it the morals in general have been corrupted, wherever there are priestly institutions. The abominable immorality, sins, and shame, the unheard of vices, resulting from it, are evident. Poetical writings and satires are extant, in which Rome may still behold herself reflected.

Thus the almighty God avenges the rejection of his gifts and the disobedience of his command, on those who forbid marriage. But as men have frequently altered useful laws when the general good required it, why then, should this law not be altered, when there are not only so many obvious reasons, but so many incalculable encumbrances of the conscience, which justly require it to be altered?

We perceive that these are the last times. And as an old man is weaker than a young one, so the whole world and all nature are in their last age and decline. Sins and vices become no less, but greater every day. Men should, therefore, in opposition to this immorality and vice, so much the more freely employ the remedy which God has given, viz., the state of matrimony. We learn from the book of Genesis, that the vice of fornication prevailed before the deluge. Again, in Sodom, in Sibaris, Rome, and other cities, abominable impurities prevailed before these cities were destroyed. It is portrayed in these examples, how it will come to pass in the last times, immediately before the end of the world. Inasmuch, then, as experience also shows that licentiousness prevails more excessively now than it has ever prevailed before, faithful bishops and governments should much rather make laws and resolutions to encourage marriage than to forbid it; they should also induce men to enter into this estate, by admonitions and examples: this would be the duty of government; for she should be diligent in preserving honor and morality.

God has so blinded the world, that adultery and fornication are tolerated almost with impunity: on the contrary, men are punished for the sake of marriage. This is truly astonishing. Preachers should instruct those who have the gift of pure continence, admonishing them not to despise it, but to use it to the honor of God; and others to whom marriage is needful, they should admonish to embrace it.

In many instances, the pope daily dispenses with useful laws, upon which the general good much depends, and which he should never suspend. But on this law concerning celibacy, he manifests himself

as inflexible as a rock, when at the same time it is known that this is nothing but a human law. In a violent and cruel manner, they have murdered many pious and upright persons who never injured any one, merely for the sake of the marriage into which they were urged to enter, by the dictates of their conscience. It is, therefore, to be feared that, like the blood of Abel, the cry of this sin will rise up so loudly towards heaven, that they will never be able to suppress it, but will have to tremble as Cain did. And this Cain-like profusion of innocent blood, indicates that this doctrine concerning celibacy, is diabolical. For Christ the Lord calls the devil a murderer, who willingly desires to maintain this tyrannical law with nothing but blood and murder.

We are well aware that some exclaim that we create schisms. But having sought peace and union, with all faithful diligence, our consciences are altogether tranquil, and our adversaries will not permit themselves to be satisfied, unless we deny (God forbid) the open divine truth, and unless we are willing to accept with them this detestable papal law, to dissolve the matrimonial estate of pious, innocent people, to murder the married priests, to drive into desperation innocent wives and children, and to shed innocent blood without any cause. But inasmuch as it is certain that such acts are not pleasing to God, we should rejoice that we have no union or communion as well as no guilt with our adversaries, in the shedding of so much innocent blood.

We have adduced reasons why we cannot conscientiously believe with our adversaries who defend a state of celibacy. For it is contrary to all divine and natural rights; it is contrary to the canons themselves: besides, it is dangerous and purely hypocritical; for they do not so strenuously maintain this feigned continence, on account of holiness, or because they are ignorant on the subject: they know full well that every one is acquainted with the conduct in their high institutions, which we might relate; but they defend it only for the purpose of maintaining their tyranny and dominion. And no honest man will be able to produce any thing in opposition to these clear and strong arguments adduced above. The Gospel leaves the state of matrimony free to all those with whom it is compatible; yet it does not urge those to marry, who have the gift of continence, if it be real and pure continence, and not hypocrisy. This liberty we maintain, is to be granted to the priests also, and we are unwilling to urge any one to a state of celibacy; nor will we force away from each other, pious married people, or dissolve the ties of matrimony.

We have now briefly presented some of our grounds for the present, we have also stated how our adversaries produce in opposition, artifices and dreams plainly inadmissible. We shall now show the strength of the reasons with which they defend their papal law. *First*, they say, that God has revealed this law. Here it is apparent how entirely destitute of shame these ungodly people are. They dare to assert that their prohibition of marriage is revealed of God, when at the same time it is evidently contrary to the Scripture, contrary to Paul, where he says: "To avoid fornication, let each one have his own wife," 1 Cor. 7, 2. Again, since the Scripture and the canons expressly forbid any one to dissolve in any way the marriages which have been contracted, why dare these knaves object to it, and misuse the high, the most holy name of the divine Majesty, so impudently and shamelessly? Paul the apostle correctly states who the god is, that first introduced such law; namely, Satan himself; for he calls it, *doctrines of devils*, 1 Tim. 4, 1–3. And surely the fruits teach us to know the tree, since so many terrible, abominable vices have sprung from it, as seen at Rome. Thus, we also see that the devil makes no end to his murder and bloodshed on account of this law.

The *second* reason of our adversaries, is, that the priests must be pure, as the Scripture says: "Be ye clean that bear the vessels of the Lord," Isaiah 52, 11. We have already refuted this argument; for we have shown clear enough, that continence without faith, is no purity before God, and marriage is holiness and purity on account of faith, as Paul says: "Unto the pure all things are pure," Tit. 1, 15. Thus we have shown sufficiently clear that the ceremonies of Moses concerning purity and impurity, cannot properly be applied to this subject; for the Gospel requires the purity of the heart. And there is no doubt that the heart of Abraham, of Isaac, of Jacob, and of the patriarchs, who had many wives, was purer than that of many persons who, according to the purity of the body, have been really and purely continent. But this declaration of Isaiah,—*Be ye clean that bear the vessels of the Lord*,—must be understood relative to the whole Christian holiness, and not merely concerning a state of celibacy. And even this passage commands the impure unmarried priests, to marry and become pure. For, as we have said before, marriage is purity among Christians.

Their *third* argument is horrible,—that the marriage of priests should be heresy. Have mercy on our poor souls, beloved lords,—be mild. This is quite a novelty, that holy matrimony, which God created in paradise, should have become heresy: in this way the

whole world would be nothing but heretical children. It is an impudent falsehood that the marriage of priests is Jovian heresy, or that the marriage of priests was condemned at that time, by the church. For in the time of Jovian the church knew nothing of this papal law by which marriage is wholly forbidden to the priests; and our adversaries are well aware of this: but they frequently quote ancient heresies and make our doctrine agree with them, contrary to the dictates of their own conscience, for the purpose alone of making the illiterate imagine that our doctrine was formerly condemned by the church, and thus exciting every body against us. With such artifices they proceed; and for this reason they were unwilling to favor us with the Confutation. They were fearful that their palpable falsehoods might be answered, from which they would incur eternal infamy among all posterity. But touching the doctrine of Jovian, we have already stated our opinion in treating the subject of pure continence and of matrimony. For we do not assert that matrimony is equal to a state of virgin purity; although neither celibacy nor marriage justifies before God.

With these vain, loose arguments they endeavor to protect and defend this papal law concerning celibacy, which has given occasion for vice and immorality so extensive. The princes and bishops, who embrace this doctrine, will plainly perceive, whether these arguments will be sufficient to sustain them, when at the hour of death they will be compelled to render an account unto God why they have dissolved the union of marriage between pious persons; why they have tortured these people; why they have murdered so many priests, and shed innocent blood, regardless of all the complaints, the cries, and weeping of so many widows and orphans: yea, they dare not expect thus to be sustained. The tears of poor widows, and the blood of the innocent are in heaven unforgotten; these will, in their proper time, appear and cry out in the high heavens against their enemies, before God the righteous judge, as forcibly, as did the holy innocent blood of Abel. Now, when God judges this cruelty, our adversaries shall experience that their arguments are straw and stubble, and that God is a consuming fire before which nothing can stand, adverse to the divine word, 1 Pet. 1, 25.

But whatever may occur, our princes and lords have the consolation to reflect that they have acted with a clear conscience. For, although the marriage of priests cannot be controverted, yet admitting that it might be, for our adversaries thus to dissolve the marriage contract, to drive into despair poor innocent persons, and to murder them, is directly contrary to the word and will of God. Although our

princes and lords feel no pleasure in innovations and schisms, yet in matters so just and indisputable, they are under obligation to allow greater authority to the word of God and the divine truth, than to any thing else. And may God grant his grace to this effect. Amen.

XII. OF THE MASS.

In the first place, we must mention, however, that we do not abolish the mass; for mass is held on Sunday and all festivals in our church, in which the sacrament is administered to those who desire it; yet not till after they have been first examined and absolved. So Christian ceremonies are likewise observed, by reading, singing, praying, &c.

Our adversaries make a long declamation concerning the use of the Latin language in mass, and they speak of it in a manner altogether unbecoming and puerile, as if an illiterate person, who does not understand the Latin language, by hearing mass improves much in the faith of the church. Here they imagine that the mere attendance on hearing mass, is a divine service which is efficacious even if not a single word is heard or understood. We shall not dwell on this subject here so extensively as it might require. We shall leave intelligent persons to judge. We took it into consideration for the purpose of showing that the Latin mass, the lessons, and prayer, are also retained among us.

But inasmuch as these ceremonies should be observed in order that persons may have an opportunity to learn the Scripture and God's word, by this means becoming inspired with the fear of God, and obtaining consolation, and thus being able to pray acceptably,—for the ceremonies were instituted for this purpose—we retain the Latin language for the sake of those who understand the Latin, and we also permit German Christian hymns to be used, so that the common people may likewise have some chance of learning, and of being instructed in the fear and knowledge of God. This custom was always regarded as commendable in the church. Though in some places more German hymns were sung, and in others less; yet in all churches some portion of the people sung German; consequently, this custom cannot be so recent. But where does this Pharisaical doctrine stand written, that hearing mass without understanding it, is meritorious and salutary, *ex opere operato?* Your hearts should be filled with shame, ye sophists, on account of such wild conceits.

The practice among us of not holding private mass, but of holding public mass alone, when the people receive the sacrament of

the Lord's Supper, is by no means contrary to the principles of the universal Christian church. For even at this day there is no private mass held in the Greek churches, but only in public, and this one is held on Sundays and great festivals. This is an evidence of the ancient custom of the church. For the teachers who lived prior to the time of St. Gregory, do not make mention of private mass in any of their writings. We shall decline, however, for the present, treating of the manner in which the individual or private mass had its origin. This is certain, that when the mendicant orders and the monks thus prevailed, mass was instituted and insinuated more and more every day, through their erroneous doctrines, for mercenary purposes, to such an extent that the theologians themselves continually made complaint about it. And although St. Francis out of good intentions wished to provide against this evil, and he ordered that his followers should be contented with one general mass in each cloister every day: yet this useful statute was afterwards altered through hypocrisy, or for the sake of pecuniary interests. Thus they alter the regulations of the ancient Fathers, when and in whatever respect they please, if such alterations will add to their domestic accommodations; and they afterwards tell us that the ordinances of the ancient Fathers must be held sacred. Epiphanius writes that in Asia communion is held three times every week, and that the daily mass is not held; and he says that this custom thus originated from the Apostles.

Although our adversaries have accumulated many words and passages in this place, in order to prove that the mass is a sacrifice; yet this prodigious concourse of words may be immediately silenced, and their mouths stopped, by this single reply, namely,—that this extensive accumulation of authorities, arguments, reasons, and all that they have produced, does not prove that the mass does, *ex opere operato*, merit the forgiveness of sins and a redemption from pain and guilt, for the priests or for others for whom it is employed. This one definite answer subverts all that our adversaries produce, not only in their Confutation, but in all their books and writings, which they have published concerning the mass.

And this is the chief question in the whole matter, concerning which we would warn every Christian reader to observe carefully whether our adversaries adhere also to this principal point. For it is customary with them to make many useless and unexpected digressions from the main question. For if men adhere closely and consistently to the chief point, without introducing any thing foreign, a judgment can be more easily formed.

We have shown in our Confession that the Eucharist or the

mass makes no one pious, *ex opere operato*, and that the mass which is held for others, does not merit for them the remission of sins and a liberation from pain and guilt. And for this position, we have strong and indubitable proof, namely this: It is impossible for us to obtain the forgiveness of our sins through our works, *ex opere operato*,—that is through the performed work in itself, *sine bono motu utentis*, or when there is no good thought in the heart: but through faith in Christ, the terrors of death and sin must be overcome, when our hearts are cheered and comforted by a consciousness of Christ, as stated above; when we perceive that we have a gracious God for Christ's sake, so that his merits and righteousness are imparted to us, Rom. 5, 1: "Therefore, being justified by faith, we have peace with God," &c. This is a foundation so strong and sure that all the gates of hell can make no impression on it—of this we are certain.

And even this itself would be sufficient for the whole subject. For no rational or intelligent man can feel disposed to commend this Pharisaical or pagan hypocrisy and this great abuse concerning *opere operato*. And yet this error has been disseminated throughout the world. Hence such an incalculable number of these ceremonies was established throughout the world, in all institutions, cloisters, churches, hermitages; yea in every corner. And besides, the mass is held for mercenary purposes, and with a view of appeasing the wrath of God, and of obtaining through this work the remission of sins, a redemption from pain and guilt, a liberation of the dead from purgatory; of securing success, health, riches, and prosperity in their occupations. These Pharisaical opinions the monks and sophists planted in the churches. Although this error concerning the abuse of the mass, is sufficiently refuted by the fact, that men do not obtain the remission of sins through their works, but through faith in Christ; yet inasmuch as our adversaries introduce many passages of Scripture altogether inapplicable, for the purpose of defending their errors, we shall add something more still.

Our adversaries speak much in their Confutation about sacrifice; yet in our Confession we have intentionally avoided the word *sacrificium*, on account of its ambiguity; but we have pointed out in express terms their greatest abuses, which they explain and urge under the name *sacrificium*. Now, in order that we may refute these passages which they have incorrectly and falsely introduced, we must in the first place state what the word *sacrificium* or sacrifice signifies.

During ten whole years our adversaries have been writing many

books to show that the mass is a sacrifice; and none of them have yet defined what sacrifice is, or is not. They seek only the word *sacrificium* wherever they can find it in Concordances of the Bible, and apply it to this, whether appropriate or not. They proceed in the same manner in the books of the ancient Fathers, and afterwards subjoin their self-imagined dreams, as if sacrifice must signify whatever they wish.

What sacrifice is, or is not, and how many kinds of sacrifices there are.

And in order that we may not enter upon our subject blindly, it becomes necessary for us in the first place to make a distinction between that which is really a sacrifice and that which is not; and this is necessary and useful for every Christian to know. The theologians are accustomed to make a proper distinction between sacrifice and sacrament. Now, we shall admit, that in a classification of sacred duties, the *genus* is a ceremony or a holy work.

A sacrament is a ceremony or an external sign or work, in which God grants us whatever the divine promise, which is annexed to the ceremony, offers. For instance, baptism is a ceremony and a performance, not which we give or offer to God, but in which God gives and offers to us, in which he, or the servant in his stead, baptizes us. Here God offers unto us, and gives us the remission of sins according to his promise: "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved," Mark 16, 16.

But, a sacrifice is a ceremony or a work which we give unto God, by which we honor him.

Hence there are two chief kinds of sacrifices and no more, under which all other sacrifices are comprehended. The *one*, is a propitiatory sacrifice, by way of expiation for guilt and punishment; God is reconciled and his wrath appeased, and remission of sins obtained for others. The *other*, is a sacrifice of thanksgiving, by which, not the forgiveness of sins or reconciliation is obtained, but it is made by those who are already reconciled, in order to express thankfulness for the remission of sins, and for other favors and gifts.

We should be very careful in this controversy, and in many other disputations, not to confound these two kinds of sacrifices. And this peculiar division has strong support in the epistle to the Hebrews, and in many other places in the Scripture. All the sacrifices under the law of Moses, however diverse they may be, can be reduced and comprehended under these two kinds of sacrifices. For some sacrifices in the law of Moses were called expiatory sacrifices, or offerings for sins, on account of

their signification, not because the forgiveness of sins was merited by them in the sight of God, but because they were external reconciliations on account of their signification. For those for whom they were made, were so reconciled by such sacrifice, that they were not excluded from the children of Israel. They were, therefore, called *expiatory sacrifices;* but the others, sacrifices of thanksgiving.

Thus in the law there were indeed significations of the right sacrifice, but there has been only one true expiatory sacrifice, for sins, in the world, viz. the death of Christ; as the epistle to the Hebrews says: "For it is not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away the sins," Heb. 10, 4. And immediately afterwards, it is said concerning the obedience and will of Christ, verse 10: "By the which will we are sanctified, through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all."

And Isaiah the prophet had also explained the law of Moses before, and shown that the death of Christ is the compensation for sins, and not the offering in the law, where he says of Christ: "When thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days," Isaiah 53, 10. For the prophet referred the words *offering for sin* to the death of Christ, in order to show that the expiatory sacrifices in the law were not the right sacrifice to compensate for sins, but that another sacrifice must come, namely, the death of Christ, by which the wrath of God should be appeased.

Again, the sin-offerings under the law had to cease, when the Gospel was revealed, and the right sacrifice, accomplished. Therefore, they were not true reconciliations in the sight of God; for they had to discontinue, and another one had to come. Hence, they were only symbols and types of the true reconciliation. Therefore, this truth is firmly established, that there has been but one sacrifice, viz., the death of Christ, which should be applied for others, to appease the wrath of God.

Besides this one expiatory sacrifice, namely, the death of Christ, there are other sacrifices which are all merely sacrifices of thanksgiving: as, enduring all things,—preaching,—the good works of saints &c.; these are not sacrifices by which we are reconciled, which we can make for others, or which merit, *ex opere operato*, forgiveness of sins or reconciliation; for they are made by those who are already reconciled through Christ. And in the New Testament such sacrifices are our sacrifices; as Peter the apostle, 1 Pet. 2, 5, says: "Ye are built up a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ."

And in the New Testament no sacrifice avails any thing, *ex opere operato, sine bono mutu utentis,* that is, the work without good thoughts in the heart; for Christ, John 4, 23, says: "The true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth;" that is, with the heart, with inward fear and sincere faith. Consequently, the doctrine of our adversaries, that their mass merits the forgiveness of crime and punishment, *ex opere operato,* is nothing but a diabolical, Pharisaical, and antichristian doctrine and service to God.

And the Jews had formed improper conceptions about their ceremonies, thinking themselves pious before God, when they had performed the works, *ex opere operato.* In opposition, however, to this opinion, the prophets cry out most earnestly, for the purpose of turning the attention of the people from their own works to the promises of God, and to bring them to faith and real divine services. Thus it is written Jeremiah 7, 22, 23: "I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings or sacrifices: but this thing commanded I them, saying, obey my voice, and I will be your God," &c. What indeed would the obstinate Jews have said to this sermon and doctrine, which appeared evidently contrary to the law and to Moses? For it was obvious that God had instructed the fathers concerning sacrifices, and Jeremiah could not deny it. But Jeremiah condemned their erroneous opinions concerning sacrifices, for which opinions there was no divine command, viz., that sacrifices, *ex opere operato,* were conciliatory and pleasing to God. Jeremiah, therefore, adds this declaration concerning faith, that God had commanded: *Obey me,* that is, believe me, that I am your God, that I preserve you, that I have compassion on you, help you every hour, and need not your sacrifices; believe that I am your God, who makes you just and holy, not on account of your merits, but for the sake of my promises; therefore, you should expect all consolation and help from me.

This pagan opinion concerning *opere operato,* is also condemned in the fiftieth Psalm verses 13 and 15, where it is said: "Will I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats? Call upon me in the day of trouble," &c. Here this *opus operatum* is condemned, and it is said, call upon me. Here the highest divine service is exhibited, when we call upon him from our hearts.

Again, in the fortieth Psalm verse 6: "Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire: mine ears hast thou opened." That is, thou hast given me a word which I should hear, and thou dost require that I should believe it; thou hast given me thy promises that thou

wilt help me. Again, Psalm 51, 16, 17: "Thou desirest not sacrifice, else would I give it," &c. "The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit," &c. And in the fourth Psalm verse 5: "Offer the sacrifices of righteousness; and put your trust in the Lord." In this place we are commanded to place our trust in the Lord,—and this is called a true sacrifice. Here it is shown that the others are not true sacrifices. Again, Psalm 116, 17: "I will offer to thee the sacrifices of thanksgiving, and will call upon the name of the Lord," &c.

And the whole Scripture abounds with similar passages which show that no sacrifice, no work, *ex opere operato*, reconciles God. For this reason it teaches that in the New Testament, the sacrifices according to the law of Moses are abolished, and that pure sacrifices without stain, are these only, namely, faith towards God, thanksgiving, adoration of God, preaching the Gospel, crosses and afflictions of saints, and the like.

And Malachi speaks of these sacrifices, where he says: "For from the rising of the sun, even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering," Malachi 1, 11.

Our adversaries explain this passage in a false and unsatisfactory manner, so as to be understood concerning the mass, and refer to the authority of the ancient Fathers. But it is easy to reply here: even if Malachi speaks of the mass, though he does not, it does still not follow that the mass makes us pious before God, *ex opere operato*, or that we can hold mass for others, to obtain the remission of sins for them. The prophet does by no means assert this, but the sophists and the monks devise it without shame from their own heads.

But the words of the prophet bring within themselves the proper meaning. For first he says: The name of the Lord shall be great; this is accomplished through the preaching of the Gospel. For through it the name of Christ is made known, and the grace promised in him is recognized. Through the preaching of the Gospel, however, the people come to faith; these call upon God sincerely, these thank him, these suffer persecution for God's sake, these do good works. Therefore, the prophet calls the pure offering, not the ceremonies of the mass alone, *ex opere operato*, but all spiritual offerings, through which the name of God is made great, namely, the preaching of the Gospel, faith, invocation, prayer, profession of the Gospel and of Christ before the world &c., are pure, holy offerings.

And we should take but little exception, if one would even explain

it as bearing an allusion to the ceremonies of the mass, if he would only not assert that the mere ceremonies, *ex opere operato*, reconcile God. For as we call preaching a praise-offering, so the ceremonies of the Eucharist in itself may be a praise-offering, but not such an offering as justifies, *ex opere operato*, before God, or as men can make for others to obtain remission of sins for them. We shall, however, in the sequel state in what manner ceremonies are an offering. But inasmuch as Malachi speaks concerning all divine services and the offerings of the New Testament, he consequently does not speak concerning the mass or the Eucharist alone. Again, inasmuch as he speaks expressly in opposition to this Pharisaical error concerning *opere operato*, this passage cannot be against us, but rather for us; for he requires the heart within to express an offering of thankfulness to God, through which the name of the Lord is magnified.

There is also another passage quoted from Malachi: "And he shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver, that they may offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness," Mal. 3, 3. Here he speaks of an offering in righteousness; hence the text is in opposition to this *opus operatum*. But the offering of the sons of Levi, that is, of those who preach under the New Testament dispensation, is the ministry of the Gospel and the good fruits of the ministry; as Paul, Rom. 15, 16, says: "That I should be the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the Gospel of God, that the offering-up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost." For the slaying of oxen and of sheep signified the death of Christ and the ministry of the Gospel, by which the old Adamic nature is daily mortified, and the new and eternal life is commenced.

But our adversaries every where distort the word sacrifice to the ceremonies of the mass alone. Concerning the ministry of the Gospel, faith, thankfulness, and the invocation of the divine name, they say nothing, when at the same time the ceremonies have been instituted for this purpose, and the New Testament requires nothing but spiritual offerings from the heart within, and not such sacrifices as the Levitical priesthood.

Our adversaries also refer to the *juge sacrificium*, that is, to the daily sacrifice, saying that as under the law of Moses there was a daily sacrifice, so the mass is the daily sacrifice under the New Testament dispensation. If this matter is to be established by allegories, every one will find allegories to answer his purpose. But all intelligent persons know, that in matters so important in the sight of God, men must have sure and express declarations

from God, and not forcibly quote obscure and irrelevant passages. Such doubtful meanings will not stand the test before the judgment-seat of God.

Although, for the purpose of gratifying our adversaries we might suffer the mass to be called the *juge sacrificium*, or daily sacrifice, if they term the whole mass, that is, the ceremonies with the expression of thanks, with faith in the heart, and sincere invocation of divine grace *juge sacrificium;* for all these together might be styled the *juge sacrificium* of the New Testament; for on account of all these the ceremonies of the mass or of the Eucharist, was established; for it was instistuted for the convenience of the preachers, as Paul says: "For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come," 1 Cor. 11, 26. But it by no means follows from the figure of the daily offering, that the mass is a sacrifice which reconciles God, *ex opere operato*, or which men can hold or make for others to obtain the remission of sins for them.

And by taking a proper view of the *juge sacrificium*, or the daily sacrifice, we discover that it portrays and signifies not only the ceremonies, but the preaching of the Gospel also. For in Numbers 28, 4, 5, 7, three parts are laid down, which belong to this daily offering:—burning of a lamb, libation of wine, and oblation of flour.

The whole law of Moses is a shadow and a figure of Christ and the New Testament; consequently Christ is portrayed in it. The lamb signifies the death of Christ; the libation of wine signifies, that all believers in the world shall be sprinkled with the blood of the lamb through the Gospel, that is, that they shall be sanctified, as Peter, 1 Pet. 1, 2, says: "Through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ;" the oblation of flour signifies the expression of thanks and invocation in the hearts of all believers. Now, as the shadow and the signification of Christ, or the Gospel, are perceived in the Old Testament; so in the New Testament this same Gospel and the truth, which are signified through the figure, must be sought, and a new type or figure must not first be sought, which they might or would term sacrifice.

Wherefore, although the mass or the ceremonies of the Eucharist are a memorial of the death of Christ, yet the ceremonies alone are not the continual or daily offering; but the memorial of Christ's death, together with the ceremonies, is the daily offering, that is the preaching concerning faith and Christ—which faith truly gives assent that God is reconciled through the death of Christ. To this continual sacrifice the fruits of preaching also belong, viz. that we

shall be sprinkled with the blood of Christ, that is, sanctified; that the old Adamic nature shall be mortified and the spirit increase,—this is the sprinkling. Afterwards we should also return thanks and praise to God, and confess the faith with patience and good works,—this is signified by flour and oil.

Thus when the egregious Pharisaical error concerning *opere operato*, is removed, it is discovered that the spiritual offering and the daily offering of the heart are signified through the *juge sacrificium*; for Paul, Heb. 10, says that there is a shadow of good things to come in the law, but the body and the truth are in Christ. Now, it is the knowledge of Christ and the Holy Ghost in the heart which actuate us to thankfulness, and to daily spiritual offerings of the heart. From this it appears evident that the similitude concerning the *jugi sacrificio*, or the daily sacrifice, is not against us, but rather for us. For we have clearly shown that all that did belong to the daily sacrifice in the law of Moses, must signify a true heart-felt offering, not *opus operatum*. The dream of our adversaries is false, in which they wish to imagine that the mere external work and ceremonies alone are signified; when at the same time faith in the heart, preaching, confession, expression of thanks, and sincere invocation, are the right, daily offering and the most noble part in the mass—they may call it offering or otherwise.

Now, all pious Christians, who have the fear of God before them, can easily perceive that the accusation of our adversaries is unjust, in which they assert that we abolish the continual sacrifice. But experience shows that they are the real *Antiochi*, who exhibit themselves in the church as furious tyrants with thirst and violence; who assume unto themselves all the powers in the world under the appearance of spirituality, and yet make no inquiry about the ministry, Christ, or the Gospel. They, moreover, presume to establish new methods of worship in the church at their pleasure, and to defend them with nothing but violence. For our adversaries preserve only the ceremonies of the mass, the proper use of it, however, they neglect; and apply it alone to their avaricious purposes, and to their shameful annual fair, and then imagine that it is a work by which others profit, and by which the remission of their sins and a liberation from pain and guilt, are merited. In their sermons they do not teach the Gospel, they impart no consolation to the conscience, nor do they preach that sins are remitted without merit for Christ's sake; but they preach concerning the invocation of saints, satisfactions, expiations, and human traditions, declaring that people become pious before God through these. And although these palpa-

ble, blasphemous abuses are numerous, yet, because they are profitable, they are maintained by violence. And the most learned preachers among them propose intricate philosophical questions and propositions, which neither they themselves nor the people understand. Finally, although some among them may not be entirely illiterate, yet they teach nothing but the law, without saying any thing about Christ and faith.

Our adversaries refer to Daniel, where he says, that there shall be abomination and desolation in the churches, Dan. 9, 27; and because the altar is uncovered and there are no burning lights in it &c., they explain this as having a reference to our churches. Although, it is not the fact that we abolish all such external ornaments. And even if it were, Daniel does not however speak of things which are altogether external, and do not belong to the Christian church, but he has reference to quite a different and a more abominable evil which prevails to a great extent in popery, namely, to the rejection of the most useful and important divine service—the ministry,—and to the suppression of the Gospel. For among our adversaries, the greater portion of preaching is concerning human ordinances, by means of which the consciences of men are led off from Christ to rely on their own works; it is also evident that under popery no one understood the preaching relative to repentance, or *de pœnitentia*, in the manner in which our adversaries taught it; yet it is one of the most important subjects in the whole Christian doctrine.

Our adversaries have tormented and plagued the poor conscience with the enumeration of sins; but with regard to faith in Christ, through which men obtain the remission of sins, and with regard to the real struggles and temptations, which are exercises of faith, they have taught nothing correctly by which the conscience might have been consoled. All their books and all their sermons are of as little use on this subject as if they had never existed; and besides this, they have done unspeakable injury. Among our adversaries, moreover, the terrible, abominable abuse of the mass exists, the like of which has scarcely been on earth, and there are other unchristian, foolish services to God incalculably numerous. This is the very desolation of which Daniel speaks.

On the contrary, in our churches the priests duly attend to their offices; they teach and preach the Gospel and Christ, holding out the doctrine that men obtain the remission of their sins, and have a gracious God, not on account of their works, but for the sake of Christ. This doctrine affords true, indubitable, continued comfort to the heart. They also teach the ten commandments, and

the virtuous good works which God has commanded; and moreover, they teach the proper Christian use of the holy sacrament.

And if indeed the Eucharist or mass should be styled the daily offering, the mass might more justly be termed so among us. For among them, for the most part, their priests all hold mass on account of their prebends and pecuniary interests; in our churches the holy sacrament is not abused in this manner. For no one is forced to it with money, but persons are permitted to examine their own conscience for the purpose of seeking consolation there. Besides, persons are instructed relative to the proper Christian use of the sacrament, namely, that it has been instituted to be a seal and sure testimony of the remission of sins, through which evidence the hearts of men are admonished and their faith strengthened, so that they truly believe that their sins are forgiven. Now, as the ministry of the Gospel and the proper use of the sacrament, are preserved among us, so we have without doubt the daily offering.

And even if men should speak of outward embellishment, our churches are better adorned than those of the opposite party. For the real external ornaments of the church, are true preaching, a correct use of the sacraments, and the zealous diligence of the people in attending to them, and their regular and modest assembling, learning and praying. Since, through the grace of God, Christian and wholesome things are taught in our churches concerning consolation in all temptations, the people feel a willingness and a desire to attend such preaching. For there is nothing that will keep people more to the churches, than good preaching will. But our adversaries preach their people out of their churches, because they teach nothing relative to the useful parts of the Christian doctrine, but they relate sainted legends and other fables.

Besides this, where our adversaries hold their tapers, altar cloths, pictures, and the like ornaments as necessary parts, thus establishing a divine service, they are the servants of Antichrist, of whom Daniel says that they honor their God with silver, gold, and the like ornaments, Dan. 11, 38.

They also produce from the epistle to the Hebrews this passage,—"Every high priest taken from among men, is ordained for men in things pertaining to God, that he may offer both gifts and sacrifices for sins," Heb. 5, 1. From this they conclude that inasmuch as there are bishops and priests under the New Testament dispensation, it follows that there must also be a sacrifice for sins. Now this might make some impression on the unlearned and inexperienced;

especially, when they behold the magnificent pomp in the temples and churches, and the garments of Aaron. As there were many ornaments of gold, silver, and purple under the Old Testament dispensation, they think that there must be under the New Testament dispensation a similar service to God, similar ceremonies and a sacrifice, which should be offered for the sins of other people, as in the Old Testament. For the whole abuse of the mass and the papal mode of worship have originated in no other way than from a desire to follow out the ceremonies of Moses, and from a misapprehension that the New Testament is occupied in other matters, and that these external ceremonies, if applied to the discipline of children, should have their proper limits.

And although our position is particularly well supported in the epistle to the Hebrews, yet our adversaries adduce some passages from this same epistle, in a disconnected manner. As they did, for instance, in the place just mentioned, in which it is said that every high priest is ordained to offer &c. The text refers this immediately to Christ. The words preceeding speak of the Levitical priesthood, saying that the Levitical priesthood is a prototype of the priesthood of Christ. For the Levitical offerings for sins did not merit the forgiveness of sins in the sight of God, but they were only a figure of Christ who was the right and only true offering for sins, as we have already said. And nearly the whole epistle to the Hebrews treats for the most part concerning the fact, that the Levitical priesthood and the offerings in the law were not instituted for the purpose of meriting the remission of sins, or a reconciliation before God by them, but alone to foreshadow Christ the true future offering. For the patriarchs and the saints under the Old Testament dispensation, were also justified and reconciled to God through faith in the promise concerning the future Christ, through whom salvation and grace were promised, as we under the New Testament dispensation obtain grace through faith in Christ who is revealed. For all believers from the beginning of the world, believed that an offering and a compensation for sins would appear, namely, Christ, who was future and promised, as Isaiah, (Isaiah, 53, 10,) says: "When thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin," &c.

Now, as no one under the Old Testament dispensation obtained remission of sins through the offerings, unless by a similitude,—for they only signified the one offering of Christ,—it follows that there is only one offering, viz., Christ, who made compensation and expiation for the sins of the whole world. Therefore, in the New Testament there is no other sacrifice further to be made, by which

recompense might be made for sins, but the death of Christ alone, who was offered once upon the cross.

Wherefore, if they assert that there must be under the New Testament dispensation, a priest who offers, it must be conceded and understood with reference to Christ alone. And the whole epistle to the Hebrews confirms this position and closely accords with it. This would also be substituting altogether other mediators, and forcing them into the room of Christ, were we to admit any other satisfaction for sins, or any other reconciliation but the death of Christ.

And since the priesthood of the New Testament is an office, through which the Holy Spirit operates, there can be no offering which benefits others, *ex opere operato*. For where there are not a special faith and character effected through the agency of the Holy Spirit, no human agency can make me pious and happy. Therefore, the mass cannot make compensation for others—this is indeed obvious and certain.

We have now shown reasons why the mass does not justify any one in the sight of God, *ex opere operato*, and why mass cannot be employed for others; for both are directly opposed to the doctrine of faith and Christ. For it is impossible that sins should be forgiven, or that the terrors of death and hell should be overcome through any other work than through faith in Christ alone, as we read, Rom. 5, 1: "Therefore, being justified by faith, we have peace with God," &c.

We have, moreover, shown that the passages of Scripture, which are produced against us, do not prove any thing in favor of the pagan and antichristian doctrine of our adversaries, concerning *opere operato*. And this, all good and pious persons in every part of the world, can perceive and determine. Wherefore, the erroneous opinion of Thomas must be condemned, who writes that the body of the Lord was once offered on the cross for original sins, and daily offerings are made upon the altar for daily sins, so that the church has an offering to reconcile God daily. The other errors are likewise to be rejected, that the mass benefits him, *ex opere operato*, who holds it: again, when mass is held for others who offer no obstructions, even if they are ungodly, that these obtain the remission of sins and a liberation from guilt and punishment. All this is absolutely erroneous and false, and devised by unlearned and impious monks, who are utterly ignorant with regard to the Gospel, Christ, and faith.

And from this erroneous opinion concerning such abuse of the mass an incalculable number of others has originated, viz. a disputation

whether one mass, when held for many, is as efficacious as when each person has a particular mass held for himself. And from this disputation the mass was increased in number, and yet sold for a higher price.

Further, they also hold mass for the dead, to release their souls from purgatory—which is a shameful annual fair—when at the same time the sacrament benefits neither the living nor the dead, without faith. And our adversaries cannot produce a single syllable from the Scripture in confirmation of these dreams and fables, which they, nevertheless, without any fear or shame, preach with great display and loud declamation, though having the authority neither of the church nor of the Fathers for it. Wherefore, they are ungodly, deluded people, who knowingly reject the obvious truth of God, and trample it under foot.

What the ancient teachers or Fathers write concerning sacrifice.

Inasmuch as we have properly explained and answered the passages which our adversaries have produced from the Scripture, it becomes necessary for us also to reply to the passages which they adduce from the writings of the ancient Fathers. We are well aware that the Fathers call the mass an offering; but the Fathers did not entertain the opinion, that by holding mass we obtain the remission of sins, *ex opere operato*, or that the mass should be held for the living and the dead, to obtain for them the forgiveness of sins and a liberation from guilt and punishment; for our adversaries can never show that the Fathers taught any thing concerning such abomination contrary to all the Scripture; but the books of the Fathers treat concerning the offering and expression of thanks; for this reason they call the mass *Eucharistia*. But we have already shown that thanksgiving does not obtain remission of sins for us, but it is made by those who are already reconciled through faith in Christ. Even as crosses and afflictions do not merit reconciliation towards God, but they are thank-offerings, when those who are reconciled, willingly bear and endure them.

And these few words are a sufficient vindication of the passages of the Fathers, and amply protect us against our adversaries. For it is certain that these dreams relative to *opere operato*, can be found no where in the writings or books of the Fathers. But in order that this controversy concerning the mass may be more clearly understood, we shall likewise treat respecting the proper use of the sacrament, and also how it is represented in the holy Scripture, and in all the writings of the Fathers.

Of the proper use of the Lord's Supper, and of Sacrifice.

Several ingenius men of learning imagine that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was instituted for two reasons:—*First*, to be a mark and an evidence of an order, as the caps of monks are distinctions and evidences of their orders:—*Second*, they think that Christ had a particular pleasure in giving or establishing this mark by the act of eating or by a supper, to show the friendship of fraternal relation, which should exist among Christians; for eating and drinking with one another, is an evidence of friendship. But these are human thoughts, and do not show the proper use of the sacrament. Here love and friendship alone are mentioned which profane persons also understand; but nothing is said concerning faith or the promise of God, which is an exalted thing; and faith is much higher and more noble than can be imagined.

But the sacraments are evidences of the divine will towards us,—they are not only marks or signs by which people know one another; and those speak correctly, who assert that the sacraments are *signa gratiæ*, that is, the sacraments are evidences of grace. And since there are two things in the sacrament, the external sign and the word, so in the New Testament, the word is the promise of grace which is attached to the sign. And this promise in the New Testament is a promise of remission of sins, as the text says: "This is my body, which is given for you. This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you for the remission of sins," Luke 22, 19, 20. This word offers unto us remission of sins. The external sign is like a seal and a confirmation of the word and promise; as Paul also calls it. Wherefore, as the promise is useless, when not received through faith, so is also the ceremony or outward sign useless, unless faith be present, which truly gives assent that remission of sins is imparted to us. And this faith consoles alarmed consciences. And as God gives the promise to awaken such faith, so the external sign is also given with it, and placed before the eyes, to awaken the hearts to believe, and to strengthen this faith; for through these two, through the word and the external sign, the Holy Spirit operates.

This is the right use of the holy sacrament, if alarmed consciences are again consoled through faith in the divine promises. And this is the true divine service in the New Testament; for in the New Testament the highest divine service is an operation in the heart, so that we are mortified according to the old Adamic nature, and born anew through the Holy Spirit; and for this purpose Christ

instituted the sacrament, where he says: "This do in remembrance of me," Luke 22, 19. For, to do this in remembrance of Christ, consists not merely in the act or the deportment, and is not performed merely for admonition and example, as in commemorating the deeds of Alexander and others. But it is, really recognizing Christ, seeking and desiring his favor. This faith, then, which perceives the superabundant grace of God, gives new animation.

And this is the principal use of the sacrament, from which it appears who are really worthy to receive it, viz., the alarmed consciences, which feel their sins, and are terrified on account of the wrath and judgment of God, and long for consolation. Wherefore, the Psalmist says: "He hath made his wonderful works to be remembered: the Lord is gracious and full of compassion. He hath given meat unto them that fear him," Psalm 111, 4, 5. And this faith which perceives this mercy, reanimates; and this is the proper use of the sacrament.

Under these circumstances this offering or expression of thanks takes place; for when we within our hearts and consciences perceive the great dangers, anguish, and terrors from which we are liberated, we consequently return profound thanks for a treasure so great and inexpressible, use the ceremonies or the external signs to the honor of God, and show that we embrace such favor of God with thankfulness, and highly and preeminently esteem it. Thus the mass becomes a thank-offering, or an offering of praise.

And thus the Fathers speak concerning it, relative to the two kinds of effect or use of the sacrament: *First*, that by it the consciences are consoled; *second*, that praise and thanks are expressed to God. The *first* pertains especially to a right use of the sacrament; the *second*, to the offering. With regard to consolation Ambrose says: "Go to him, that is, to Christ, and receive grace, &c.; for he is the remission of sins. But ask you, who he is? Hear him speak himself: 'I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall never hunger; and he that believeth on me shall never thirst,'" John 6, 35. Here he shows, that the forgiveness of sins is offered in the sacrament: he also says that we should comprehend this by faith. In the writings of the Fathers, similar passages without number can be found, all of which our adversaries distort to this *opus operatum* and to the holding of mass, which is employed for others, and they say nothing at all concerning the application, when at the same time the Fathers speak of faith in the promises of God, and of the consolation which the conscience receives.

We find, moreover, passages in the books of the Fathers, concern-

ing thanksgiving, as Cyprian beautifully says concerning Christian communion: "A Christian heart," says he, "divides its thanks, one part for the presented treasure, another portion for the sins forgiven, and returns thanks for grace so abundant; that is, a Christian heart, which perceives what is graciously presented to it in Christ, and the great guilt from which it was rescued through grace, compares together our misery and the great mercy of God, and returns thanks to him," &c. And hence, it is called *Eucharistia* in the churches. Wherefore, the mass is not a thanksgiving which should be performed or held for others *ex opere operato*, to obtain the forgiveness of sins for them. For this would be directly contrary to the doctrine of faith, thus to hold forth the idea, that the mass or the external ceremonies without faith, make any one pious and happy.

Of the word mass.

It will appear from the following, what egregious dolts our adversaries are. They affirm that the word *missa* comes from the word *misbeach*, which signifies an altar; from this it is to follow, that the mass is an offering; for upon the altar men make their offerings: again, the word *liturgia*, as the Greeks call the mass, must also signify an offering. To this we shall briefly reply. It is obvious to the world, that this pagan, antichristian error does not necessarily follow from these arguments,—this error, that the mass benefits, *ex opere operato, sine bono motu utentis*. They, consequently, display their ignorance, by introducing, on a matter so important and weighty, things so inadmissible. Nor can they have any knowledge of grammar; for *missa* and *liturgia* do not signify an offering. *Missa* in Hebrew signifies a contribution collected. For such was the custom at one time, that the Christians brought meats and drinks into the congregations for the benefit of the poor; and such custom was derived from the Jews, who were under obligation to bring to their festivals such contribution, which they called *missa*. So *liturgia* in Greek signifies especially an office in which service is rendered to the public: this corresponds excellently with our doctrine, that the priest, as a public servant, serves those who wish to commune, and he administers to them the holy sacrament.

Some think, that *missa* does not come from the Hebrew, but that it is as much as *remissio*, remission of sins. For when persons had communed, it was said, *Ite, missa est*, depart, you have the remission of sins. And in proof of this, they allege that among the Greeks, it was said, λαοις αφιεις, *Lais aphesis*, this is also equivalent to saying, the people are forgiven. If this is so, it would

be an excellent idea; for remission of sins should always be preached and announced in connection with these ceremonies; yet let the word *missa* signify what it may, it has no relation to this controversy.

Of mass for the dead.

But our adversaries have no evidence nor divine command in the Scriptures, for maintaining that the mass avails for the dead, of which they have made an annual fair, a confused charlatanry for their own profit. Now, it is an inexpressibly great abomination, no light sin indeed, for them to dare without the word of God, or any authority from Scripture, to establish a service to God in the church, and without shame to employ for the dead the sacrament of the Lord's Supper which Christ instituted to preach the word, to commemorate his death, and to strengthen the faith in those who use the ceremonies; for this is really abusing the name of God, contrary to the second commandment.

For, in the first place, it is the highest defamation and blasphemy of the Gospel and of Christ, to assert that the mere work of the mass, *ex opere operato*, is an offering which reconciles God, and expiates for sins. It is a most terrible declaration and doctrine, and a great and inexpressible abomination, that the impotent service of a priest avails as much as the death of Christ. Yea true it is indeed, that sin and death cannot be overcome, unless by faith in Christ alone, as Paul says Rom. 5, 1. Wherefore, mass cannot in any way benefit the dead, *ex opere operato*.

We shall not in this place take into consideration the weak arguments which our adversaries adduce concerning purgatory. Nor shall we mention the source from which the doctrine concerning expiation and satisfaction, has its origin—having shown above that it is a mere dream and human vanity; but this we shall say unto them, that it is certain that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper pertains especially to the remission of guilt. For what consolation could we have, if forgiveness should be offered unto us here, and it should still not be the remission of guilt? Now, as the ceremony offers the remission of guilt, it follows that it is impossible for it to be a satisfaction, *ex opere operato*, or for it to help the dead. If, then, it pertains to a remission of guilt, it must, consequently, contribute alone to a consolation of the consciences, enabling them to believe that their guilt or crimes are really forgiven.

And truly, there could be no wonder, if all pious Christians would weep blood on account of the state of anguish and suffering that would

exist, if they had a proper conception of the abominable, and terrible abuse of the mass under popery, namely, that the mass, for the most part, is employed nowhere for other purposes, than for the dead, and for releasing the pains of purgatory.

They proclaim: "We abolish the *juge sacrificium*, or the daily offering." This may really be considered an abolition of the continual or daily sacrifice from the church, yes, the real frenzy and fury of the ungodly *Antiochi*, thus to suppress the whole Gospel, the whole doctrine concerning faith and Christ, and to preach in their stead these falsehoods concerning *opere operato*, which relate to these erroneous opinions respecting satisfactions. It is really trampling the Gospel under foot, to pervert the use of the sacraments so shamefully. These are the very blasphemers, with respect to whom Paul, 1 Cor. 11, 27, says that they are guilty of the body and blood of the Lord—these who suppress the doctrine concerning Christ and faith, and misuse the mass and the Eucharist for scandalous, impudent, open avarice, for an annual fair, and a charlatanry,—and all of this under a hypocritical appearance of rendering satisfaction. And for this great impiety, the bishops must await the severe punishment of God. God certainly will verify the second commandment, and pour out upon them his great and furious wrath. Wherefore, we and all others must be careful not to make ourselves partakers of the abuses of our adversary.

But we shall return to our subject. Now, as the mass is not an expiation, either for the punishment or for the guilt *ex opere operato*, it follows that its application for the dead is vain and useless. Nor is there any need for longer controversy. For it is certain, that such application of the mass for the dead, has no foundation in the Scripture. It is an abomination to institute services to God in the church without any divine word or authority from the Scripture. And if it be necessary we shall speak more abundantly upon this subject according to all its essential parts. But why should we contend much in this place with our adversaries, since they do not understand what sacrifice, what sacrament, what remission of sins, or what faith, is.

Neither does the Greek canon apply the mass as an expiation for the dead; for it applies it alike for all the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles. From this it appears that the Greeks also offered it as an expression of thanks, not however as a satisfaction for the punishment of purgatory. For surely, it was not their intention to release the prophets and apostles from purgatory; but merely to offer thanks in connection with them, for the noble, eternal benefits confered on them and us.

Our adversaries allege that the opinion that the mass is not an offering for the dead, entertained by a person named Arius, was once condemned as heresy. Here they avail themselves, however of their usual subterfuge, by pretending that our doctrine was rejected in ancient times. But these dolts are not ashamed of any falsehood. They know not who Arius was, nor what he taught. Epiphanius writes, that Arius maintained that prayer for the dead is useless. Now, we do not speak of prayer, but of the Supper of Christ; whether this is an offering, *ex opere operato*, benefiting the dead. This controversy of ours therefore does by no means concern Arius.

And whatever else may be adduced in favor of the mass, from the writings of the Fathers, does not belong to this controversy. For the good and pious Fathers did not teach this abominable, blasphemous, antichristian error that the mass, *ex opere operato*, merits the remission of guilt and punishment for the living and the dead. For this error concerning *opere operato* is a manifest heresy against all the Scripture, against all the prophets and apostles. And all Christians should learn that such papistical mass is nothing but frightful idolatry.

But such idolatry will remain in the world while Antichrist continues to reign. For as in Israel there was a false form of worship established for the adoration of Baal, and unholy services were performed under the appearance of those which God had ordered; so Antichrist has also constituted a false service to God in the church, out of the Supper of Christ; and yet, as God, nothwithstanding, preserved his church, that is, some saints under Israel and the Jews, so God has supported his church, that is, some saints under popery, so that the Christian church did not entirely disappear. Although Antichrist will partly continue with his false modes of worship, till Christ the Lord shall visibly come and judge; yet all Christians should be warned to guard themselves against such idolatry, and they should learn how to serve God acceptably, and how they obtain remission of sins through faith in Christ, so that they may truly honor God, and be enabled to have a substantial consolation against sins. For God has graciously permitted his Gospel to appear, so that we might be warned and rendered blissful.

This we have briefly stated relative to the mass, so that all pious and honest persons in every nation might understand that we preserve the true honor and the proper use of the mass with all diligence; and that we have great and highly important reasons for not holding with our adversaries upon this subject. And we wish to warn all pious and upright persons not to make themselves partici-

pants with our adversaries of this exceeding abomination and abuse of the mass, so that they may not burden themselves with the sins of other men. This is an important controversy, and a most weighty matter. For this abuse is no less than, in the days of Eli, was that with the false worship of Baal. We have for this time presented this matter in mild words and inoffensive terms; but if our adversaries do not cease calumniating, they shall experience, that we shall reply to them more severely.

XIII. OF MONASTIC VOWS.

About thirty years ago in Isenach, a town in the country of Thuringia, there was a Franciscan monk, named John Hilten, who was cast into prison by his companions, because he had exposed certain notorious abuses in monastic life. We have seen a part of his writings, from which it is easy to perceive that he preached in a Christian manner and agreeably to the holy Scripture, and those who were acquainted with him, testify to this day, that he was a pious, quiet, inoffensive man, of altogether honest and upright manners and conduct. He predicted much concerning these times, indicating some things which have already come to pass, and others which are still to happen; which we shall, however, not relate here, in order that no one may think that we adduce these things through envy, or to please any one. Finally, on account of his age, as well as on account of his health being impaired by imprisonment, falling into a state of sickness, he permitted a guardian to be invited to attend him, and gave him an account of his weakness. And as the guardian, out of Pharisaical bitterness and envy, assailed him with harsh language, saying that his preaching would be useless even among domestics, he ceased complaining of his bodily weakness, and, deeply sighing, with earnest countenance he said that he would freely bear and suffer this injustice for Christ's sake, although he had neither written nor taught any thing disadvantageous to the state of the monks, but that he had attacked merely gross abuses. Finally, he said: "There will another man come, when MDXVI is written, who will destroy you monks, he will withstand you, him you cannot resist." These words concerning the decline of the monastic reign, and this date of the year, were afterwards discovered in other books of his, and especially in his commentaries on Daniel. But we shall leave each one to judge for himself what is to be believed of this man's declaration: yet there are other evidences that the monastic reign cannot long continue.

It is evident that the manner of life carried out in the cloisters, is

nothing but impudent hypocrisy and deception, full of avarice and pride: and the more illiterate the monks are, the more obstinate, wrathful, and bitter they are—yes, the more virulent in persecuting the truth and the word of God. Their sermons and writings are likewise puerile, inconsistent, and foolish; and all their proceedings are directed to the gratification of their appetites and avarice.

In the beginning, the cloisters were not such incarcerations or perpetual prisons, but they were schools in which youth and others were brought up in obedience to the holy Scriptures. But now this noble gold has become dross, and the wine, water. Nearly in all the best and greatest institutions and cloisters, there are no other than indolent, useless, unconcerned monks, who under the appearance of holiness, live on the public alms in extravagance and voluptuousness. But Christ, Matt. 5, 13, says: "But if the salt have lost his savor, wherewith shall it be salted? it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men." Wherefore, as the monks lead such an impious course of life, as is apparent from their own actions, it will ultimately lead to their destruction.

There is still another sign of the decline of the monks, indicated by their instrumentality in giving occasion and authority to the murder of many pious, innocent, and learned persons. The blood of Abel crys out against them, and God will avenge it. We do not speak of all; there may be some in cloisters, who have a knowledge of the holy Gospel concerning Christ, and attach no holiness to their traditions, and who have not made themselves guilty of the innocent blood which the hypocrites shed among them.

But we speak here respecting the doctrine which the framers of the Confutation commend and endeavor to maintain. We do not inquire whether we should observe vows to God; for we also maintain that we are under obligation to observe proper vows: but the following are the questions concerning which we speak:—Whether we obtain remission of sins in the sight of God through vows and the like monastic ceremonies?

Whether they are expiations for sins?

Whether they are equal to baptism?

Whether they secure that kind of perfection through which the *præcepta* and *consilia*, that is, not only the command, but the counsels, are kept?

Whether they secure evangelical perfection?

Whether monks have *merita supererogationis*; that is, so many superfluous merits or holy works, that they do not stand in need of all?

Whether these merits render those to whom they are imparted blissful?

Whether monastic vows are Christian, when made with this view?

Again, whether those monastic vows are divine and Christian, which are forced from unwilling persons, and from those who, on account of their minority, do not understand what they do, whom their parents or friends have urged into cloisters for their temporal support, merely for the purpose of saving their paternal estate?

Whether those monastic vows are Christian, which really give occasion for sin, viz., that friars must praise and embrace this detestable abuse of the mass, the invocation and adoration of saints, and must make themselves partakers of the innocent blood which is shed?

Again, whether the vows, which cannot be observed on account of weakness, are legitimate and Christian vows?

Our controversy and disputation are engrossed by these questions. And although we have said much in our Confession concerning improper vows, which the canons of the pontiffs themselves disapprove; yet our adversaries wish all that we have produced to be rejected. For they say in express terms, that all that we have adduced ought to be rejected.

But it will be necessary in this place to show the manner in which they assail our positions, and what they produce to maintain their cause. We shall, therefore, briefly controvert what they have adduced. And inasmuch as this subject is well discussed in the book of Doctor Martin Luther concerning monastic vows, we shall regard this book as renewed and repeated here.

In the first place, it is undoubtedly true, that vows are neither divine nor Christian, when made with a view of obtaining remission of sins in the sight of God, or of expiating sins by them. For this is an obvious error, contrary to the Gospel, and it is a blasphemy against Christ. For the Gospel teaches that we obtain remission of sins without merit through Christ, as we have already abundantly shown. Wherefore, we have justly referred to the declaration of Paul to the Galatians: "Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the law; ye are fallen from grace," Gal. 5, 4. For these seek remission of sins not through faith in Christ, but through monastic vows and ceremonies; these rob Christ of his honor, and crucify him anew. Hear, yes, hear how the authors of the Confutation wish to shelter themselves, by saying, that Paul must be understood with reference to the law of

Moses alone, but the monks observe and perform all for Christ's sake, and make every effort to live in as near conformity with the Gospel as possible, in order to merit eternal life; and these authors add still further: "Whatever is produced against monastic life, is unchristian and heretical." O Christ! how long wilt thou permit and suffer such open reproach of thy holy Gospel, as that with which our enemies calumniate thy word and truth?

We have asserted in our Confession that we must obtain remission of sins without merit through faith in Christ. Is this not the pure Gospel as the Apostles preached it? If this is not the voice of the Gospel of the eternal Father, which thou, Lord, who sittest in the bosom of the Father, hast revealed to the world, we should justly be punished. But thy severe and bitter death on the cross, thy holy Spirit, which thou hast richly bestowed, thy whole Christian church, afford strong, forcible, and indubitable evidence, as clear and as manifest as the sun, that this is the sum and substance of the Gospel,—that we obtain remission of sins, not on account of our merits, but through faith in Christ.

If Paul has authority to assert that we do not merit the forgiveness of sins through the holy, divine law of Moses and its works, he certainly intends that we can much less accomplish it through the performance of human ordinances: and this he amply testifies to the Colossians. For if the works of the law of Moses, which was revealed of God, do not merit remission of sins, how much less can it be effected by these foolish works—austerities, rosaries, and the like, which are neither essential nor useful even to a moral course of life, much less for imparting eternal life to the soul.

Our adversaries entertain a false impression, that Christ abolished the law of Moses, whom he succeeded, and established a new and a better law, through which forgiveness of sins must be obtained. By these fanatical, indiscreet presumptions, they suppress the doctrine of Christ and his meritorious deeds. They afterward imagine still further, that among those who observe this law of Christ, the monks more nearly resemble Christ and the Apostles, by their obedience, poverty, and continence, when at the same time the whole course of monastic life is mere impudent, shameless hypocrisy. They boast of their poverty, yet on account of their great abundance, they have never been able to experience the distress of a poor man's heart. They speak of their obedience, yet there are no persons on earth who have more liberty than the monks, for they have voluntarily enfranchised themselves from obedience to the bishops and princes. We do not wish to speak of their holy, excellent, arduous continence,

we shall leave it for Gerson to describe, who asserts that there really is but little purity and holiness among those who zealously endeavor to live continent, and that the most of them are hypocrites: among thousands scarcely one thinks of living pure and chaste, saying nothing of the inward thoughts of the heart.

Now, should this be considered a great state of holiness? should this be regarded as living in accordance with Christ and the Gospel? Christ did not thus succeed Moses, for the purpose of introducing a new law, so that he might remit sins in consideration of our works; but in behalf of us he offers his own merits and his own works against the wrath of God, enabling us to obtain grace without merit. But he who without the reconciliation of Christ, offers his own works against the wrath of God, and wishes to obtain remission of sins on account of his own merits, whether he produce the works of the law of Moses, or of the decalogue, or the rules of Benedict, or of Augustine, or of others, rejects the promises of Christ, and falls off from him and his favors.

The imperial Majesty, however, and all the princes and estates of the empire, may here observe the excessive impudence of our adversaries, in daring insolently to assert, that all that we have adduced in opposition to monastic life is impious, when at the same time we have produced declarations from Paul, about which there can be no doubt or uncertainty, and when there is nothing in the whole Bible that is more clear and certain, than that we obtain remission of sins through faith in Christ alone. And this indubitable, divine truth, the authors of the Confutation—the execrable villians and ungodly knaves—dare to call impious doctrine. But we entertain no doubt that if the imperial Majesty and the princes are apprised of this fact, they will have this palpable blasphemy erased from the Confutation.

But inasmuch as we have amply shown above, that it is erroneous to maintain that we should obtain remission of sins on account of our own merits, we shall be the more brief here; for every intelligent reader can easily perceive that we are unable to be redeemed from death and the power of the devil, and to obtain remission of sins, by these indigent works of the monks. Wherefore, this blasphemous, detestable assertion found in the writings of Thomas, that entering into a cloister is a new baptism, or equal to it, must by no means be tolerated. For it is egregiously erroneous to compare with holy baptism an unholy ordinance, a human rite, for which there is no authority, no promise from God, and with which there is no divine grace connected.

In the second place, these voluntary conditions of life—obedience,

poverty, and celibacy—even if they are not impure in any respect, are merely insignificant, physical exercises, in which neither sin nor righteousness should be sought. Consequently, the saints, St. Bernard, Francis, and others, employed them for a purpose quite different from that for which the monks now use them. For, they used these things for exercising their bodies, so as to enable them to attend the more easily to teaching, preaching, and similar duties; not because they regarded these works as services to God, justifying us in his sight, or meriting eternal life: but Paul correctly describes these works, where he says: "Bodily exercise profiteth little," 1 Tim. 4, 8. And it may be possible, that in some monasteries there may be some pious persons, who read and study, and employ such rules and ordinances without dissimulation, and with such a consciousness as not to regard their monastic condition as holiness. For the doctrine that these works are services to God, by which we become pious in his sight, and merit eternal life, is directly opposed to the Gospel and to Christ. For the Gospel teaches that through faith in Christ we are justified and obtain eternal life. It is likewise contrary to the words of Christ: "In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men," Matt. 15, 9. It is also in opposition to this declaration of Paul: "For whatsoever is not of faith is sin," Rom. 14, 23. How, then, can they assert that these are services to God, which are pleasing and acceptable in his sight, when they have no divine authority to this effect?

But observe the impudence of our adversaries. They dare not only assert that their monastic vows and orders are services to God, which justify and make us pious in his sight, but also to add that they are states of perfection; that is, states more holy and exalted than other conditions in life; as for instance, a state of matrimony, or the office of governor: and besides these, there are other similar false and pernicious opinions without number connected with their monastic hypocrisy and Pharisaical proceedings. They boast that they are the most holy people, observing both the precepts and the counsels. Afterwards they imagine that they are so abundant in merit and holiness as to have a superfluity still remaining; yet these pious saints are so liberal as to offer their supererogatory merits to others, and to sell them for their value in money. All this is the guise and pollution of holiness, mere Pharisaical vanity and bigotry.

For, inasmuch as the first commandment of God:—"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul," &c.,—is more exalted than any person on earth is able to compre-

hend; inasmuch as it is the highest theology, out of which all the prophets and apostles drew their best and most elevated doctrines as out of a fountain—yes, since it is a commandment so high that all divine services, all adorations, all offerings, all thanksgivings in heaven and on earth, must be regulated and established according to it alone, so that all services to God, no matter how noble, precious, and holy they may appear, if they deviate in the least from this commandment, are empty and ineffectual—yes, mere filth and abomination in the sight of God—which high commandment all the saints failed so far in fulfilling completely, that even Noah and Abraham, David, Peter, and Paul, here acknowledged themselves imperfect and sinners, and fell far short of fulfilling it; it is, therefore, unheard of, Pharisaical, yes, most contemptible arrogance for a sorded barefooted friar, or any impious hypocrite, to assert, yes, to preach and teach that he has thus perfectly kept and fulfilled this holy, exalted commandment, and that he has done so many good works according to the requirements and will of God, that he has a superfluity of merit remaining still. Yes, beloved hypocrites, you might thus boast, if the holy decalogue and the first high commandment of God, could be fulfilled in the same manner, as a sack can be filled up with bread and other articles. These are impudent hypocrites with whom the world is plagued in these last times.

The psalmist David, Psalm 116, 11, says: "All men are liars;" that is, no man on earth, not even the saints, regards or fears God as greatly and preeminently as he should; no man on earth believes and trusts God as perfectly as he should, &c. Wherefore, it is a mere fiction for the monks to boast that they live according to the perfection of the Gospel and the commandments of God, or that they do more than they are under obligation to perform, so that they have good works and superfluous holiness in store.

It is likewise false and fictitious that monastic life should be a fulfilment of the counsels or advices in the Gospel. For the Gospel has no where advised such distinction of clothing, of meats, or that the people should be impoverished by such exactions; for these are simply human ordinances, concerning which Paul says: "But meat commendeth us not to God," 1 Cor. 8, 8. Consequently, they are not services to God, which justify in his sight, nor are they evangelical perfection; but when they are taught, preached, and proclaimed under this magnificent title, they are as Paul calls them, "doctrines of devils," 1 Tim. 4, 1.

Paul commends virgin purity, and by way of advice recommends it to those who have this gift, as we have already said. It is there-

fore an impudent, wicked error to teach and maintain that evangelical perfection consists in the ordinances of men. For in this manner the Mahometans and the Turks might also boast that they possess evangelical perfection; for they also have anchorets and monks, as is evident from credible histories which are at hand. Nor does evangelical perfection consist in non-essentials; but, inasmuch as the kingdom of God is manifested in the Holy Spirit enlightening, purifying, and strengthening our hearts within, and working a new light and life in them, real evangelical, Christian perfection, consequently, consists in a daily increase of our faith, fear to God, and faithful attention to the vocations and offices committed to us; as Paul also writes concerning perfection, saying: "We are changed into the same image, from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord," 2 Cor. 3, 18. He does not say that we proceed from one order to another, now putting on this cap, then that one, now this girdle, then that cord, &c. It is lamentable that this Pharisaical, yes, Turkish, Mahometan doctrine has obtained in the Christian church—in which doctrine they teach, that evangelical perfection and the kingdom of Christ, through which the eternal blessings and everlasting life commence here, must consist in caps, clothing, meats, and the like puerile works.

But we must further hear these excellent teachers in reference to the palpable blasphemy and the execrable sentence which they have inserted in their Confutation. They venture to say without shame: "That it is written in the holy Scripture, that monastic life and the holy orders, merit eternal life, and that Christ has promised these superabundantly, especially to the monks, who thus forsake house, home, brother, and sister:" these are the express words of the adversary. But is this not entirely an impudent, execrable falsehood, that it is written in the holy Scripture that we can merit eternal life by monastic life? How then can you be so audacious? where does the Scripture speak of monastic life? In this manner our adversaries treat these great and excellent matters; thus they misapply the Scripture. The whole world knows—histories are before our eyes—that these monastic orders are entirely new; and yet they arrogantly trace these orders in the Scriptures.

They, moreover, calumniate and blaspheme Christ, by affirming that eternal life can be merited by living in cloisters. God does not ascribe to his own law the honor of meriting eternal life by the works of the law, as he clearly says: "Wherefore I gave them also statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live," Eze. 20, 25, 26. For in the first place, it is certain that no

one can merit eternal life through monastic austerity; but for Christ's sake, through pure mercy eternal life will be given to those who obtain remission of sins through faith, and hold this faith, not their beggarly merits, as a shield against the wrath of God. As St. Bernard has also beautifully stated: "That we cannot have the remission of sins, except alone through the grace and goodness of God: again, that we can have no good work, if he does not grant it; again, that we are unable to merit eternal life by works, unless it be likewise given to us through grace." And to this effect St. Bernard speaks much. And he finally adds: "Wherefore, no one should deceive or mislead himself; for if he will properly reflect on it himself, he will certainly find that he is unable to withstand God with ten thousand, who opposes him with twenty thousand." Inasmuch, then, as we do not merit by the works of the divine law remission of sins or eternal life, but must seek the mercy which is promised in Christ, we much less merit it by monastic life, which is a mere human ordinance; and the honor should much less be assigned to these beggarly ordinances.

Those who teach that we can merit remission of sins by monastic austerity, and thus place their confidence which belongs to Christ alone, on these feeble ordinances, trample under foot the holy Gospel and the promises of Christ, honoring in stead of Christ the Savior, their mangy caps and foolish works. And though they themselves are destitute of grace, they still act as impious and ungodly people, by devising their *merita supererogationis*, and selling their superfluous part in heaven to other persons.

We shall here treat the more briefly on this subject, as it can be fully perceived from our exposition above in reference to repentance, justification, and human ordinances, that monastic vows are not the means by which we are redeemed, and by which we obtain everlasting life, &c. And since Christ himself terms these ordinances vain services to God, they are by no means evangelical perfection.

Some prudent monks, however, being afraid to extol their austerities so highly, that they should be styled Christian perfection, moderated this presumptuous ostentation, saying that it is not Christian perfection, but a state which contributes to Christian perfection. This concession Gerson takes into view, and rejects the unchristian opinion that monastic austerity is Christian perfection.

Now, if an ascetic life be simply a state in which perfection is to be sought, it is not *more* a state of perfection than the condition of a husbandman, of a mechanic, &c. For all these are conditions in which Christian perfection should be sought. For all persons, no

matter in what state they may be, should strive according to their respective vocations, after perfection while this life continues, and uniformly increase in fear to God, in faith, in love towards their neighbors, and the like spiritual virtues.

We find examples in the history of hermits, of St. Antonius and others, who through their course of experience finally perceived that their works did not make them more pious in the sight of God, than the operations in other conditions of life. For St. Antonius once entreated God to show unto him how far he had advanced in a life of perfection. Here he was referred to a shoemaker in Alexandria, and it was said unto him, that he was equal to this mechanic in holiness. Antonius rises up the very next day and goes to Alexandria, addresses the shoemaker, and anxiously inquires what holy system of conduct, what course of life, he observed. Here the shoemaker replied to him:—I do nothing, except of mornings I offer up my prayer for the whole town, and carry on my trade and attend to my house, &c. Antonius immediately understood what God meant by this revelation. For we are not justified by this work or that one, in the sight of God, but alone through faith in Christ.

Although our adversaries are also ashamed now to call the life of a recluse, perfection, yet in principle they hold it as such; for they sell their works and merits, intimating that they observe not only the commands but the counsels and admonitions, and imagine that they possess superfluous merits. Now, may this not be regarded as boasting of perfection and holiness by the deed, when they merely modify their position a little with words? It is also clearly stated in the Confutation, that the monks live in a closer conformity with the Gospel than other moral persons. If, then, it is their opinion, that persons live in closer conformity with the Gospel, by being destitute of possessions, by abstaining from marriage, by wearing particular clothing or caps, by thus fasting and praying; it must be their opinion that monastic rigor is Christian perfection, since they approach nearer the Gospel than people generally do.

Again, it is written in the Confutation, that the monks obtain eternal life more abundantly than others: referring to this passage: "Every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren," &c., Matt. 19, 29. Here they also boast of a perfection which exists in their austerity. But this passage does not speak relatively to monastic life; for Christ does not here intend that desertion of father and mother, of wife and children, of house and home, should be a work by which forgiveness of sins and eternal life are merited; but on the

contrary, to forsake father and mother with this intention, is by no means pleasing to God, and will incur his displeasure. For if any one abandon parents, house, and home for the purpose of meriting remission of sins and everlasting life by it, he defames Christ.

But there are two kinds of desertion; one is actuated by a call and by the command of God; the other which takes place without a call and the command of God, is by no means pleasing to Christ the Lord. For the works of our own choice Christ the Lord calls vain and useless services to God, Matt. 15, 9. But from this it appears clearer still, that Christ does not mean such a desertion of wife and children: he says he who forsakes wife and children, house and home, &c. Now, we know that the command of God forbids desertion of wife and children. There is, however, a difference between a desertion of parents, wife and children, &c., when we are led by the command of God to forsake them, and when we design it ourselves. For if tyrants were to force us to deny or reject the Gospel, we have God's command that we should rather suffer injustice; as, that of not only being driven away from our wives and children, houses and homes, but of also being deprived of our lives and bodies. In reference to this kind of desertion Christ speaks; he therefore also adds, "for the sake of the Gospel," sufficiently indicating that he alludes to those who suffer for the sake of the Gospel, not to those who forsake wife and children, through their own impulse. For we are under obligation to suffer the loss of our own lives for the sake of the Gospel. Here it would indeed be regarded as foolish and altogether absurd, if we would kill ourselves without the command of God. So it is also foolish to regard as holiness and as service to God, the desertion of wife and children, which results from our own impulses, without the command of God.

This declaration of Christ is, therefore, basely forced to justify monastic life. Unless this might be applicable to the monks, that they receive a hundredfold in this life. For many become monks for the sake of a support, and in order that they may live in idleness and luxury, when they as mendicants, however, enter into rich monasteries. But as the whole monastic condition is full of hypocrisy and deception; so they also falsely quote the Scripture, thus committing two kinds of frightful sin: *first*, by deceiving the world with idolatry; *second*, by falsely quoting the name and word of God, to adorn their idolatry.

To this effect there is also another passage produced: "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor; and come and follow me," Matt. 19, 21. This passage has per-

plexed many who imagined that it is the greatest holiness and perfection, not to hold possessions, house, and home. Diogenes the cynic, who would not have a house, but lay in a hogshead, may however boast of such pagan holiness. Christian holiness consists in matters much nobler than such dissimulation. For the provisions, made for holding possessions, house and home, are regulations of civil government, established of God, as in the seventh commandment: "Thou shalt not steal," &c., Exod. 20, 15. Wherefore, it is neither commanded nor advised in the Scripture to forsake property, house, and home. For evangelical, Christian poverty does not consist in the abandonment of property, but in not relying upon it; as, David was poor, even in the midst of great power and a great kingdom.

Inasmuch, then, as such abandonment of property is nothing but a human ordinance, it is a vain and unavailing service to God. And the encomiums conferred upon this monastic, deceptive poverty, in the *Extravagantes* of the pope, are also immoderate, where it is said: "The relinquishment of property of every kind for the sake of God, is holy, meritorious, and the true way to perfection." When inexperienced persons hear such declarations, they imagine that it is unchristian to hold possessions, and from this opinion many errors and disturbances result: by such pretensions Münzer was deceived, and by it many Anabaptists are misled.

But they say, that Christ himself has called it perfection: this we deny; for they do violence to the text by not quoting it entirely. Perfection consists in the duty which Christ enjoins: "Follow me." And the perfection of every Christian consists in his following Christ, each one according to his vocation, and yet their vocations are dissimilar: one is called to the office of ruling; another to the care of domestic affairs; a third to the ministry. Wherefore, if that youth was so called that it behooved him to sell his possessions, his call does not concern others; as the call of David, that he should be a king, does not pertain to all; Abraham's call that he should offer up his son, does not pertain to others. Thus the calls are various, but the obedience should be alike. And perfection consists in obedience to our vocations, not in the assumption of a vocation which does not concern us, and for which we have neither the command nor the authority of God.

In the third place, one of the principal monastic vows is made in reference to continence. Now, we have already stated in treating on the marriage of priests, that no one is able to alter natural or divine rights, either by law or by monastic vows; and inasmuch as all

persons have not the gift of continence, many are miserable in observing it. Nor can any monastic vow or law change the command of the Holy Spirit, where Paul says: "To avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife," 1 Cor. 7, 2. For this reason monastic vows are not Christian in those who have not the gift of continence; but on account of their imperfection they are contaminated. In reference to this article we have already spoken; and it is really a wonder that our adversaries, seeing before their own eyes so many incalculable dangers and provocations to which the consciences of men are subjected, do nevertheless, as unwise and furious people, insist so strenuously upon these human ordinances repugnant to the express command of God, without seeing that Christ the Lord so earnestly censures the Pharisees who taught ordinances contrary to God's command.

In the fourth place, the alarming and dangerous abuse of the mass which is held for the living and the dead, should reasonably deter every one from monastic life. Again, the invocation of saints, which is wholly devoted to avaricious purposes and to satanic abomination, ought to cause persons to abjure these austerities. For two kinds of abomination attach to the invocation of the saints. The *one is*, the avaricious purposes to which the merits of the saints are devoted; the *other is*, the substitution of the saints in the room of Christ, the idolatrous invocation of them, and the recognition of them as mediators before God; as the Dominicans, or Predicants alone, saying nothing of the innumerable, foolish fantasies of other monks, have established the most execrable idolatry with a host of rosaries, which both friends and foes now deride. Again, they do not hear the Gospel which preaches forgiveness of sins for Christ's sake, true repentance, and really good works which are authorized by the command of God; nor do they teach it, but in their sermons they teach fables concerning the saints with their own imaginings, by which the doctrine of Christ is suppressed. All this the bishops were able to tolerate.

Here we shall not mention the innumerable, puerile ceremonies and foolish services to God, with lessons, singing, and the like, which might be allowed in part, if it were kept in proper bounds, and used for beneficial exercises, as lessons in school, and preaching, are used, so that the hearers profit by them. But they imagine that such variety of ceremonies are services to God, by which remission of sins is merited for themselves and for others; for this reason, they continually introduce new ceremonies. For if they had established such church service and ceremonies for the purpose of affording youth

and common persons an opportunity of being exercised in the word of God, short and accurate lessons would have been much more useful than their bawling in choir, which has neither limit nor end. Thus the whole monastic life is full of idolatry and hypocritical errors, contrary to the first and second commandments and to the doctrine of Christ. Besides, danger results from the fact—that those, who thus exist in institutions or cloisters, must knowingly assist in persecuting the truth. There are, consequently, many great reasons why pious, upright persons flee from monastic life, or why they are authorized to forsake it.

The canons, moreover, themselves declare those free who were persuaded by enticing words, before they had arrived at a proper age, or who were forced into monasteries, contrary to their will, by their friends. From all this it appears, that there are many reasons which show that the monastic vows, which have been hitherto made, are not really Christian and obligatory vows. We may, for this reason, forsake monastic life with clear conscience, since it abounds in hypocrisy and every species of abomination.

Here our adversaries produce in opposition to us the Nazarite under the law of Moses, Num. 6, 2, &c. But these made their vows not with a view of obtaining remission of sins by them, as we have declared already in reference to monastic vows. The order of the Nazarites was designed to promote a physical exercise, with fasting and certain meats, through which they professed their faith,—not that they obtained remission of sins, or were released from eternal death by them. For this they sought from another source, namely, from the promises of the blessed seed. Again, as circumcision, or the slaying of victims under the law of Moses, should not be established now as a service to God, so the fasting or ceremonies of the Nazarites should not be revived as a service to God; but they should be held as a thing indifferent and as a physical exercise. For this reason, they neither can nor should compare their monastic condition, which is devised without the authority of God's word as a service through which he is reconciled to God, with the condition of the Nazarites, which God had commanded, and which was not designed to enable the Nazarites to obtain a merciful God by it, but for an external discipline and exercise of the body, like other ceremonies in the law of Moses. Again, in like manner, we may answer in reference to the other various vows, which are laid down in the law of Moses.

Our adversaries also adduce the example of the Rechabites, who held no possessions and drank no wine, as Jeremiah says, Jer. ch. 35,

Yes indeed, the example of the Rechabites accords excellently with our monks, since their monasteries are built more magnificently than the king's palace, and since they live in the greatest splendor. The Rechabites however in their poverty married: our monks, having the greatest pomp and abundance, make a boast of their hypocritical continence.

Now, learned and intelligent persons know that every example should be introduced and explained according to this rule, that is, according to the express Scripture, and not contrary to it. Wherefore, since the Rechabites are commended in the Scripture, it is certain that they did not observe their customs and ceremonies in order to merit forgiveness of sins or eternal life by them, or because they thought that their works in themselves could reconcile them before God; but as pious children before whose eyes the fear of God was, they believed in the blessed seed, in the future Christ; and inasmuch as they had the command of their parents, their obedience, concerning which the fourth commandment speaks, is praised in the Scripture: "Thou shalt honor thy father and thy mother."

There was, moreover, another reason for the custom of the Rechabites. They being among the heathens, their father wished to distinguish them from the heathens by certain signs, so that they might not fall back again into ungodly habits and idolatry. Wherefore, he designed by this means to admonish them to fear God, to have faith, and to believe the resurrection of the dead; and this was a good reason. But the reason for monastic austerity is quite different. They imagine that their austerities are a service to God, by which remission of sins is merited, and by which God is reconciled. Therefore, it bears no comparison to the example of the Rechabites, saying nothing about the other innumerable injuries and provocations which still exist in monastic life.

They also cite, from the first epistle to Timothy, the passage concerning widows who served the church, and were supported by the common church-property, where Paul says: "For when they have begun to wax wanton against Christ, they will marry; having damnation, because they have cast off their first faith," 1 Tim. 5, 11, 12. Even admitting that the Apostle here speaks of vows, which is, however, not the fact, this passage still does not contribute any thing in showing that monastic vows are Christian. For monastic vows are made in order that they might be a service to God, through which forgiveness of sins is merited. But Paul rejects all laws, all works, and all services to God, which are embraced and observed for the purpose of meriting remission of sins and eternal life, which

we obtain through Christ alone. Wherefore, it is certain that if widows did make certain vows, they were nevertheless unlike to the present monastic vows.

If, moreover, our adversaries wish to distort and misapply this declaration of Paul to their monastic vows, they must also admit that Paul forbids a widow to be taken into the number, under threescore years old, 1 Tim. 5, 9. Consequently all monastic vows which were made before this age, by younger persons, are not binding but void. Thus, at that time, the church knew nothing of monastic vows. Thus Paul does not reject widows because they married,—for he bids young women to marry; but because they permitted themselves to be supported by the common church-treasury, misused it in their levity and wantonness, and thus they broke the first faith. This he calls casting off the first faith, not their monastic vows, but their baptism, their Christian duty, and their Christianity. And thus he also speaks concerning faith in this same chapter, verse 8: "But if any provide not for his own, especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith." For Paul treats of faith in a manner different to that in which the sophists treat it. Wherefore he says, that those have denied the faith, who do not provide for their own house. Thus he also says concerning inquisitive women, that they cast off the faith.

We have shown some reasons, and controverted what our adversaries have produced. We have related this not only for the sake of our adversaries, but rather for the sake of some Christian hearts and consciences, so that they may perceive clearly why monastic vows and the diverse monkish dispositions, are not rational and Christian; all of which this one declaration of Christ would subvert, where he says: "In vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men," Matt. 15, 9. For from this declaration alone we briefly infer that the whole course of monastic life, caps, cords, girdles, and all self-devised holiness, are useless in the sight of God, and vain services to him; and all pious, Christian hearts should feel firmly persuaded that this is really a Pharisaical, execrable error, that we should merit forgiveness of sins, or eternal life through such austerities, and not much rather obtain it through faith in Christ.

Wherefore, pious persons, who obtained salvation and continued in monastic life, had finally to arrive at such a state of mind that they despaired of all their monastic austerities, regarded all their works as filth, condemned all their hypocritical services, and firmly sustained themselves by the promises of grace in Christ. Of this we have the example of St. Bernard, where he tells us—

Perdite vixi, "I have lived sinfully." For God will accept no other services to him, but those which he himself has established through his word.

XIV. OF ECCLESIASTICAL POWER.

Here our adversaries utter loud imprecations in reference to the liberty and privileges of the ecclesiastics, as they call them; and afterwards subjoin this conclusion: "All," say they, "which is produced in this article against the liberty and privileges of the church and of the priests, is insignificant and inadmissible." Here the framers of the Confutation act unjustly, for the purpose of calumniating us. For there is nothing said in our Confession against the privileges of the churches and of the priests, with which they are favored by civil government, by emperors, kings, and princes; for we truly teach that men should observe civil regulations and rights.

But would to God, that our adversaries, once at least, would listen to the incessant complaints of all the churches, to the deep cries and groans of so many pious hearts. The church privileges, and whatever pertains to money and goods, our adversaries forget not; but about the manner in which the most useful and necessary offices are filled in the churches, they are unconcerned; they make no inquiry in reference to the manner in which teaching and preaching must be discharged; they give themselves no concern with respect to the manner in which a Christian use of the sacraments may be preserved; they ordain egregious dolts by whom the Christian doctrine is suppressed, the churches not being provided with qualified preachers. They forge traditions and impose intolerable burdens, injurious to the soul, adhering more closely to their numerous traditions than to the commandments of God. Many poor souls are now in doubt, not knowing what they should believe. It is the duty of the prelates to listen to what might be right and wrong, and to alter the abuses, to relieve these poor people from their perplexity, and to remove the burden from the oppressed conscience. But that which they do, is manifest: they make edicts against the open truth; they exercise unheard of tyranny against pious persons, in order to support some of their traditions which are evidently contrary to the word of God. Now, since they boast of their privileges, they should justly take into consideration the duties of their offices, and hear the groans and complaints of many pious Christians, which God assuredly hears, and for which he will at some time require an account from the prelates.

Neither does the Confutation reply to our arguments, but it be-

trays within itself a real papal character, asserting the great power of the bishops, and still not proving it: thus it says, that the bishops have power to rule, to judge, to punish, to make laws, to enforce them, contributory to everlasting life. In this manner the Confutation boasts of the power of the bishops, and still does not show it. The controversy is concerning this article, whether the bishops have power to make laws apart from the Gospel, and to command these to be observed as a service to God, by which eternal life is to be merited.

In reference to this matter we would state, that the doctrine that without merit for Christ's sake, through faith we obtain remission of sins, must be observed in the churches: so the doctrine, that all human ordinances are incompetent to reconcile God, must also be observed. For this reason, neither sin nor righteousness should be placed in meats, drinks, clothing, and the like things; for Paul says: "The kingdom of God is not meat and drink," Rom. 14, 17. Wherefore, the bishops have not power to make ordinances distint from the Gospel, so that men should obtain remission of sins by them; or, that they should be services to God, for the sake of which he will esteem us righteous, and to which they bind the consciences at the hazard of irremediable sin. All this is taught in the passage in the Acts of the Apostles, Acts 15, 9, 10, where Peter says: "The hearts are purified by faith." And afterwards they forbid a yoke or a burden to be put upon the disciples, saying how dangerous a thing it is. They also give us to understand that those, who thus burden the church, sin fearfully, and act contrary to God, and tempt him; for they say: "Why tempt ye God?" This severe, earnest declaration of the Apostles, which should reasonably alarm them as a clap of thunder, our adversaries do not sincerely take into consideration, but wish still to maintain their imaginary services to God with force and violence.

For they condemn the fifteenth article, in which we have asserted that we do not merit forgiveness of sins through human ordinances; and they say, that human ordinances are useful and contributory in meriting eternal life. In opposition to this, it is obvious that they afford the heart no inward consolation, and consequently, they produce no new light and life in the heart; as Paul, Col. 2, 22, says to the Colossians, that ordinances avail nothing in obtaining everlasting righteous or eternal life; for the ordinances teach concerning the difference of meats, clothing, and the like things, which perish under our hands; but the eternal life, which commences inwardly through faith in this life, the Holy Spirit works in the heart through the Gospel. Our adversaries can, therefore, never prove

that we can merit eternal life through the ordinances of men.

Inasmuch, then, as the Gospel clearly forbids the churches and the consciences of men to be so burdened with these human ordinances, that they must obtain remission of sins through them, and observe them as necessary services to God, without which Christian holiness cannot exist, or that they are under obligation to observe them at the hazard of incurring irrevocable sin, our adversaries can, consequently, never show that the bishops have power to establish such services to God.

But the nature and extent of the office and power, which the bishops have in the churches, we have mentioned in our Confession. The bishops, who now bear the name of bishop in the churches, do not fill their episcopal office according to the Gospel. But they may be bishops according to the canonical polity, which we do not reprehend; we speak however concerning true Christian bishops, and the old division or distinction meets our approbation pretty well, where it is said: "The power of the bishops consists in these two, *potestate Ordinis* and *potestate Jurisdictionis*, that is, in administering the sacraments, and in spiritual jurisdiction. Thus each Christian bishop has *potestatem Ordinis*, that is, power to preach the Gospel and to administer the sacraments; he also has the power of a spiritual jurisdiction in the church, that is, power and authority to exclude those who are found in open vices from the Christian congregation, and when they repent to receive them again, and to impart unto them absolution. But they have not a tyrannical power, that is, to judge without a definite law; nor have they a royal power, that is, to act beyond the given laws: but they have an express and qualified command of God, under which they are, and according to which they should use their spiritual power and jurisdiction. Even if they have such jurisdiction over public vices, it still does not follow, that they have power to establish new services to God. For jurisdiction, and the institution of new services to God, are far different. Again, this jurisdiction does not extend over sins which have been committed against their new law, but alone over those which are contrary to the commands of God. For the Gospel does not establish for them a government which is distinct from the Gospel—all this is clear and certain.

Although we have added in our Confession to what extent the bishops may institute ordinances, namely, that they have a right to establish such ordinances as contribute to peaceful and orderly procedure in the church; not however, to establish and teach them as necessary services to God. But the conscience must not be impressed with the idea that they are *essential* services to God. For Paul, Gal. 5, 1, says to the Galatians: "Stand fast, therefore, in the lib-

erty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage." Consequently, then, we must be left at liberty to use, or not to use, such external ordinances, so that they may not be regarded or held as services to God, which should be essential to salvation. Yet we are under obligation to avoid offences. The Apostles have, therefore, for the sake of good discipline, ordained in the church many things which were altered in the course of time; but they did not thus institute ordinances that they should be or always remain necessary; for they did not act contrary to their own writings and doctrine, for which they contend so zealously, that the church should not be thus burdened or oppressed with ordinances, as if they were essential to salvation.

This is simple and clear information concerning human ordinances, namely, that we know that they are not necessary services to God, and that we should, however, according to opportunity, observe them to avoid offence. And thus, many learned and illustrious persons have held and taught in the church; and it is certain that our adversaries can produce nothing in opposition to this view. It is also certain that these words of Christ the Lord—"He that heareth you, heareth me, Luke 10, 16,—do not imply the ordinances of men, but they are directly opposed to them. For the Apostles did not here receive a *mandatum cum libera*, that is, a command and power altogether free and unlimited, but they have a limited command, viz., to preach, not their own word, but the word of God, and the Gospel. And Christ the Lord wishes by these words—"He that heareth you, heareth me"—to confirm us,—a thing which was necessary,—that we might be entirely certain that the delivered word is the power of God, and that no one has need to seek or expect another word from heaven. Therefore, this declaration—"He that heareth you, heareth me"—cannot be understood with respect to ordinances. For here Christ wishes them to teach, viz., that through their mouth Christ himself is heard. So they must indeed preach not their own word, but his word, his voice, and his Gospel, if we are to hear Christ. This consolatory declaration, which confirms, in the most forcible manner, our doctrine, and which carries in itself many useful doctrines and comforts for the Christian conscience, the egregious dolts distort to their foolish ordinances, to their meats, drinks, clothing, and similar puerile works.

They likewise produce this passage: "Obey them that have the rule over you," &c. Heb. 13, 17. This passage requires men to be obedient to the Gospel; for it does not commit unto the bishops dominion or a royal power independent of the Gospel; hence the bish-

ops should not institute ordinances contrary to the Gospel, and explain them contrary to it; for if they do this, the Gospel forbids us to be obedient to them, as Paul, Gal. 1, 8, says to the Galatians: "Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed."

In the same manner we also reply to this passage, Matt. 23, 2, 3: "The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat. All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do." It is certain that it is not by this declaration commanded universally, that we must observe all that they command us, even contrary to the command and word of God. For in another place the Scripture says: "We ought to obey God rather than men," Acts 5, 29. If, therefore, they teach in an unchristian manner and contrary to the Scripture, we should not listen to them. This passage does likewise not establish a government apart from the Gospel; consequently they cannot by the Gospel prove their power, which they have established independent of it, since the Gospel does not speak concerning traditions, but in reference to teaching the word of God.

But the calumniation and the charge, which our adversaries bring against us in the conclusion of their Confutation, that this doctrine gives occasion for disobedience and other offences, are unjustly imposed upon our doctrine; for it is obvious that government is commended in the highest degree by this doctrine. And it is known, that in those places in which this doctrine is preached, through the grace of God, the government has hitherto been preserved in due honor by the subjects.

But with respect to the disunion and dissensions existing in the church, it is known how this matter first happened, and who gave occasion for dissensions, namely, the retailers of indulgences, who preached intolerable lies without shame, and afterwards condemned Luther, because he did not approve these falsehoods; and they agitated other matters besides, so that Luther was caused to assail other errors also. But inasmuch as our opponents would not tolerate the truth, but undertook to defend palpable errors with violence, it is easy to judge who is in fault of the separation. Justly indeed should the whole world, all wisdom, all power, yield to Christ and his holy word; but the devil being the enemy of God, arrays all his power against Christ, to suppress and quench the word of God. Thus the devil with his accomplices, who set themselves in opposition to God's word, is the cause of dissensions and disunion; for we have, in the most faithful manner sought peace, which we still most sincerely desire, so far as we are not forced to calumniate and deny

Christ. For God, who is the judge of all hearts, knows, that we have no pleasure nor peace in this terrible disunion. Neither would our opponents hitherto come to any terms of peace, unless we would agree to rescind the wholesome doctrine concerning the remission of sins through Christ without our merit—by a rejection of which doctrine Christ would be calumniated in the highest degree.

And although this state of affairs has not been without bad effects, as it is customary with the world, offences having occurred in this dissension through malice and imprudent people; for the devil directs such offence to a defamation of the Gospel; yet none of them should be regarded in view of the high consolation which this doctrine affords, which teaches that we have for Christ's sake without our merit, remission of sins and a gracious God. Again, it teaches that abjuring the social ties of life and government, is not divine service, but that such ties and such government are pleasing to God, and really holy works and divine service.

If we should also relate the offences of our opponents, a task in which we truly find no pleasure, it would be a very terrible register;—namely, how the mass has been employed as a scandalous, blasphemous annual fair, by our opponents, what an unchaste life was led by the celibate, how the popes waged war for upwards of four hundred years with the emperors, forgetting the Gospel, and striving to be emperors themselves, and have brought all Italy in subjection to themselves; how they have sported with the church-property, how through their negligence, numerous false doctrines and services to God, were established through the monks: yet their worship of saints is palpable, heathenish idolatry. None of their writings mention a word concerning the faith in Christ, through which remission of sins is obtained: they place the highest holiness in human ordinances, concerning which they chiefly write and preach. So the kind of spirit, which they openly manifest in murdering so many innocent, pious persons now on account of Christian doctrine, should also justly be related among their offences. Though we shall not speak of it now; for this matter should be judged according to the word of God, and we shall therefore not now view the offences of either party.

We hope that all pious persons will perceive sufficiently from this writing of ours, that our doctrine is Christian, consolatory and wholesome to all the pious. We therefore entreat God to grant his grace, so that his Gospel may be acknowledged and honored by all, to his praise, and to the peace, union, and salvation of us all. And we hereby profess a readiness, wherever it may be necessary, to give further instruction on every article.

ARTICLES OF SMALCALD.

ARTICLES

OF

THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE,

WHICH WERE TO BE EXHIBITED BY OUR ADHERENTS AT THE COUNCIL, IF ANY COUNCIL HAD BEEN ASSEMBLED AT MANTUA OR AT ANY OTHER PLACE, DECLARING WHAT POINTS WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO ADMIT OR TO YIELD.

WRITTEN BY

DR. MARTIN LUTHER.

A. D. 1537.

PREFACE OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER.

LAST year pope Paul III. proclaimed a council which was to be assembled about Pentecost at Mantua. Soon afterwards he transferred the appointed meeting from the city of Mantua to some other place; and it is not yet known where he intends to assemble it. We also had reason to hope that we should be summoned to the council, or to fear, if not summoned, we might be condemned. I was, therefore, required to collect and transcribe the articles of our doctrine, in order that it might appear, if the council should take place, how far we may be able to accede to the papists, and what points we are determined to maintain.

I have, accordingly, written these articles, and delivered them to our adherents, by whom they have been received and approved with unanimous consent. And it was resolved that these articles should be publicly laid before the council,—if indeed the pope and the papists would hold any council, without false pretences and deceptive arts, in a lawful and Christian manner,—and that these should explain the confession of our faith.

But since the Roman court or conclave dreads a free and Christian council so very much, and so shamefully shuns the light, that even from the papists themselves, the hope has entirely fled, not only of assembling a Christian council, but even of conferring together and making mutual concessions; many papists indeed are offended justly, support this indifference of the pope with reluctance, and readily infer that the pope would rather see the destruction of Christianity itself, the perdition of all souls, than the smallest reformation of his own errors or those of his friends, or suffer any bounds to be prescribed to his tyranny. For this reason I have been the more desirous to publish these articles; that if I should die before a council shall be held,—an event which I really trust and hope for, since our dark and cloudy enemies have labored so much in postponing and preventing the council,—that posterity, I say, may have my testimony and confession, and may add this to that confession which I formerly published, to which I have constantly adhered to this day, and to which I will adhere still through the grace of God.

What then shall I say? How shall I begin my complaint? Still I am living, I am writing, I hold deliberations, and I read in public daily; and yet these malignant beings, not only among our adversaries, but even false brothers who pretend to agree with us, openly dare to turn and charge my own writings, my own doctrine against me, whilst I am living, whilst I see and hear them; although they know that I teach far differently, yet they wish to decorate their own venom with my labor, to deceive and entice wretched mortals under my name. What then, gracious God, will be done after my death?

I ought indeed to reply to all their charges, while I am yet living. But I demand how I alone should be able to close all the mouths of Satan?—especially the mouths of those, full as it were of all kinds of poison, who do not wish to attend or to hear what we have written, but are altogether engrossed by one purpose—to pervert and corrupt our words even in the smallest letters. To these, therefore, let the devil reply; and finally the wrath of God, as they deserve. I often remember the excellent Gerson's doubting whether any thing of public utility ought to be written or published. If we refrain from writing, many souls will be neglected, which might have been rescued; but if we write, immediately the devil is at hand with lips of bitterness and full of abuse which infect and poison every thing, and defeat the salutary object of the writings. It is manifest, however, what advantage they may derive from these malignant representations. For they have overwhelmed us with false charges,

and by means of these misrepresentations they have labored to retain the less informed among them. On this very account God has imperceptibly advanced his work, has diminished their numbers and increased our own, has confounded and even dispersed them in consequence of their falsehoods.

I will relate an instance. There was a certain Doctor from France at Witemburg, who publicly assured us, that the French monarch had been earnestly persuaded that there is no church, no magistracy, no wedlock among us, but that we all live promiscuously, each according to his inclination, like the cattle. Tell me now, with what countenance will they look upon us at the tribunal of Christ, in the last judgment?—these defamers who have disseminated by their writings like poison, charges so false not only in France but in other kingdoms? Christ the Lord and Judge of us all, knows that these men are uttering falsehoods, and always have been speaking falsely. His decision they will be compelled to hear in their turn. God may convert those who can be changed; they may repent; but others he will overwhelm, alas and alas forever!

To return to the subject, I could wish that a free and Christian council might be assembled at some time, that we might make provisions for many exigencies and for many men. Not that we need a council: for our churches, by the grace of God, through the purity of doctrine, the correct use of the sacraments, selection of ministers and useful services, have been so much honored and confirmed, that we have no need of a council, nor can we hope or expect any thing better in these respects from a council. But in the various bishoprics we behold so many parishes entirely empty and deserted, that the heart of a good man must be almost crushed with grief. And yet neither the bishops nor the canonists regard how those wretched mortals live or die; and still Christ has died for them also, whose voice these poor men cannot hear, speaking as a true shepherd with his sheep. And this causes me very seriously to fear that Christ himself will convene a council of angels against Germany, by whom we may be utterly destroyed, like Sodom and Gomorrah, since even we sport so rashly with the name and the pretence of a council.

Besides these ecclesiastical matters so highly important, great abuses might also be corrected in our political condition, great discords of the princes and estates. Extortion and avarice have invaded us like a flood, and they have been defended under the sanction of law. Insolence, immorality, pride, extravagance and haughtiness in dress, excess, gaming, ostentation, a host of vices and crimes,

the wickedness and impudence of counterfeiters, the abduction of female servants, of mechanics, hirelings, countrymen, and their most iniquitous valuation when put up to sale, (and who can tell all?) have spread to such an extent that they could not be reformed by ten councils and twenty political elections.

If these abuses in church and state, which are perpetrated against God, should be discussed in a council, there would be abundant subjects for deliberation; nor would there be any necessity for jests and idle consultations about the long gown, vertical badges, razures, and tonsures, about broad belts and girdles, mitres, caps, cowls, staves, and similar vanities of the bishops and cardinals. If we had sufficiently pondered the will and the command of God in relation to the regulation of ecclesiastical and civil affairs, abundant time and opportunity would afterwards have been left for the reformation of diet, dress, of wax tapers, of razures, and of cells. But because we swallow camels, and at the same time strain out gnats, we neglect the beam, and search for the mote,—we are able to forget the council.

I have therefore written but few articles. For we have already enough of the commands of God in the church, in the state, at the domestic altar, which we shall never be able to observe completely. What benefit, then, can result from so great a number of decrees, traditions and laws in council, when the principal duties which God enjoins upon us, will not be regarded nor observed? Just as if God were forced to yield to our ridiculous fantasies, and to suffer, in the mean time, his holy commands to be trodden under foot. But our sins overburden us, nor do they permit God to be gracious, because we will not repent, and even we desire to defend every kind of abomination.

O Christ Jesus, our Lord! Convene a council thyself and there preside. Deliver us by thy glorious presence. Be the pope and the bishops the subjects of deliberation. They do not regard thee. Assist us, then, miserable and poor, who are groaning for thee, who are seeking thee from the heart, according to the grace which thou hast given to us, through the influence of the Holy Spirit who lives and reigns with thee and with the Father, blessed forever. Amen.

PART I.

CONCERNING THE EXALTED ARTICLES OF THE DIVINE MAJESTY.

I.

That the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in one divine essence and nature, three distinct persons, is one God, who made heaven and earth.

II.

That the Father is of no one, the Son is begotten of the Father, the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son.

III.

That neither the Father, nor the Holy Ghost, but the Son became man.

IV.

That the Son thus became man, by being conceived of the Holy Ghost, without the interposition of man, and being born of the pure, holy Virgin Mary: he afterwards suffered, died, was buried, descended into hell, rose from the dead, ascended to heaven, sits at the right hand of God, in future to judge the living and the dead, &c. as the Apostolical and Athanasian Symbols, and the smaller Catechism, teach.

There is no dispute nor contention about these articles, and inasmuch as both of our parties confess them, it is unnecessary now to treat further of them.

PART II.

OF THE ARTICLES WHICH CONCERN THE OFFICE AND WORK OF JESUS CHRIST, OR OUR REDEMPTION.

ARTICLE I.—THE CHIEF ARTICLE.

That Jesus Christ our God and our Lord died for our sins, and was raised again for our righteousness, Rom. 4, 25.

And he alone is the Lamb of God, who bears the sins of the world, John 1, 29. And God has laid the sins of us all on him, Isa. 53, 6.

Again, they are all sinners, and they are justified without merit, by his grace, through the redemption of Jesus Christ in his blood, &c., Rom. 3, 23, 24.

Inasmuch, then, as this must be believed, and since it cannot be obtained or comprehended otherwise by works, law, or merit, it is clear and certain, that such faith alone justifies us, as Paul, Rom. 3, 28, says: "Therefore we conclude, that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law." Again, verse 26, "That he might be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus."

Whatever event may happen, though heaven and earth may fall, nothing in this article can be yielded or rescinded. "For there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved," says Peter, Acts 4, 12. "And with his stripes we are healed," Isa. 53, 5. Upon this article depends all that we teach and do against the pope, the devil, and all the world. We must, therefore, be entirely certain of this, and not doubt, otherwise all will be lost, and the pope and the devil, and all that is against us, will prevail and obtain the victory.

ARTICLE II.—OF THE MASS.

That the mass under popery must be the greatest and most terrible abomination, since it is directly and strongly opposed to this chief article; and yet of all other papal idolatries it was the most embellished and applauded. For it was maintained that such offering, or work of the mass, even when performed by an artful knave, liberates men from sins, both in this life, and in purgatory,—a thing which the Lamb of God alone shall and must do, as already said. No part of this article can be yielded or rescinded; for the first article will not allow it.

And if there should be a rational papist any where, we might speak to him in the following friendly manner:—*First*, why do you still adhere so strenuously to the mass, since it is a mere human device, not commanded of God? And we may abandon all human devices, as Christ, Matt. 15, 9, says: "In vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."

Second, it is an unnecessary thing, which we can omit without sin or danger.

Third, we can obtain, according to the institution of Christ, the sacrament in a far better and a more delightful way, yes, in a way entirely more blissful. What use is it then for men to force the world into difficulty and misery, for the sake of a fictitious, useless advantage, when we can otherwise have it more happily and delightfully?

Let the doctrine be publicly preached to the people, that the mass as a human invention, may be left unobserved without sinning, and that no one who does not observe it will be condemned, but may

be saved without the mass through better means, we will venture to assert that the mass will then discontinue of itself; not only among the illiterate populace, but also among all pious, sincere, intelligent Christians; much more so, if they should hear that it is a dangerous thing, invented and devised without the word and will of God.

Fourth, inasmuch as this incalculable, inexpressible abuse in reference to the mercenary purposes to which the mass has been devoted, has obtained in all the world, it should justly be allowed to discontinue, for the purpose of restraining this abuse alone, even if the mass might have something useful and good in itself. How much rather, then, should we suffer it to cease, in order to prevent such abuse perpetually, since it is entirely unnecessary, useless, and dangerous, and since we can have every thing in a more necessary, useful, and indubitable condition without the mass.

Fifth, since the mass neither is nor can be any thing else,—as the canon and all the books declare,—but a work of man, (even of artful knaves,) by which each one individually, and others together with him, wish to reconcile themselves before God, and to merit and obtain grace and remission of sins; for to this intent it is held, when it is held in its best manner,—for what else should it be held?—we consequently should and must condemn and reject it. For this is directly in opposition to the chief article, which declares that neither a wicked nor a pious mass-servant with his work, but the Lamb of God and the Son of God, bears our sins.

And if any one for the purpose of making a pious appearance, should pretend that he would, for devotional exercises, give or administer the Lord's Supper to himself, there could be no sincerity in the presumption; for if he had a sincere desire to commune, it could be administered to him unhesitatingly and in the most appropriate manner in the sacrament, according to the institution of Christ. But for a person to administer the sacrament to himself, is a human presumption, uncertain and unnecessary as well as forbidden. Neither does he know what he is doing, since he, without the word of God, follows false conceptions and fantasies of men. Nor would it be right, if all else were unexceptionable, for one to use the common sacrament of the church according to his own caprice, and to sport with it at his pleasure, independent of the word of God, apart from the communion of the church.

This article concerning the mass will be the main and particular point in the council. For if it might be possible that they will yield to us in every other article, yet they cannot yield to us in this. As Campegius said at Augsburg: "He would rather permit himself to

be torn into pieces, than he would allow the mass to discontinue." So would I also rather, by the help of God, suffer myself to be reduced to ashes, than permit a mass-servant with his works, whether he be good or bad, to be equal or superior to my Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. Thus we are and remain eternally separated and opposed to each other. They truly feel, that if the mass falls, popery will cease; before they would suffer this to come to pass, they would put all of us to death, if it were possible.

Moreover, this dragon tail, the mass, has produced a multiplicity of abominations and idolatries.

First, purgatory. Here such a traffic was carried on with requiems, vigils, the seventh, thirteenth, and annual celebrations, and finally with the congregation-weeks and all-souls-day, and soul-bath in purgatory, that the mass was used almost for the dead alone; yet Christ instituted the sacrament for the living alone. Wherefore, purgatory, together with all its imposing aspects, its methods of worship, and its pretences, should be regarded as a satanical delusion. For it is likewise contrary to the doctrine of the chief article, that Christ alone and not the works of men, should help our souls. And besides this, there is nothing commanded us or enjoined concerning the dead. For this reason we may justly omit it, even if it were not erroneous or idolatrous.

Here the papists introduce Augustine and several Fathers, who, it is thought, have written concerning purgatory, under the impression that we do not perceive the purpose for which these passages are adduced. St. Augustine does not write that there is a purgatory, nor was there any Scripture to induce him to write to this effect, but he leaves it doubtful whether there is one; and he says: "His mother desired to be remembered at the altar and the sacrament." Now, all this indeed was nothing but the natural devotion of a single person, who established no article of faith,—a thing which pertains to God alone. But our papists introduce such declarations of men for the purpose of inducing men to place confidence in their shameful, execrable annual fair concerning the mass offered for souls in purgatory. Their opinions they will fall far short of proving by the writings of St. Augustine. But whenever they shall have abolished this purgatorial annual fair, of which St. Augustine never dreamed, then we shall confer with them whether St. Augustine's words independent of the Scripture, may be tolerated, and whether the dead should be remembered in the sacrament. For when men frame articles of faith out of the deeds or words of the holy Fathers, it is of no avail; for their manner of meats, clothing, houses, &c., would also thus become an

article of faith, as was the case with the sainted relics. But nought else but the word of God, not even an angel, can properly establish articles of faith.

Second, evil spirits, with deception and falsehood unutterable, have practised many artifices malignant and wicked, by appearing as the souls of persons, exacting masses, vigils, pilgrimages, and alms. This has been the result of these opinions. All of which we were compelled to observe as articles of faith, and to live according to their requisitions; and the pope confirmed these things, as well as he did the mass and all other abominations. Upon this point also we cannot yield, or concede any thing.

Third, pilgrimages. Here masses, remission of sins, and divine favors, are sought; for the mass has introduced all these. Now, it is undoubtedly certain that these pilgrimages, instituted without the word of God, are not enjoined upon us; nor are they necessary, while we can enjoy a better state of affairs, and since we may abandon them without sinning and incurring danger. Why, then, do men forsake their own preachers, the word of God, their wives and children, &c.,—the care of these being necessary and commanded,—and follow after useless, uncertain, and pernicious phantoms of the devil? Unless because the devil has prompted the pope to commend and confirm this procedure, in order that people, yes, multitudes, might fall from Christ, rely on their own works, and become idolatrous, which is its worst consequence, especially, as it is useless, unbidden, unadvised, and uncertain, as well as a pernicious evil. Upon this subject, therefore, we cannot yield or concede any thing. And let it be preached that such procedure is unnecessary as well as dangerous, and it shall then be seen in what estimation pilgrimages will stand.

Fourth, fraternities. Here the convents, canonries, and vicarages, have made over by writing, and conveyed by fair and lawful sale, all the masses, good works, &c., both for the living and the dead,—a transaction which is not merely a human contrivance, unsupported by the word of God, unbidden and useless, but repugnant also to the first article concerning redemption; therefore it can by no means be tolerated.

Fifth, relics of saints. Under this name the grossest falsehoods are circulated, and egregious impositions practised with preparations from the bones of domestic animals. An imposition so dishonest, worthy to excite even the derision of Satan, should long since have been exploded; and indeed if even *some* beneficial result had attended it, yet unadvised, unauthorized by the word of God, it

would still be utterly useless and unnecessary. But like the mass, this was its worst feature,—people were bound to believe it capable of securing pardon and the remission of sins.

Sixth, here indulgences present themselves, which are attributed both to the living and the dead, yet for money, for which this sacrilegious Judas, or the pope, sells the merits of Christ, together with the superfluous merits of all saints, and of the whole church. All of which cannot be tolerated, and it is likewise not only without the authority of God's word, and without an adequate motive or command, but it is also repugnant to the first article. For the merit of Christ cannot be obtained by our works or money, but by grace through faith, without any money or merit; not through the power of the pope, but through the preaching of the word of God, it is held forth and offered.

Of the invocation of saints.

The invocation of saints is also an antichristian abuse, repugnant to the first chief article, and destructive of the knowledge of Christ. It is likewise neither commanded nor advised, and is without example in Scripture. And all things are more abundantly offered unto us in Christ, so that we have no need for invocation of saints, even if there might be something good and precious connected with it, which, however, is not the fact.

And although angels in heaven pray for us, (as Christ himself also does,) and also saints on earth, or perhaps also in heaven; it still does not, however, follow that we should invoke angels and saints, adore them, fast on account of them, solemnize them, hold masses for them, sacrifice unto them, establish churches and altars to them, institute divine service to them, and serve them in other ways besides, regarding them as auxiliaries, attributing all manner of assistance to them, and assigning unto each one a particular office, as the papists teach and do; for this is idolatry, and such honor pertains to God alone. For you as a Christian and a saint, can pray for me here upon earth, not only in a single instance, but in every time of need. But I should not, therefore, invoke, adore, and solemnize you; fast, sacrifice, and hold masses, for your honor, and place upon you my faith unto salvation. I can otherwise truly honor, love, and thank you in Christ. Now, if such idolatrous worship of angels and dead saints, were abolished, other honors would be harmless, yes, soon forgotten. For if advantage and assistance, both temporal and spiritual, were no more to be expected, they would indeed leave the saints in peace, both in the grave and in

heaven; for gratuitously or through love, no one would either remember, esteem, or honor them much.

And in short, the mass itself, that which results from it, that which attaches to it, we cannot tolerate; and we must condemn it, in order that we may preserve the use and reception of the holy sacrament, through faith, pure and indubitable, according to the institution of Christ.

ARTICLE III.—OF INSTITUTIONS AND MONASTERIES.

The institutions and convents, heretofore established with good intentions, for the purpose of rearing learned persons, and chaste and modest females, should again be restored to this use, in order that we may have pastors, preachers, and other officers in the church, and other useful persons for civil government in cities and countries, and also well-bred virgins for the social ties and domestic offices.

Where these convents do not contribute to this object, it is better to leave them lying waste, or to pull them down, than that they should with their blasphemous services to God, devised by men, be regarded as something better than the common conditions of Christians, and as offices and orders instituted of God. For all this is also opposed to the first chief article concerning the redemption through Jesus Christ. And besides, they are also, like all other human inventions, neither commanded, nor necessary, nor useful, but dangerous and productive of vain labor and trouble, as the prophets call such services to God, *Aven*, that is, labor.

ARTICLE IV.—OF POPERY.

The pope is not *Jure divino*, or according to the word of God, the head of all Christianity, for this belongs to one alone, who is Jesus Christ; but he is only bishop, or parson of the church at Rome, and of others who have voluntarily, or through human authority, (that is, through the political magistracy,) joined themselves to him, not under him, as a lord, but equal with him, as brothers and companions, to be Christians, as the ancient councils and the age of St. Cyprian, show.

But now no bishop is allowed to call the pope brother, as was done in the days of Cyprian; but they, yes, even emperors and kings, must call him most gracious lord. This arrogance we cannot, with good conscience, nor will we, nor should we, approve. But whoever wishes to do so, may do it without consulting us.

Hence it followed, that all that the pope through this false, indiscreet, blasphemous, usurped power, has done and undertaken, has

been, and is still, mere diabolical actions and institutions, (excepting that which concerns political government, in which God, even through a tyrant and a knave, permits much good to be effected for a people,) to the perdition of the holy, universal, Christian church, (so far as it depended on him,) and to the destruction of the first chief article concerning the redemption secured by Jesus Christ.

For all his bulls and books are extant, in which he roars like a lion, (as the angel, Rev. 12, describes,) exclaiming that no Christian can be saved, unless he be obedient and subject to the pope in all things that he wishes, says, or does. All of which is nothing else but asserting, that if even you believe in Christ, and are in possession of all things in him that are essential to salvation, it avails nothing, and all is vain, if you do not hold me as your god, and are not subject and obedient to me. When at the same time it is evident, that the holy Christian church was without a pope, at least upwards of five hundred years; and even to this day the Greek church and those of many other languages, have never been, and are not now, under the pope. Consequently it is, as has been frequently said, a human device, unadvised, useless, and ineffectual; for the holy Christian church can exist without such head, and it might have existed in better circumstances, if such head had not been reared up by the devil. Nor is popery of any use in the church; for it exercises no Christian office, and thus the Christian church must continue and stand without the pope.

And I will suppose, that the pope would admit that he is not supreme *jure divino*, or according to the command of God, but in order that the union of Christians might be the more effectually preserved against sectarians and heretics, there should be a head to which all the others adhere. Such head then would be elected by men, and it would lie within human choice and power, to change or to remove that head. The council at Constance adopted nearly this same method with the popes, removing three, and electing the fourth. I would suppose then, I say, that the pope and the see at Rome, would admit and accept this, which however is impossible; for he would be compelled to permit his whole government and ecclesiastical establishment to be subverted and destroyed, with all his rites and books. In short, he cannot do it. Even then the condition of Christianity would not be amended by it, and there would be more sectarians than before.

If then, we are not compelled according to the command of God to be subject to such head, but only according to the good will of men, it would readily and in a short time be rejected, and finally not retain a single member. It would likewise not have to be

always at Rome, or at any other particular place, but where and in whatever church God would give a man who might be qualified for this purpose. This indeed would constitute an unlimited, perplexed, and confused state of affairs!

Therefore, the church can never be better governed and preserved, than by us all living under one head,—Christ,—the bishops being all equal with respect to their office, though unequal with respect to their endowments, and diligently adhering together in conformity of doctrine, faith, sacraments, prayer, and works of love, &c., as St. Jerome writes, that the priests at Alexandria ruled the church in one collective body; and so did the Apostles, and all bishops in the whole circle of Christianity, until the pope elevated his head above all.

This fact proves forcibly that he is opposed to Christ, or is the true Antichrist, who has set himself against, and elevated himself above Christ, since he will not permit Christians to be saved without his power; nothing of which, however, is either ordered or commanded of God. This may with propriety be termed setting ones self above and against God, as Paul, 2 Thess. 2, 4, says. Neither the Turk nor the Tartar act in this way, as atrocious enemies as they are to Christians; but they allow those to believe in Christ who wish to do so, and they accept tribute and corporeal obedience from Christians.

But the pope prohibits this faith, and says that men must be obedient to him, if they wish to be saved. This we are unwilling to do, but will rather die on account of it, in the name of God. All this has resulted from the compulsion of calling him the supreme ruler, (*jure divino,*) over the Christian church.. Therefore, he had to set himself equal with Christ, and above him, declaring himself the head, afterwards lord of the church, finally of the whole world; boasting himself purely a terrestrial god, till he even undertook to command the angels in heaven. And when a line of distinction is drawn between the doctrine of the pope, and that of the holy Scripture, or when they are held in comparison, it will appear that the pope's doctrine, even in its best features, is taken from imperial, pagan rights; and it teaches political affairs and jurisdiction, as his decretals prove. Accordingly, it teaches ceremonies concerning churches, vestments, meats, persons, and puerile plays of visors and foolish works without measure; but in all this there is nothing about Christ, faith, and the commandments of God.

Finally, it is nothing but the devil himself, when the pope in opposition to God, urges and disseminates his falsehoods concerning

masses, purgatory, monastic life, self-devised works, and services to God,—which constitute true popery,—and tortures and puts to death all Christians, who will not regard and honor this abomination of his above all things. Therefore, as little as we can adore the devil as a lord or God, so little can we tolerate his apostle, the pope or antichrist, in his kingdom as head and lord. For falsehood and murder, a destruction of body and soul eternally, is his papal government chiefly,—this I have shown in many of my books.

In these four articles they will have enough to condemn at the council; for they cannot and will not concede to us the least member of a single one of these articles. For this we must be prepared, and animate ourselves with the hope that Christ our Lord has assailed his adversaries, and will pursue them with his Spirit and with his judgment. Amen.

For at the council we shall not, as at Augsburg, stand before the Emperor, or temporal authority, who published a very gracious summons, and permitted matters to be investigated in kindness; but we shall stand before the pope and the devil himself, who does not intend to listen, but merely to condemn, to murder, and force us into idolatry. Therefore we dare not here kiss his feet, or say: You are my gracious lord; but as the angel in Zechariah, Zech. 3, 2, said: *God rebuke thee, Satan.*

PART III.

CONCERNING THE FOLLOWING POINTS OR ARTICLES, WE MAY TREAT WITH LEARNED, SENSIBLE MEN, OR AMONG OURSELVES. THE POPE AND HIS KINGDOM DO NOT CONCERN THEMSELVES MUCH ABOUT THEM. FOR WITH THEM CONSCIENCE IS A TRIFLING MATTER. BUT THE THINGS WHICH THEY ESTEEM ARE GOLD, HONOR, AND POWER.

I. OF SIN.

Here we must confess, as Paul says, Rom. 5, 12, that sin entered by one man, Adam, by whose disobedience all persons became sinners, subject to death and the devil. This is called hereditary, or original sin.

The fruits of this sin are the following evil deeds, forbidden in the decalogue; as, unbelief, false faith, idolatry, want of fear to God, arrogance, desperation, blindness; and in short, ignorance and disesteem of God; finally, falsehood, swearing by the name of God, indevotion, irreverence, disrespect for the word of God,

disobedience to parents, murder, incontinence, theft, fraud, &c.

This hereditary sin is a corruption of nature so deep and evil, that it cannot be understood by the reason of any man, but it must be believed from the revelation of Scripture, Psalm 51, 7, Rom. 5, 12, Exod. 33, 3, Gen. 3, 7. Therefore, the dogmas of the Schoolmen, are mere errors and blindness contrary to this article, in which it is taught:—

"That after the fall of Adam, the natural powers of man remained whole and uncorrupted, and man by nature has right reason and a good will, as philosophy teaches.

"And that man has freedom of will to do good, and to omit evil, and on the contrary, to omit good, and to do evil.

"Again, that man by his own natural powers, is able to observe and do all the commandments of God.

"And, that he is able by his own natural powers, to love God above all things, and his neighbor as himself.

"Again, if a person does as much as lies in his power, God will certainly grant him his grace.

"And if he wishes to approach the Eucharist, it is not necessary for him to have a good intention to do good, but it is sufficient for him not to have a bad intention to commit sin; so entirely good is nature, and so efficacious is the sacrament.

"Again, it is not founded in the Scripture, that the Holy Ghost with his grace, is necessarily required to a good work."

These and many other similar points, have originated from a misapprehension and ignorance both of sin and of Christ, our Savior, and they are real pagan doctrines, which we cannot tolerate. For if this doctrine should be right, Christ died in vain, since there is no injury or sin in man, for which he should die; or he would have died only for the body, and not also for the soul, since the soul is sound, and death is pernicious only to the body.

IL OF THE LAW.

Here we maintain that the law was given of God, first that sin might be prohibited by the menaces and terrors of punishment, and by the promises and annunciations of favors and beneficence. But all this on account of malice, which works sin in man, proved ineffectual. For some became worse on account of it, namely, those who were enemies to the law, because it forbids that which they freely do, and commands that which they do not freely perform. Wherefore, unless restrained by punishment, they do more now against the law than before. Those then are the rude, wicked peo-

ple, who commit evil, wherever occasion and opportunity permit.

Others become blind and arrogant, imagining that they observe, and are able to keep the law by their own powers, as said above in the quotation from the Schoolmen. Hence originate hypocrites and false saints.

But the principal office or energy of the law is, to reveal original sin with all its fruits, and to show unto man how entirely and deeply his nature has fallen, and how utterly and totally depraved it is; so that the law must say, that he has no God, nor regards him, adoring other gods,—things which he would not before, and without the law, have believed. On account of this, he is alarmed and humbled; he despairs and desponds; he anxiously desires help, and knows not from what source; he begins to become at enmity with God, and to murmur. Then, it may be said, *the law worketh wrath*, Rom. 4, 15; *sins become greater through the law*, Rom. 5, 13, 20.

III. OF REPENTANCE.

This office of the law the New Testament retains, and enforces, as Paul does, Rom. 1, 18, saying: "For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men." Again, chap. 3, verses 19 and 20: "That all the world may become guilty before God." And Christ, John 16, 9, says: "The Holy Ghost will reprove the world of sin."

This is, then, the thunder-bolt of God by which he prostrates both open sinners and pretended saints, and pronounces none of them just, but drives all of them into fear and desperation. This is the hammer, as Jeremiah, Jer. 23, 29, says: "Is not my word like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces." This is not *activa contritio*, an affected contrition, but *passiva contritio*, true sorrow of the heart, a passion and feeling of death.

And this is then a commencement of true repentance; and here man must hear such sentence: Your claims are nothing, whether you be notorious sinners, or saints in *your* opinion; you must all become otherwise and act otherwise than you now are and act, no matter who and how great, how wise, how powerful, and holy you may be, here no one is pious.

But to this office the New Testament instantly subjoins the consolatory promises of grace through the Gospel, which we should believe, as Christ, Mark 1, 15, says: "Repent ye, and believe the Gospel;" that is, become and act otherwise, and believe my promises. And before Christ, John was called a preacher of repentance,

however for remission of sins; that is, he should reprove all of them, and convict them of sin, so that they might know what they were in the sight of God, and recognize themselves as lost persons, and thus be prepared unto the Lord for the reception of grace, and to await and accept remission of sins from him. Thus Christ himself also, Luke 24, 47, says: "That repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations."

But wherever the law exercises this office alone without an annexation of the Gospel, *there* is death and hell, and man must despair, like Saul and Judas did, as Paul says, that the law puts to death through sins, Rom. 7, 8. On the contrary, the Gospel offers consolation and forgiveness, not only in one way, but through the word, the sacraments, and the like, as we shall hear; so that the redemption is indeed abundant with God,—as the 130th Psalm verse 7, says,—against the great oppression of sins.

But now we must contrast the false repentance of the sophists with true repentance, in order that both may be the better understood.

Of the false repentance of the papists.

Impossible was it, for them to teach correctly concerning repentance, because they did not perceive the true sins; for, as already said, they formed improper conceptions in reference to hereditary sin, asserting that the natural powers of man remained whole and uncorrupted, that reason is able to teach correctly, that the will can act according to it, and that God will certainly grant his grace, if a person does as much as lies in his power, according to his free will.

From this it must follow, that they repented only of actual sins; such as evil voluntary thoughts, (for evil emotions, lust, irritations, were not sins,) evil words, evil works, which the free will could easily have avoided.

And they allege that in this repentance there are three parts:—contrition, confession, and satisfaction or expiation; with this consolation and promise, that if a person truly repent, confess, and make satisfaction, he has merited remission by these acts, and made compensation for his sins in the sight of God. Thus they directed the people in repentance to a reliance on their own works. Hence originated this declaration on the pulpit,—when the common confession was declared to the populace:—"Prolong, Lord God, my days, till I repent of my sins and amend my life."

Here nothing was said in reference to Christ, and nothing was

mentioned concerning faith, but they hoped to overcome and exterminate their sins in the sight of God by their own works. With this view we also became priests and monks, so that we ourselves might resist sins.

This method was also adopted in contrition, inasmuch as no one could think of all his sins, (especially, of all that were committed during the whole year,) they subjoined this idle fallacy:—"If the sins which have escaped the memory, afterwards recur unto the mind, they must be repented for and confessed." In the mean time they were submitted to the grace of God.

Moreover, since no one knew the extent or quantity of contrition requisite as a sufficiency in the sight of God, they gave this consolation:—Whoever cannot have *contritionem*, that is contrition, should have attrition, which we may term a half, or a commencement of contrition; for they did not understand either of these themselves, and even now know as little what they imply as I do. Such attrition was, then, accounted contrition, in coming to confession.

And when it so happened, that one said he could not have contrition, or sorrow for his sins, as might happen in profligate affection, or revenge, &c., they asked whether he did not wish, or freely desire, that he might have contrition? He then said, *yes;* for who would say *no* in this case? would the devil himself? Then they received this contrition, and remitted his sins on account of this his good work. Here they alleged the example of St. Bernard.

Here we see how the blind reason of men gropes in divine things, and seeks consolation in their own works according to their fancies, without being able to think of Christ or faith. When we view these things perspicuously, such contrition is an affected and devised thought from man's own powers, without faith, without a knowledge of Christ; and in this contrition the poor sinner, when thinking of lust or revenge, would at times rather have laughed than mourned, excepting those who were really smitten by the law, or vainly afflicted by the devil with pensive minds; otherwise this contrition was really nothing but hypocrisy, and it did not mortify the lust of sin. For they were compelled to affect contrition, but if it had been left to their own choice, they would rather have sinned more.

This was the course pursued in confession: each one was compelled to enumerate all his sins,—which is a thing impossible,—this was a severe embarrassment; but those sins which had escaped his memory were remitted unto him so far, that if they recurred to him, he

must still confess them. In this way he could never know when he had confessed sufficiently, or when his confession should once have terminated; he was nevertheless referred to his own works, and thus consoled: namely, that the more completely he confessed, and the more he became ashamed, and the more he thus debased himself before the priests, the sooner and the better he made satisfaction for sins, and that such humility certainly merits an impartation of God's grace.

Here there was neither faith nor Christ. The virtue of absolution was not explained to him; but his consolation consisted in the enumeration of sins and in abasement. But the torture, fraud, and idolatry, resulting from this confession, cannot be related.

Satisfaction or expiation is by far the most perplexing; for no person could know how much he should do for one sin alone, much less for all. Here they resorted to an artifice, namely, by imposing a small satisfaction which could be easily observed, as five *Paternosters*, one day's fasting, &c., in other respects, which they said were required in repentance, they referred them to purgatory.

This was also productive of great distress. For some thought that they never should be liberated from purgatory, because according to the ancient canons a repentance of seven years was assigned for one fatal sin; and yet our dependance rested on our work of satisfaction; and if the satisfaction could have been complete, the dependance would have rested wholly upon it, and neither faith nor Christ would have been necessary,—but this was impossible. Now, if one had thus exercised penance a hundred years, he still could not have known when he would have effected a perfect and final penitence. This is perpetually repenting, and never arriving at repentance.

Here then, the holy see of Rome came to the assistance of the miserable church, and devised indulgences, in which he remitted and arrested the satisfaction or expiation, first particularly, for seven years, a hundred years, &c., and distributed them among the cardinals and bishops, so that one could grant indulgence for a hundred years, another for a hundred days. But the power of relaxing the total satisfaction, he reserved to himself.

Now, when this began to increase the pecuniary interests, and the fair of bulls became profitable, he devised the golden year, (*Gülden-Jahr,*) which he wished to celebrate at Rome. This he called a remission of all crimes and punishments. Thither the people flocked; for every one ardently desired to be relieved of his oppressive and intolerable burden. This was finding and heaving

up the treasure of the earth. Immediately the pope hastened further, and multiplied many golden years, one upon another; but the more money he swallowed, the wider his throat became.

He therefore, afterwards sent out through the agency of his legates those years, till all churches and houses were filled with golden years. Finally, he rushed into purgatory among the dead also, first by instituting masses and vigils, afterwards with indulgences and golden years; and at last souls became so cheap, that he liberated one for a groat.

Still all this availed nothing. For the pope, though he taught the people to depend and rely on these indulgences, he still however rendered it doubtful again; for he asserted in his bulls, that whoever wished to be a partaker of indulgences or golden years, should have attained contrition, made confession, and contributed money. Now, we have already heard that the contrition and confession of those are doubtful and hypocritical. For no one knew which souls might be in purgatory; and if there might be some in it, no one knew which had repented and confessed correctly. Thus he took the beloved money, and in the mean time consoled them by his power and indulgence, and still referred them again to their uncertain works.

Now, where there were some, who did not conceive themselves guilty of these actual sins in thoughts, words, and actions, as I and my equals in monasteries and institutions, the monks and priests, wished to be, who by fasting, prayer, watching, holding of masses, rough clothing, hard couches, &c., strove against evil thoughts, and with earnestness and fervency desired to be holy; and yet the hereditary, innate evil sometimes without our being conscious of it, (as St. Augustine and Jerome with others confess,) exercised its nature; still we mutually held, as we taught, that there were some so holy,—those who were without sin, and full of good works—that we under this view, imparted and sold to others our superfluous good works, in contributing to their salvation. This is indeed true, and there are seals, letters, and examples to this effect, at hand.

These had no need of repentance. For, why should there be contrition in them, since they did not consent to evil thoughts? What would they confess, since they avoided words? For what purpose would they make satisfaction, since they were innocent of the deed, so that they could even sell their supererogatory righteousness to other poor sinners? Saints like these were also the Pharisees and Scribes in the time of Christ.

Here the fiery angel, St. John, appears, who is the true preacher of repentance, and with one word, as with a clap of thunder, prostrates both together, (the buyers and venders of works,) saying: "Repent," Matt. 3, 8. The former think, "we have surely repented," the latter, "we need no repentance." But John says both of you need repentance; for your penitence is false; and *they* are false saints, and both you and they need remission of sins, since neither you nor they yet know what real sin is, much less, that you should have repented or avoided it. Neither you nor they are good, *you* are full of unbelief, indiscretion, and ignorance concerning God and his will; for here he is present, *of whose fulness we must all receive, and grace for grace,* John 1, 16; and no man can be justified in the sight of God without him. Therefore, if you wish to repent, repent truly; *your* repentance avails nothing. And *you* hypocrites you who need no repentance, you "generation of vipers, who hath warned *you* to flee from the wrath to come?" &c. Matt. 3, 7.

In like manner St. Paul also preaches, Rom. 3, 10, 11, 12, saying: "There is none righteous, no, not one: there is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God. They are all gone out of the way, they are altogether become unprofitable; there is none that doeth good, no, not one." And Acts, 17, 30: "But now God commandeth all men every where to repent." All men, says he,—no one excepted, who is a rational being. This repentance enables us to perceive our sins,—to perceive that in us who are all in a state of perdition, there is nothing good, and that we must become new and different persons entirely.

This repentance is not partial and imperfect like the one in which actual sins are deplored, nor is it uncertain like that, for it does not dispute which are sins or which are not sins; but it prostrates all together, and says, that in us, all is sinful and intrinsically corrupt. Why should we long seek to make divisions and distinctions? For this reason the contrition here is also not uncertain. For nothing remains here, in which we might perceive something good to expiate for sins, but an entire despondency of hope in all that we are, think, say, or do.

In this manner then it is also impossible for the confession to be false, dubitable, or partial. For whoever confesses that all within him is intrinsically sinful, comprehends all sins, excludes none, and forgets none. Thus the expiation or satisfaction can also not be doubtful; for it is not our uncertain, sinful works, but the suffering and blood of the innocent Lamb of God who bears the sins of the world, that make this satisfaction.

Concerning this repentance John preached, and afterwards Christ in the Gospel, and we also. With this repentance we shall subvert the pope and all that is based on the good works of men. For all that is called good works or law is built on a rotten, vain foundation, when at the same time there are no good works present, but evil works entirely. And no one keeps the law, as Christ, John 7, 19, says, but all have transgressed. This fabrication is, therefore, nothing but falsehood and hypocrisy, even in its most holy and beautiful features.

And this repentance continues with Christians till death; for it strives with the sins remaining in the flesh during the whole course of life, as Paul, Rom. 7, 23, testifies, that he struggles with the law of his members, &c.; and this he does not by his own strength, but through the gifts of the Holy Spirit, which follow after the remission of sins. These gift purify and expel the remaining sins daily, and labor to make the person upright, pure, and holy.

Concerning this, neither pope, theologians, jurists, nor any other class of men know any thing from their own reason, but it is a doctrine from heaven, revealed through the Gospel, and must be called heresy by the ungodly.

If, moreover, certain factious persons should rise up, as there may perhaps be some already present, and as at the time of the sedition men came before my own eyes, maintaining that all those who once had received the Spirit or remission of sins, or had obtained faith, if they afterwards committed sins, still however remained in faith, and that such sins do not injure them; and thus exclaiming: "Do whatever you will, it does you no injury, faith exterminates all sins," &c. And who add: "If any one, after having received faith and the Spirit, sins, he did not truly have the Spirit and faith." Many insane persons like these have I seen and heard, and I fear that such demon still exists in some.

It is, for this reason, necessary to know and to teach that if holy people, who still have and feel hereditary sin, and daily repent of, and strive against it, at some time fall into open sins,—like David who fell into adultery, murder, and blasphemy,—faith and the Holy Spirit were not present at the time. For in the presence of the Holy Spirit sin cannot rule, prevail or be perpetrated, but is repressed and restrained from accomplishing its purposes. If it, however, accomplishes these purposes, faith and the Holy Spirit are not present at the time; for it is as St. John, 1 John, 3, 9, says: "Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin, and he cannot sin." And yet it is also true, as St.

John further writes, "If we say that we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us," 1 John, 1, 10.

IV. OF THE GOSPEL.

We shall now return to the Gospel, which affords us not only one and the same means, counsel, and assistance, in opposition to sins; for God is superabundantly rich in his grace and favors:—*First*, through the oral word, in which is preached remission of sins in all the world, and this is properly the office of the Gospel; *second*, through baptism; *third*, through the holy sacrament of the altar; *fourth*, through the power of the keys, and also through the mutual conference and admonition of brethren, Matt. 18, 20: "Where two or three are gathered together," &c.

V. OF BAPTISM.

Baptism is nothing else, but the word of God connected with water, commanded through his institution, or as St. Paul says: "A washing of water, by the word," Eph. 5, 26; also as Augustine says: "The word is added to the element, and becomes a sacrament." And for this reason we cannot hold with Thomas and the Dominicans, who forgetting the word and God's institution, say: "God has placed a spiritual power in the water, which washes away sins through the water." Nor can we agree with Scot and the Franciscans, who teach that baptism washes away sins through the assistance of the divine will; thereby asserting that this washing away comes to pass, alone through the will of God, and not at all through the word or water.

Concerning infant baptism we hold that children should be baptized; for they also belong to the promised redemption effected through Christ; and the church shall administer it to them.

VI. OF THE SACRAMENT OF THE ALTAR.

Concerning the sacrament of the altar, we hold that bread and wine in the Eucharist,* are the true body and blood of Christ, and are administered and received not only by pious, but also by impious Christians.

*In treating on this subject, in the twentieth vol. of his works, by Walch, page 1293, sec. 347, 348, 349, Dr. Luther says:—"In the fourth place, the Evangelists write that the Holy Spirit descended upon Christ in the form of a dove in Jordan, John 1, 32; again, that he came upon the disciples in the form of winds and fiery tongues on the day of Pentecost, Acts 2, 2; again, on mount Tabor, in the form

And we hold that more than *one* element should be administered. And we have no need of the transcendental refinement which teaches us, that there is as much in one element as in both, as the sophists and the council at Constance teach us. For even if it were true that there is as much in one element as in both, still the one element is not the whole order and institution established and commanded by Christ. And especially do we condemn and imprecate in the name of God those who do not only omit the second element, but also very imperiously forbid, condemn, and calumniate it as heresy, and thus place themselves against and above Christ, our Lord and God.

Concerning transubstantiation, we do by no means regard the subtile sophistry, in which they teach that bread and wine part with, or lose their natural essence, the form and color only remaining, but are no longer real bread and wine; for it corresponds best with the Scripture, that bread is and remains here, as St. Paul himself calls it, "The bread which we break," 1 Cor. 10, 16. "And so let him eat of that bread," 1 Cor. 11, 28.

VII. OF THE KEYS.

The keys are an office and a power of the church, given by Christ, to bind and to loose sins, not only enormous and manifest, but also subtile and secret sins, which God alone perceives; as it is written in the 19th Psalm, verse 12: "Who can understand his errors?" And St. Paul, Rom. 7, 25, complains: "That with the flesh he

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of a cloud, Matt. 17, 5. Here Wickliffe and the sophists may philosophize and assert, that this dove is without the Holy Spirit, or that the Holy Spirit is without the dove. We say in opposition to both propositions, that if reference is had to the dove, it is correctly and appropriately said, this is the Holy Spirit; because here the two different essences, as Spirit and dove, are also, in some manner, one essence, not natural or personal. Well! they are a like formal union, because the Holy Spirit desired to reveal himself in such form. And here the Scripture declares freely that whoever sees such dove, sees the Holy Spirit, as John, John 1, 33, says: 'Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending, and remaining on him,' &c.

"Why then should we not also much rather say in the Eucharist: this is my body, even if bread and body are two different essences, and construe the word *this* to the bread? For here also has taken place a union out of two kinds of essence: this I shall call sacramental union, because Christ's body and bread are given to us there for a sacrament. For it is not a natural or personal union, as in Christ; so it is also perhaps a different union to that which the dove has with the Holy Spirit, and the flame, with the angel: nevertheless, it is indeed a sacramental union.

"For this reason, it is correctly said, that, if we point to the bread, and say, this is the body of Christ, and whoever sees this bread, sees the body of Christ; precisely as John says, that he saw the Holy Spirit, when he saw the dove," &c.—TRANS.

serves the law of sin." For it does not lie within our power, but in that of God alone, to judge which are sins, their enormity and quantity; as it is written in the 143d Psalm, verse 2: "Enter not into judgment with thy servant: for in thy sight shall no man living be justified." And Paul, 1 Cor. 4, 4, also says: "For I know nothing by myself; yet am I not hereby justified."

VIII. OF CONFESSION.

Since absolution or the power of the keys, instituted in the Gospel by Christ, affords comfort and support against sin and an evil conscience, confession or absolution shall by no means be abolished in the church, especially, on account of weak and timid consciences, and also on account of untutored youth, in order that they may be examined and instructed in the Christian doctrine.

But the enumeration of sins should be free to every one, to enumerate, or not to enumerate, such as he wishes; for while we are in the flesh, we shall not falsify ourselves, if we say, we are miserable persons, full of sins. Rom. 7, 23: "I see another law in my members," &c. And since *absolutio privata* results from the office of the keys, it should not be contemned, but it should be regarded high and valuable, like all other offices of the Christian church.

And in respect to those points, which touch the oral, external word, we should maintain firmly, that God grants his Spirit or grace to no one, unless through or with the preceding, external word. Thus we shall fortify ourselves against the enthusiasts, that is, spirits who boast of being in possession of the Spirit, without and prior to the word, and accordingly judge, explain, and distort the Scripture or the oral word at their pleasure, as Münzer did, and many others still do at the present day, who wish to be keen judges between the Spirit and the letter, but know not what they say or resolve. For popery is also a mere enthusiasm, in which the pope boasts, that all rights are in the shrine of his heart, and whatever he judges and commands in his church, must be Spirit and right, even if it is contrary to the Scripture, or the oral word.

All this is the ancient Satan and serpent, who made enthusiasts of Adam and Eve, leading them from the external word to spirituality and self-conceit, and did it however also by external words. Precisely as our enthusiasts condemn this external word, and yet they themselves do not keep silence, but fill the world with garulity and contentions, as if the Spirit could not approach through the Scripture or the oral word of the Apostles, but that through their writing and words he must come. Why then do they not also permit their own

preaching and writings to be deferred, till the Spirit himself enters into the people without and prior to their writing, as they boast, that he entered into them without the preaching of the Gospel? Here we have not time further to dispute concerning this subject; we have sufficiently urged it in other places.

For those also, who believed prior to their baptism, or who in their baptism began to believe, have obtained faith through the external, preceding word: as adults, for instance, must previously have heard that he who believes and is baptized, shall be saved, even if he does not believe at first, and ten years afterwards receives the Spirit and baptism. Cornelius, Acts 10, had heard long before among the Jews, of the future Messiah, through whom he was justified in the sight of God; and his prayer and alms were accepted in this faith, as Luke calls him just and pious, and not without such preceding word or hearing could he believe or be justified. But St. Peter had to reveal unto him that this Messiah, in whom he had hitherto believed as yet to come, had now come, so that his faith concerning the future Messiah might not hold him captive among the obdurate, unbelieving Jews; but that he might know, that he must now be saved through the present Messiah, and not deny or reject him with the Jews.

In short, enthusiasm has infected and will infect Adam and his posterity, from the beginning of the world to its end, implanted and infused by the old Dragon with his venom; and it is the source of every species of heresy, even the spring, the might, and the power of popery and Mahometanism. We should and must, therefore, constantly maintain that God will not confer with us frail beings, unless through his external word and sacraments. But all that is boasted of, independent of such word and sacrament, in reference to Spirit, is criminal. For God desired first to appear to Moses, through a burning bush and the oral word; and no prophet, neither Elijah nor Elisha, independent of, or without the ten commandments, received the Spirit. Neither was John the Baptist conceived without the preceding words of Gabriel, nor did he leap in his mother's womb without the voice of Mary. And St. Peter, 2 Pet. 1, 21, says: "The prophecy came not in old time by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." But without the external word they were not holy, much less were they, as still unholy, impelled by the Holy Ghost to speak; for they were holy, says Peter, when the Holy Spirit spoke through them.

IX. OF EXCOMMUNICATION.

The *greater excommunication*, as the pope denominates it, we re-

gard as a mere civil punishment, and it does not pertain to us ministers of the church; but the *less*, that is, the true Christian excommunication, is, not to admit manifest and obstinate sinners to come to the sacrament, or to other communion of the church, till they amend their lives and avoid wickedness. And the preacher should not intermingle civil punishment with this spiritual chastisement or excommunication.

X. OF CONSECRATION AND VOCATION.

If the bishops would faithfully discharge their office, and manifest care for the church and the Gospel, they might, for the sake of charity and tranquillity, not however from necessity, be allowed the privilege to ordain and confirm us and our preachers: yet with this condition, that every larve and apparition of unchristian procedure and vanity, should be removed. But since they neither are nor wish to be true bishops, but political lords and princes, who will neither preach nor teach, nor baptize, nor administer the sacrament, nor transact any work or office in the church, but force, persecute, and condemn those who are called to this office, the church must not, however, for their sake, remain destitute of ministers.

For this reason, as the ancient examples of the church and of the Fathers teach us, we ourselves will and should ordain suitable persons to this office. And they have no right either to forbid or to prevent us to do it, even according to their own law; for their laws say, that those who are ordained even by heretics, shall be considered, and remain ordained. Precisely as St. Jerome writes concerning the church at Alexandria, that it was first ruled in common by bishops, priests, and preachers.

XI. OF THE MARRIAGE OF PRIESTS.

Their prohibition of marriage, and their imposition of perpetual continence on the divine order of priests, they have effected without legal authority; and in this they have acted like antichristian, tyrannical, desperate knaves, and have given cause for horrible, abominable, incalculable sins of incontinence, in which they still persist. As little as the power is given to us or to them to constitute out of a male a female, or out of a female a male, or to annihilate both, so little had they power to dissolve or forbid such creature of God, so that they should not live together honorably in a state of matrimony. We shall, therefore, not consent to their obscene celibacy, or tolerate

it; but marriage shall be free, as God has ordained and constituted it; and we shall not impair, or impede his work; for St. Paul says, *it is a doctrine of the devil*, 1 Tim. 4, 1–3.

XII. OF THE CHURCH.

We do not grant to them that they are the church, and they are not the church; and we shall likewise not listen to that which they command or forbid in the name of the church. For, praise be to God, a child of seven years old knows what the church is, namely, the saints, the believers, and the lambs who hear the voice of their shepherd. For thus the children pray: "I believe in one holy Christian church." This holiness does not consist in surplices, bald heads, long gowns, and in other ceremonies, devised by themselves, independent of the holy Scripture; but in the word of God and in true faith.

XIII. OF THE MANNER IN WHICH WE ARE JUSTIFIED BEFORE GOD, AND OF GOOD WORKS.

That which I have hitherto and continually taught concerning this subject, I cannot change in the least; namely, that through faith we obtain (as Peter says, Acts 15, 9) another, a new, pure heart; and God, for the sake of Christ our Mediator, reputes and will repute us as entirely just and holy; although the sins in the flesh are not yet altogether removed or mortified, yet he will not impute them to us, or remember them.

And after this remission of sins, this faith, and renovation, good works follow. And whatever is sinful and imperfect in us, shall not be accounted as sin or imperfection, even for the sake of this same Christ; but we shall, both as to our person and our works, be called and *be* entirely just and holy, through pure grace and mercy in Christ, effused, expanded, and amplified over us. For this reason we cannot boast much of merit and work, if they are viewed apart from grace and mercy; but as it is written 1 Cor. 1, 31: "He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord," that is, that he has a gracious God,—thus it is all good. We also further state, that if good works do not follow, faith is false and improper.

XIV. OF MONASTIC VOWS.

Inasmuch as monastic vows strive directly against the first chief article, they shall be utterly abolished; for they are that concerning which Christ, Matt. 24, 25, says: "I am Christ," &c. For who-

ever commends monastic life, believes that he pursues a better course of life than the common Christian does, and wishes by his works to merit heaven not only for himself, but also for others; this is denying Christ. And they refer to St. Thomas, and boast that monastic vows are equal to baptism: this is a blasphemy against God.

XV. OF HUMAN ORDINANCES.

The assertion of the papists, that human ordinances contribute to remission of sins, or merit salvation, is unchristian and condemned, as Christ, Matt. 15, 9, says: "In vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men," and Tit. 1, 14, "that turn from the truth." Again, their assertion, that it is a fatal sin to break such ordinances, is also incorrect.

These are the articles, upon which, through the will of God, I *must* stand, and *will* stand, till my death. And I know nothing in them to alter, or to concede. But if any one will concede any thing, he does it at the peril of his own conscience.

Finally, the juggling tricks of the pope still remain, concerning foolish and puerile articles; as, concerning the consecration of churches, the baptism of bells and altars, and appointing sponsors for this purpose of those who contribute to it. This baptism, which should not be tolerated, is a contumely and a derision of holy baptism.

Further, as concerning the consecration of tapers, palms, bunns, oats, spices, &c., which, however, cannot be called consecration, but are a mere mock and deception, such delusive performances we commit to the pope, which his adherents may adore till they are weary; from all which we shall keep ourselves entirely aloof.

Dr. M. Luther, subscribed.

Dr. Justus Jonas, the Rector, subscribed with his own hand.

Dr. John Bugenhagen of Pomerania, subscribed.

Dr. Caspar Croitzig, subscribed.

Nicholas Amsdorf of Magdeburg, subscribed.

George Spalatin of Aldeburg, subscribed.

I, Philip Melancthon, approve the foregoing Articles as pious and Christian. But in reference to the pope, I hold, that if he would tolerate the Gospel, the supremacy over bishops might, for the sake of peace and the general tranquillity of those Christians who are now, and will be hereafter, under his authority, be granted him by us; which he has by human right continued to exercise over the bishops.

John Agricola of Eisleben, subscribed.

Gabriel Dydimus, subscribed.

I, Dr. Urban Regius, superintendent of the churches in the dukedom of Luneburg, subscribe in my own name and in the names of my brothers, and of the church at Hanopher.

I, Stephen Agricola, minister at Curien, subscribe.

I, John Dracon, professor and minister at Marburg, subscribe.

I, Conrad Feigenbotz, for the glory of God here testify that I have thus believed, and I promise and trust I shall hereafter thus believe.

I, Andrew Osiander, minister at Nuremburg, subscribe.

I, M. Vitus Dietrich, minister at Noriburg, subscribe.

I, Edward Schnepf, preacher at Stutgard, subscribe.

Conrad Otinger, preacher of duke Ulric at Phorcen.

Simon Schneweis, parishioner of the church in Crailsheim.

I, John Schlaginhauffen, pastor of the church at Coten, subscribe.

Mr. George Heltus of Forchen.

Adam of Fulda.
Anthony Corvinus. } Swiss preachers.

I, Dr. John Bugenhagen of Pomerania, again subscribe in the name of Mr. John Brentius, as on leaving Smalcald, he directed me verbally and in writing, which I have shown to these brethren who have subscribed.

I, Dionysius Melander subscribe to the Confession, the Apology, and the Form of Concord on the subject of the Sacrament.

Paul Rhode, superintendent of Stetin.

Gerard Oenice, superintendent of the church in Minden.

I, Briccius of Northan, minister of the church of Christ which is at Susatum, subscribe to the articles of the Rev. father, M. Luther, and confess that I have thus believed and taught, and by the Spirit of Christ, I will continue thus to believe and to teach.

Michael Coelius, minister at Mansfelden, subscribed.

Mr. Peter Geltner, minister at Frankfort, subscribed.

Wendal Faber, parishioner at Seburg in Mansfeldia.

I, John Aepinus, subscribe.

I, John Amsterdam of Bremen, subscribe.

I, Frederic Mycon of Gotha, pastor of the church of Thuringia, subscribe in my name and that of Justus Menius of Isenach.

I, Dr. John Long, minister of the church at Erfurt, subscribe in my own name and of my coadjutors in the Gospel, namely:

The licentiate L. Platzis Mehosing.

Mr. Sigismund Kirchner.

Mr. Wolfgang Kismet.

Mr. Melchor Weitman.
Mr. John Tall.
Mr. John Kilian.
Mr. Nicholas Faber.
Mr. Andrew Menser,—I subscribe with my own hand.
I, Egid Mechler,—have subscribed with my own hand.

APPENDIX TO THE ARTICLES OF SMALCALD,

WRITTEN BY

THE THEOLOGIANS ASSEMBLED AT SMALCALD,

A. D. 1537.

OF THE POWER AND PRIMACY OF THE POPE.

First, the pope arrogates to himself, that he is according to divine right, supreme over all other bishops and pastors in the whole circle of Christianity.

Second, he adds that according to divine right he has *both* swords, that is, he has authority to enthrone and dethrone kings, to ordain civil kingdoms, &c.

Third, he says that we are under obligation to believe this at the hazard of everlasting salvation. And these are the reasons for which the pope calls and presumes himself the vicar of Christ on earth.

These three articles, we hold and know to be false, impious, tyrannical, and wholly pernicious to the Christian church. In order, then, that our positions and views may be the more clearly understood, we shall first show what his assumption is in which he boasts that he is supreme according to divine right. For thus they understand it, that the pope is over the common bishops of the universal Christian church, and as they call it, *Oecumenicus Episcopus*, that is, by whom all bishops throughout the world should be ordained and confirmed, and who alone has authority to choose, to ordain, to confirm, and to establish all bishops and pastors.

To himself, moreover, he assumes authority to enact various laws concerning divine services, alteration of sacraments, and doctrine, desiring us to regard his statutes and ordinances equal to articles of

Christian faith and to the holy Scripture, as if they could not be neglected without sin. For he wishes to base this power on divine right and the holy Scripture; yes, he wishes us to prefer it to the holy Scripture and the commandments of God; and what is still more atrocious, he adds further, that all this shall and must be believed at the hazard of everlasting salvation.

We shall therefore, in the first place show from the holy Gospel, that the pope can assume no authority at all over other bishops and pastors, according to divine right.

I.—Luke, 22, 24, 25, 26, Christ forbids, in clear and express terms, one Apostle to have any authority over the others; for even this was the inquiry among the disciples when Christ had spoken relative to his sufferings, they disputed among themselves who should be lord among them and future vicar of Christ after his death. But Christ reprehended this error of the Apostles, and taught them that there should be no authority and superiority among them, but that they should be apostles alike, and preach the Gospel in equal office. For this reason he also says: "The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors. But ye shall not be so: but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve." Hence it appears, on examination, that he desired no lordship among the Apostles.

II.—This clearly appears also from the similitude, Matt. 18, 2, in which Christ, on a similar disputation concerning dominion, set a young child in the midst of the Apostles for the purpose of showing, that, as a child neither desires nor assumes any dominion, so also the Apostles and all who should minister the word, should neither seek nor use authority.

III.—John, 20, 21, Christ sent his disciples *alike* to the office of the ministry, without any distinction, that one should have either more or less power than another. For thus he says: "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you." These words are clear and explicit, that he so sent each one, as he was sent. Here indeed no one can assume a special prerogative or power in preference to, and above the others.

IV.—Gal. 2, 7, 8, the holy apostle Paul testifies clearly that he was neither ordained nor confirmed and established by Peter; nor does he in any way acknowledge Peter as if he should have been confirmed by him; and especially does he strive against the idea that his call is dependent or based on the power of St. Peter, in any respect. Now he should indeed have acknowledged Peter as a su-

perior, if Peter had otherwise received such primacy from Christ, as the pope presumes without any grounds. For this reason Paul also says, that he freely preached the Gospel a long time before he consulted with Peter and the other Apostles about it. Again, he says: "But of those who seemed to be somewhat, whatsoever they were, it maketh no matter to me: God accepteth no man's person: for they who seemed to be somewhat in conference added nothing to me," Gal. 2, 6. Since, then, Paul clearly testifies that he did not solicit Peter to license him to preach, even when he came to him last, we have an indubitable doctrine that the office of the ministry originates from a common call of the Apostles, and it is not necessary for all to have a call and confirmation of this one person Peter.

V.—1 Cor. 3, 5, 6, 7, Paul equalizes all the ministers of the church, and teaches that the church is greater than its servants. For this reason no one can assert with truth that Peter had any primacy or power superior to other Apostles, or over the church and all other ministers. For thus he says: "All things are yours: whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas," 1 Cor. 3, 21, 22; that is, neither Peter nor other ministers of the word, have a right to assume to themselves power or superiority over the church. No one shall encumber the church with his own ordinances, and no one's power or reputation shall avail more than the word of God. We dare not extol the power of Cephas higher than that of the other Apostles, as they were accustomed to argue at that time, saying, Cephas observes it, who is the chief Apostle, therefore Paul and others must thus also observe it. No, says Paul, and refutes the pretence, that Peters's reputation and authority should be superior to that of the other Apostles, or of the church.

From history.

VI.—The council at Nice resolved, that the bishop at Alexandria should provide for the churches in the east, and the bishop at Rome, for those which belonged to the provinces of Rome in the west. Here the Roman bishop's power first increased, not by divine, but by human right, as it was resolved in the council at Nice. Now, if the Roman bishop was the highest, according to divine right, the council at Nice had no right to divest him of this power, and to confer it upon the bishop at Alexandria. Yes, all the bishops in the east should have perpetually desired that the bishop at Rome had ordained and confirmed them.

VII.—Again, it was resolved in the council at Nice, that each church should choose for itself a bishop in the presence of one or

more bishops, living in the vicinity. This practice was observed for a long time, not only in the east, but also in other, and Latin churches, as it is clearly expressed in the writings of Cyprian and Augustine. For thus says Cyprian in *Epist.* 4. *ad Cornelium:* "For this reason, we should diligently hold according to the command of God and the usage of the Apostles, as it is observed among us, and in nearly all countries, that the bishops living in the adjoining provinces, should assemble at the congregation in which a bishop is to be chosen, and in the presence of the whole congregation, who know the walk and conduct of each one, the bishop shall be chosen; as we see it was done in the election of Sabinius, our colleague, who according to the choice of the whole congregation and the counsel of several bishops who were present, was elected to the office of bishop, and the hands were laid on him," &c.

This mode Cyprian calls a divine mode and an Apostolic usage, and he affirms that it was thus observed nearly in all countries at that time.

Inasmuch, then, as neither *ordination* nor *confirmation* was at that time sought from the bishop at Rome, in a great portion of the world, in all the churches of the Greeks and Latins, it is clear that the church did not at that time attribute such superiority and dominion to the bishop at Rome.

Such superiority and dominion are wholly and utterly impossible. For how could it be possible that one bishop should provide for all churches in the whole circle of Christianity, or that the churches, situated far from Rome, could have all their ministers of the church ordained by one alone.

For, it is indeed evident that the kingdom of Christ is dispersed throughout the world; and there are also still at the present day many Christian congregations of the churches in the east, who are in possession of ministers neither ordained nor confirmed by the pope or his adherents. Now, since such superiority, which the pope has arrogated to himself contrary to all Scripture, is wholly and utterly impossible, and since the churches in a great part of the world, have neither acknowledged nor employed the pope as such lord, it is clearly perceived that this superiority was not instituted by Christ, and that it does not proceed from divine right.

VIII.—In former times there were many councils proclaimed and held, in which the bishop at Rome did not preside as the highest; as for instance, at Nice, and in other places besides. This is also an evidence that the churches at that time did not acknowledge the pope as supreme lord over all churches and bishops.

IX.—St. Jerome says: "If any one wishes to speak of power and dominion, *orbis* is more than *urbs*, that is, *world* is more than the *city Rome*. Therefore, be it the bishop at Rome or Gubio, at Constantinople, Rhegio, or Alexandria, the dignity and office are equal," &c.

X.—Again, Gregory writes to the Patriarch at Alexandria, and forbids him to call him the highest bishop. And in the register he says: "In the council at Chalcedon it was offered to the bishop at Rome, that he should be the highest bishop, but he did not accept it."

XI.—Finally, how can the pope have authority over the whole church according to divine right, since the church still possesses the right of election, and since it gradually became the custom for the Roman bishops to be confirmed by the emperors?

Here certain passages are produced in opposition to us; as, Matt. 16, 18, 19, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church;" again, "I will give unto thee the keys;" again, "Feed my sheep," John 21, 15, 16, 17. But inasmuch as this whole controversy has already been treated of by us, copiously and accurately, we wish those writings to be consulted, and we shall at present mention briefly how these passages just mentioned are really to be understood.

In all these declarations Peter represents himself in common with all the Apostles, and speaks not merely for himself. This fact the texts clearly prove. For Christ asks not Peter alone, but says: "Whom say *ye* that I am?" Matt. 16, 15. And that which Christ here says to Peter alone, viz.—"I will give unto thee the keys," verse 19; again, "Whatsoever thou shalt bind," &c.—in other places he says to all of them together: "Whatsoever *ye* shall bind on earth," &c., Matt. 18, 18; again, John 20, 23: "Whose so ever sins *ye* remit," &c. These words prove that the keys were given to all in common, and that they were all alike sent to preach.

And this must, moreover, be confessed that the keys belong and were given not to one person alone, but to the whole church, as it can be sufficiently proved with clear and indubitable reasons. For precisely as the promise of the Gospel certainly pertains without limitation to the whole church, so the keys pertain to the whole church, without limitation, since the keys are nothing else but the office through which this promise is imparted to every one that desires it; it is evident then in effect, that the church has power to ordain ministers. And Christ, Matt. 18, 18, with these words—"Whatsoever ye shall bind" &c.—says and indicates to whom he

gave the keys; viz., to the church: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name," &c. verse 20. Again verse 17, Christ refers the highest and last judgment to the church, where he says: "Tell it unto the church."

From this it follows then, that in these passages not only Peter, but all the Apostles together, are meant. Therefore, no one can by any means derive from these passages a special power of supremacy, which Peter held in preference to other apostles, or which he should have held. This however remains: "And upon this rock I will build my church;" here it must be confessed that the church is not built upon the power of any man, but it is built upon that office which bears the confession that Peter made, namely, that *Jesus is the Christ, the Son of the living God*, Matt. 16, 16; for this reason he also speaks unto him as a servant of this office, in which this confession and doctrine should proceed; and he says: *Upon this rock*, that is, upon this doctrine and ministerial office.

Now, indeed this office of the ministry is not confined to any particular place or person, as the Levitical office under the law was bound; but it is dispersed throughout the world, and it is wherever God has bestowed his gifts, and sent his apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, &c. Nor does the authority of any person add any thing to this word and office, commanded by Christ, preach it and teach it who will; where there are hearts who believe it and adhere to it, to these it occurs as they hear and believe it. In this manner many ancient teachers explain these passages, not concerning the person of Peter, but concerning office and confession; as for instance, Origen, Ambrose, Cyprian, Hilarius, Beda.

Now, it still does not follow from these declarations in other places—"Feed my sheep;" again, "Peter, lovest thou me more than these?" John 21, 15,—that Peter should have more power than other apostles, but he bids him, *feed*, that is, preach the Gospel, or rule the church through the Gospel—this pertains even as well to other apostles as to Peter.

The second article is more perspicuous still than the first. For Christ gave his disciples only spiritual power, that is, he commanded them to preach the Gospel, to announce the remission of sins, to administer the sacraments, and to excommunicate the ungodly without physical power, through the word; and he did by no means command them to bear the sword, or to constitute political government, to capture, to enthrone kings, or to dethrone them. For thus says Christ: "Go ye and teach all nations, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you," Matt. 28, 19, 20;

again, John 20, 21: "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you."

Now, it is evident that Christ was not sent to bear the sword, or to rule in a civil capacity, as he says himself: "My kingdom is not of this world," John 18, 36. And Paul says: "Not for that we have dominion over your faith," 2 Cor. 1, 24. Again, "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal," &c. 2 Cor. 10, 4. Christ's being crowned with thorns in his passion, his being led out in a purple robe, and his being thus mocked, were all a signification that in the course of time, the true spiritual kingdom of Christ should be scorned, and his Gospel suppressed, and another external kingdom, instituted instead of it, under the appearance of spiritual power. Therefore the *Constitutio Bonifacii octavi*, and *cap. Omnes Distinct.* 22. and the like passages, are wholly and entirely false and impious, in which they wish to maintain, that the pope by virtue of divine right is lord over the kingdoms of the world. From which persuasion deplorable darkness was first brought into the churches, and afterwards distressing tumults and commotions arose in Europe. For there the office of the ministry was neglected, and the doctrine concerning faith and the spiritual kingdom of Christ, was entirely suppressed, and the external polity and ordinances of the pope were held for Christian righteousness.

Finally, the popes also began to seize unto themselves principalities and kingdoms, enthroned and dethroned kings, and with unjust excommunication and wars tormented nearly all the kings in Europe, but especially the German emperors; sometimes by taking into their possession the cities of Wales, sometimes by bringing into subjection to themselves the bishops in Germany, and assumed the letting out of the bishoprics, which it is allowed the emperor alone to let out. Yes, what is more, it is thus asserted in the writings of Clement the V: "When an empire stands vacant, the pope is the legitimate successor."

Thus the pope has not only unjustly seized civil dominion to himself contrary to the clear commands of God, but, like a tyrant, desired to be superior to all kings. Although these acts of the popes are wholly and entirely culpable in themselves, this is more atrocious still, that he conceals this wantonness and violence under the command of Christ, and construes the keys to political dominion, and bases the salvation of souls upon this impious and infamous opinion, where he says: "The people shall, at the hazard of the salvation of their souls, believe that the pope has such authority from divine right."

Now, since these abominable errors have entirely obscured the doctrine concerning faith and the kingdom of Christ, there is no way

which will admit us to remain silent in reference to them; for we see before our own eyes in effect what great injuries have resulted to the church from them.

In the third place, it is likewise necessary to know, that if even the pope had this power and primacy from divine right, we are under no obligation to be obedient to those popes who defend false services to God, idolatry, and erroneous doctrines, repugnant to the Gospel. Yes, what is more, we should hold these popes and this kingdom as an *anathema* and execrable autocrasy, as Paul distinctly says: "Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other Gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed," Gal. 1, 8. And in the Acts, Acts 5, 29, it is said: "We ought to obey God rather than men." For the ecclesiastical rights themselves say: "No one shall be obedient to a pope who is a heretic."

In the law of Moses the high-priests had their office from divine right; no one was, however, bound to obedience, if they acted contrary to the word of God; for we see that Jeremiah and other prophets separated themselves from the priests. So the Apostles separated themselves from Caiphas; and they were under no obligation to render obedience to him. Now, it is evident indeed, that the popes with their accomplices defend and sustain impious doctrines and erroneous services to God. Thus also, all vicious acts, which are foretold in the holy Scripture concerning Antichrist, accord with the kingdom of the pope and his members.

For Paul, where he describes Antichrist, 2 Thess. 2, 4, denominates him an adversary of Christ, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing that he is God.

In this passage Paul speaks concerning one who reigns in the church, and not concerning ethnical kings; and he calls him an adversary of Christ, because he devises a different doctrine, and because he assumes all this, as if he did it from divine right.

First, now it is true that the pope rules in the church, and has appropriated this dominion to himself, under the appearance of spiritual power; for he bases himself upon these words: "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven," Matt. 16, 19.

Second, the doctrine of the pope is indeed in every way repugnant to the Gospel.

Third, it may be observed in all three propositions, that he intimates that he is God.

First, because he assumes to himself the authority to alter the

doctrine of Christ and the true divine services, instituted of God himself, and desires to have his own doctrine and self-devised services to God, observed, as if God had commanded them himself.

Second, because he assumes the power to bind, and to loose, not only in this temporal life, but also in the life to come.

Third, because the pope will not permit the church, or any one else to judge him, but desires that his authority shall be preferred to all councils and to the whole church; but this is making himself God, if he will not allow the judgment either of the church or of any one else.

Finally, the pope has defended these errors and this impious autocrasy by the exercise of unjust power and murder, causing all those who did not hold with him in every respect, to be put to death.

Inasmuch, then, as these things are so, all Christians should be diligently on their guard, lest they make themselves partakers of this impious doctrine, blasphemy, and unjust cruelty; but they should withdraw from the pope and his members or accomplices, as from the kingdom of Antichrist, and execrate it, as Christ has commanded: "Beware of false prophets," Matt. 7, 15. And Paul, Tit. 3, 10, commands: "A man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject." And 2 Cor. 6, 14, he says: "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers; for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness," &c. Grievous it is, for a person to separate himself from so many countries and people, and to vindicate this doctrine: but here stands the command of God, that each one should be on his guard, and not be an accomplice with those who promulgate false doctrines, or wish to defend them with cruelty.

Our consciences are, therefore, sufficiently exculpated and secured; for we truly see before our eyes the enormous errors which prevail in the kingdom of the pope. And the Scripture exclaims, in the most forcible manner, that these errors are the doctrines of the devil and of Antichrist. The idolatry in the abuse of the mass, is evident, which mass besides its other evil tendencies, is misused for unjust profit and mercenary purposes. The doctrine concerning repentance was utterly falsified and destroyed by the pope and his adherents. For thus they teach: "Sins are forgiven for the sake of our own works;" and they add, that it should, however, be doubted whether sins are forgiven. They do not however teach to this effect, that sins are forgiven for the sake of Christ without merit, and that this forgiveness of sins is obtained through faith in Christ.

With such doctrine they deprive Christ of his honor and rob the conscience of its true and indubitable consolation, and abolish the

real divine services, viz. the exercise of faith, which struggles with unbelief and loss of confidence in the promises of the Gospel.

They have in like manner obscured the doctrine concerning sin, and devised their own ordinances concerning the obligation to enumerate and confess all sins; from which resulted diverse errors, and finally desperation.

Afterwards they invented self-devised expiations, by which the benefits and merits of Christ are superceded.

Hence resulted indulgences, which are nothing but falsehoods, devised for the sake of money alone.

What innumerable abuses and abominable idolatry afterwards followed from the invocation of saints!

What infamy and vice have originated from the prohibition of marriage!

How was the Gospel beclouded by the doctrine concerning vows! Here it was taught, that such vows are a righteousness before God, and merit remission of sins; so that the merit of Christ is transferred to the ordinances of men, and the doctrine concerning faith is wholly extinguished.

And they have extolled their foolish and frivolous ordinances as true services to God and as perfection, and preferred them to the works which God has ordered and which he requires from each one in his vocation. We dare not, then, regard these as trivial errors; for they deprive Christ of his honor, and condemn souls: we should, therefore, not permit them to pass uncensured.

To these errors attach two enormous, abominable sins. The *one* is, that the pope desires to defend and maintain these errors with unjust fury, cruel tyranny, and violence; the *other* is, that he divests the church of her judgment, and will not allow these religious affairs to be judged in an orderly manner. Yes, he wishes to be above all councils, and to have power to dissolve and rescind all that is resolved in councils, as the canons sometimes impudently pretend; and the popes have exercised these things still more impudently, as many examples show.

9. *Quæstione* 3, the canon says: "No one shall judge the highest see; for neither emperors nor priests, neither kings nor people, judge the judge."

Thus the pope acts as a tyrant in both positions, by defending these errors with violence and outrage, and by not allowing any judge. And this latter point creates more injury than all the outrage. For as soon as the churches are deprived of the power to judge and to make a decision, there can be no possible means by

which false doctrines or unjust methods of worship can be checked, in consequence of which many souls must be lost.

Pious persons should, for this reason, seriously reflect upon these abominable errors of the pope and his tyranny; and they should know in the first place, that these errors must be avoided, and the true doctrine embraced, for the sake of God's honor and the salvation of souls. Finally, they should consider how great and abominable a sin it is to assist in promoting this unjust cruelty of the pope, by which so many pious Christians are so miserably slaughtered, whose blood undoubtedly God will not leave unavenged.

But especially should kings and princes as principal members of the church, aid and employ their exertions, in abolishing every species of errors, and in having the consciences correctly instructed; as God has especially admonished kings and princes to this duty in the second Psalm and the tenth verse: "Be wise now, therefore, O ye kings; be instructed, ye judges of the earth." For this should be the chief concern among kings and illustrious rulers, to advance the glory of God diligently.

For this reason it would be unjust indeed, if they would apply their power and authority to the confirmation of this abominable idolatry and other incalculable vices, and to the commission of the cruel murder of pious Christians.

And if the pope would even hold a council, how can the condition of the church be improved, if the pope will not allow any thing to be resolved against him; or if he will permit no one else, but those who are bound to him previously by the obligation of a terrible oath,—not even excepting the word of God,—to judge in church affairs?

But inasmuch as the judgments in councils, are the judgments of the churches, and not of the pope, it will be incumbent on kings and princes not to grant the pope this privilege, but to use their endeavors to prevent the church from being deprived of the power to judge, and to cause all things to be decided according to the holy Scripture and the word of God. And precisely as Christians are under obligation to reprove all other errors of the pope, so they are also under obligation to reprehend the pope himself, if he wishes to evade or resist the right judgment and true decision of the church.

Wherefore, even if the pope had primacy or supremacy according to divine right, we should still not render obedience to him, while he wishes to defend false methods of worship, and another doctrine contrary to the Gospel: yes, necessity requires us to oppose him as the true Anti-

christ. We see clearly what the errors of the pope are, and how great they are.

The cruelties are likewise manifest, which he exercises against pious Christians. And here stand the word and command of God, that we should avoid idolatry, false doctrine, and cruelty. Therefore, every pious Christian has weighty, necessary, and clear reasons enough not to render obedience to the pope. And these necessary reasons are a great consolation to all Christians against all kinds of reproach and scandal which our adversaries heap upon us, asserting that we give offence and excite schisms and disunion.

But those who hold with the pope, and defend his doctrine and false services to God, stain themselves with idolatry and blasphemous doctrine, and load upon themselves all the blood of pious Christians whom the pope and his adherents persecute; and they also impair the honor of God and the salvation of the church, because they confirm these errors and vices before all the world, to the injury of all posterity.

OF THE POWER AND JURISDICTION OF BISHOPS.

In our Confession and Apology we have stated in general what is necessary to be said in reference to ecclesiastical power. For the Gospel commands those who should regulate the church, to preach the Gospel, to remit sins, and to administer the sacraments; and it, moreover, gives them the authority to excommunicate those who live in open perpetration of vice, and to absolve those who desire to amend their lives.

Now, every one, even our adversaries must confess, that all who regulate the church, have this command alike, whether they be called pastors, or presbyters, or bishops. Therefore Jerome declares in distinct terms, that bishops and presbyters are not different, but that all clergymen are bishops and priests alike; and alleges the declaration of Paul to Titus, Tit. 1, 5, 6, in which he says: "For this cause left I thee at Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city;" and afterwards he calls these bishops: "A bishop then must be blameless, the husband of one wife," 1 Tim. 3, 2. So Peter and John call themselves presbyters or priests.

Afterwards Jerome further asserts: "The practice of choosing one alone, who has the others under him, took place that schisms might be prevented, that one might not draw a church to himself here, and another, there, and thus separate the congregations. For at Alexandria," says he, "from Mark the Evangelist to Esdras and

Dionysius, the Presbytery have always elected one from among themselves, esteemed him more highly, and called him *Episcopus* (bishop;) precisely as the soldiery elect a captain; and as the *Diaconi* elected one from among themselves, who was qualified for the duties, and they called him Archdeacon. For, tell me, what more does a bishop perform, than a presbyter, except to ordain others to ecclesiastical office," &c.

Jerome here teaches that this difference between bishops and pastors originated from human regulations alone, as in practice we actually observe. For the office and the authority are entirely the same; but in subsequent time the mode of ordination alone made the distinction between bishops and pastors. For thus it was afterwards resolved, that a bishop should also in other churches ordain persons to the duties of the ministry.

But as according to divine authority there is no difference between bishops and pastors or ministers, there is no doubt, if a pastor ordain some qualified persons in his church to church-offices, that such ordination is valid and right according to divine authority.

For this reason, while bishops thus ordained, still violate the Gospel, and refuse to ordain qualified persons, every church has in this case legal authority to ordain ministers for itself.

For wherever the church is, there indeed is the command to preach the Gospel. For this reason, the churches must retain the authority to call, to elect, and ordain ministers. And this authority is a privilege which God has given especially to the church, and it cannot be taken away from the church by any human power, as Paul testifies, Eph. 4, 8, 11, 12, where he says: "When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men." And among these gifts which belong to the church, he enumerates *pastors and teachers*, and adds that these were given *for the edifying of the body of Christ*. Wherefore, it follows that wherever there is a true church, there is also the power to elect and ordain ministers. In case of necessity a mere layman may absolve another, and become his pastor; as St. Augustine relates, that two Christians were in a ship together; the one baptized the other, and afterwards was absolved by him.

To this point the declarations of Christ pertain, which show that the keys are given to the whole church, and not to some particular persons; as the text says: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them," Matt. 18, 20.

Finally, this is also confirmed by the declaration of Peter, where he says: "Ye are a royal priesthood," 1 Pet. 2, 9. These words

relate especially to the true church, which, because it alone has the priesthood, must also have power to choose and ordain ministers.

The common usages of the church likewise prove this; for in former times the people elected clergymen and bishops, then the bishop, living in or near the same place, came and confirmed the elected bishop by the laying on of hands; and at that time the ordination was nothing else but this approbation.

Afterwards other ceremonies besides were added;—Dionysius relates some of them; but this book of Dionysius is a new fiction under a false title, as the book of Clement also has a false title, and it was written long after the time of Clement by a wicked imposter.

Afterwards this was also added at last,—the bishop said to those, whom he consecrated: "I give you power to sacrifice for the living and the dead;" but this does not occur in Dionysius.

Hence we see that the church has power to choose and ordain ministers. Therefore, if the bishops are either heretics, or will not ordain qualified persons, the churches are under obligation in the sight of God, according to divine right, to ordain for themselves pastors and church-officers.

Now, if any one would call this disorder or separation, he should know that the impious doctrine and tyranny of the bishops, are in fault of it; for Paul commands that all bishops, who either teach incorrectly themselves, or defend incorrect doctrines and false services to God, should be deemed offenders.

Hitherto we have been speaking concerning *ordination*, which alone perhaps has made a difference between bishops and priests, as Jerome says. It is, therefore, unnecessary to dispute much about the other episcopal offices, unless we should wish to speak concerning confirmation, baptizing of bells, and other similar impositions, which the bishops almost exclusively practised; but it is necessary to treat concerning *jurisdiction*.

This is certain, that clergymen should have the common jurisdiction to excommunicate those who live in open immorality, and that the bishops as tyrants have arrogated it to themselves, and exercised it for their own profit. For these men have carried on intolerable abuses with it, and persecuted the people either through avarice or wantonness, and excommunicated them without any legal investigation. What kind of tyranny is this! a bishop to have power in a town, according to his own wantonness without the forms of justice, thus to agitate and afflict the people with excommunications? &c.

But they have employed this penalty in diverse offences, and have not only protected the real offender from it, against whom excom-

munication should have been pronounced;—but have inflicted punishment on other small offences, such as not fasting and observing holy-days correctly—excepting that they sometimes punished adultery, and besides they have frequently reproached and defamed innocent persons. For since such accusation is weighty and grievous, no one should be condemned without trial in legal and due form.

Now, since the bishops have arrogated this jurisdiction to themselves, and impudently exercised it, there are good reasons not to listen to them on account of it. And it is right to take away from them this usurped jurisdiction again, and restore it to the clergymen to whom it belongs according to the command of Christ, and to have it exercised legitimately for the improvement of morals, the amendment of life, and the increase of God's glory.

There is, moreover, a jurisdiction in such matters, as according to papal institutions, pertain to the *forum ecclesiasticum*, or to the ecclesiastical court; especially affairs concerning matrimony. This jurisdiction the bishops have also arrogated to themselves by human authority alone, which however is not very ancient, as may be perceived from the Code and Novels of Justinian, that matters relating to marriage were at that time transacted entirely by civil government; and civil government is under obligation to determine these matters, especially, if the bishops decide unjustly, or become negligent; as the canons also show.

Wherefore, we are under no obligation to render obedience to the bishops in reference to this jurisdiction. And since they have instituted several unjust ordinances concerning matrimonial affairs, and practise them in the courts over which they preside, the civil magistrate, for this reason also, is bound to reform these courts.

For, the prohibition of the marriage between sponsors is unjust; and it is also unjust, when, if two persons are divorced, the innocent one shall not marry again. Again, it is an unjust law, which in general approves all marriages which take place secretly and deceitfully, without the previous knowledge and consent of the parents. Again the prohibition of the marriage of priests is also unjust.

Besides these, there are other similar points among their ordinances, by which men's consciences have been confused and encumbered, and which it is unnecessary to relate here; it is sufficient to know that many unjust and inequitable things have been commanded by the pope, from which the civil authority has a sufficient cause, to constitute the judiciary differently.

Now, since the bishops, who are devoted to the pope, defend im-

pious doctrines and false services to God, with violence, and will not ordain pious preachers, but assist the pope in murdering them, and have, moreover, divested the pastors of their jurisdiction, and have exercised it as tyrants alone for their own emolument; and finally, since they have also treated affairs relative to matrimony so unjustly, the churches have great and important reasons enough not to acknowledge them as bishops. But they, the bishops, should consider that their goods and income are furnished as alms that they might serve the churches, and the more excellently execute their office, as the rule says: *Beneficium datur propter officium.* Therefore, they cannot with clear conscience use such alms, and thus rob the churches which need such goods for the support of the ministers, for the rearing of learned persons, for the maintenance of certain poor persons, and especially for the constitution of a *matrimonial judiciary;* for cases frequently and singularly happen, for which it would be necessary to have a peculiar judiciary. But this cannot be appointed without the help of these goods. St. Peter says that the false bishops use the possessions and alms of the church to gratify their own sensuality, and forsake the office, 2 Pet. 2, 13. Now since the Holy Ghost threatens them severely, the bishops should know that they must render an account unto God for this robbery.

THE DOCTORS AND MINISTERS, WHO SUBSCRIBED TO THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION AND THE APOLOGY, A. D. 1537.

In conformity with the mandate of the illustrious princes, orders, and estates, professing the doctrine of the Gospel, we have read the articles of the Confession, exhibited to the emperor in the assembly at Augsburg, and by the kindness of God, all the ministers who were present in the assembly at Smalcald, unanimously profess that they believe, and teach in their own churches, agreeably to the articles of the Confession and the Apology. They acknowledge also that they approve the article concerning the primacy of the pope, concerning his power, and concerning the power and jurisdiction of the bishops, which article was exhibited to the princes in the assembly here at Smalcald. Accordingly they have subscribed their names.

I, Dr. John Bugenhagen, subscribe to the articles of the Augsburg Confession, to the Apology, and to the article concerning the papacy, submitted to the princes at Smalcald.

And I, Dr. Urban Regius, superintendent of the churches in the dukedom of Luneburg, subscribe.

Nicholas Amsdorf of Magdeburg subscribed.

George Spalatin of Aldenburg subscribed.
I, Andrew Osiander, subscribe.
M. Vitus Dietrich of Noriburg subscribed.
Stephen Agricola, minister at Curien, subscribed with his own hand.
John Dracon of Marburg, subscribed.
Conrad Feigenbotz subscribed unreservedly.
Martin Bucer.
I, Edward Schnepf, subscribe.
Paul Rhode, minister in Stetin.
Gerard Oenice, minister of the church in Minden.
Simon Schneweis, parishioner of Crailsheim.
Briccius of Northan, minister at Susatum.
I, Pomeranius, again subscribe in the name of Mr. John Brentius, as he has instructed me.
Philip Melancthon subscribed with his own hand.
Anthony Corvinus subscribed with his own hand for himself and for Adam of Fulda.
John Schlaginhauffen subscribed with his own hand.
Mr. George Heltus of Forchem.
Michael Coelius, minister at Mansfeld.
Peter Geltner, minister of the church at Frankfort.
Dionysius Melander subscribed.
Paul Fagius of Argentun.
Wendal Faber, parishioner of Seburg in Mansfeldia.
Conrad Otinger, of Phorcen, minister of Ulric, duke of Wirtemburg.
Boniface Wolfart, minister of the church at Augsburg.
John Aepin, superintendent of Hamburg, subscribed with his own hand.
The same did John Amsterdam of Bremen.
John Fontan, superintendent of lower Hesse, subscribed.
Frederic Mycon subscribed for himself and Justus Menius.
Ambrose Blaurer.

Again and again have I read the Confession and the Apology, submitted by the illustrious prince, elector of Saxony, and by other princes and estates of the Roman empire, to his imperial Majesty at Augsburg. I have read also the Form of Concord on the sacrament, composed at Wittemburg, with Dr. Bucer and others. I have read the articles by Dr. Martin Luther, our most venerable preceptor, written in the German language in the assembly at Smalcald, and a

little book concerning the papacy, and the power and jurisdiction of bishops. In my humble opinion, all these treatises accord with the sacred Scriptures and with the principles of the true and genuine catholic church. And though, amidst the great number of learned men now assembled at Smalcald, I acknowledge myself the least of all, yet because I am not allowed to await the adjournment of this assembly, I entreat you, most excellent Sir, Dr. John Bugenhagen, reverend father in Christ, to subscribe my name, should it be necessary, to all the works which I have mentioned above. For I testify by this my own handwriting, that I thus believe, profess, and shall continually teach through Jesus Christ our Lord. Done at Smalcald, Feb. 23, 1537.

JOHN BRENTIUS,
Minister of Halle.

ENCHIRIDION,

OR

THE SMALLER CATECHISM OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER,

FOR

PARISHIONERS AND MINISTERS.

PREFACE OF Dr. MARTIN LUTHER.

Martin Luther to all the faithful and pious parishioners and ministers, grace, mercy, and peace in Jesus Christ our Lord.

The deplorable wretchedness which I recently witnessed, when I visited your parishes, has impelled me to publish this Catechism, drawn up in a very simple and brief form. Eternal God! what distress did I behold!—The people, especially those who live in the country, and even parishioners for the most part, possessing so little knowledge of the Christian doctrine, that I even blush to tell it. And yet all are called by the sacred name of Christ, and enjoy the sacraments in common with us, while they are not only totally ignorant of the Lord's Prayer, the Apostolic Creed or Symbol, and the Decalogue, but cannot even repeat the words. Why need I hesitate to say, that they differ in nothing at all from the brutes?—now too while the Gospel is widely disseminated, while they even enjoy the greatest liberty of Christians.

Ye bishops, upon whom heaven has enjoined that duty, what apology will ye make Christ for this? Ye are the men, to whom alone this decline of the Christian religion must be ascribed. Thus shamefully have ye permitted men to stray:—yours is the fault, who have never done one thing which it was your duty to do. I am unwilling in this place to attribute any evil motive to you. But is it not great impiety,—nay, the greatest presumption, to urge your traditions and a *single* element of the sacrament so far? Utterly careless and indifferent are you, whether those entrusted to your fidelity

and instruction, understand the Lord's Prayer, the Apostolic Creed, or the Decalogue, or not! Alas, alas, for you! In the name of God, then, I beg and entreat you all, parishioners and ministers, to discharge your duty seriously, and to watch over the people that heaven has commended to your keeping. This ye will have accomplished most successfully, when, in conjunction with us, ye shall inculcate this Catechism upon the people, and especially upon the young. Because if any of you are so illiterate as not to possess any knowledge at all of these matters, be not ashamed to read the form prescribed by us, word by word before your hearers, in the following order:

First of all the ministers will be careful not to pronounce the Decalogue, or the Lord's Prayer, or the Apostolic Creed, or even the sacraments, occasionally in one way and then in another; but to use continually the same forms in pronouncing and explaining them to the people. I give this advice because I know that the young and the uneducated cannot be successfully instructed, unless the same forms of expression be frequently pronounced and repeated. If you deliver your instructions now in one manner, and now in another, untutored minds will easily become embarrassed, and all the labor which you have expended in teaching them, may be lost.

The holy Fathers kept this in view, as they desired the form of the Decalogue, of the Creed, and of the Lord's Prayer, to remain in the church, couched in the same unalterable terms. It becomes us to imitate their prudent example; and we must endeavor to deliver those instructions to the young and uneducated, without even changing a syllable; how frequently soever you may teach the Catechism, let your method be always the same. Whatever mode, then, of teaching the Catechism you may adopt, retain it uniformly,—never depart from it. But the case is different when you teach the Gospel in an assembly of learned men;—there you may exhibit a specimen of your learning; nor do I forbid you to vary your forms of expression among them, and occasionally in speaking assume one aspect and then another. But among the uneducated you must continually use the same forms, expressed in definite terms. And it ought to be your first exertion, to teach the Decalogue, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, word by word in their naked and pure simplicity, so that the same expressions being frequently heard, your hearers themselves may learn to repeat them.

Should there be any who despise religion so much as to refuse to learn these things, let them be advised that they are denying Christ, and that they are any thing rather than Christians. They must

not be admitted to the sacrament of the altar, nor to the duties of catechists, who are generally present at infant baptisms; and if they wish to enjoy the privilege of Christian liberty, when it happens to suit their convenience, let the privilege not be granted them, but let them rather be commended to the pope and to those whom they call *official*, even to Satan himself. It will be the duty of parents and heads of families, to refuse food to such men; and they will act commendably, if they declare to these licentious men, that there is a decree of the prince to expel them from their country, and drive them into banishment.

For although I agree that no one can or ought to be forced to believe, yet this menace ought in every instance to be pronounced, in order that the people may know what is right, and also what is opposed to the right of those with whom they live, and that they may beg their food. For it is desirable that each one, whether he truly believes or is involved in the mists of doubt, to understand and observe the laws of the state, which he wishes to have the privilege of enjoying.

In the *second* place,—when the uneducated have learned to repeat the words of the Catechism, an explanation must afterwards be delivered, in order that they may also understand it. And you can either employ the forms which you see here prescribed, or any other. But as the Catechism itself should always be pronounced to the people in the same words, as I have already advised, so in the explanation of the Catechism, I could wish that the same discussion be continually followed, not changing even a single syllable. And for this purpose you may take sufficient time; for it is not necessary that the whole be delivered at the same time; but let certain portions be taken, and in discussing them, it will be proper to review one after another. When the people have learned accurately what the first commandment requires, you must then pass on to the second. In this manner let the whole be learned in regular order; for otherwise the mind being burdened and confused with too great an abundance, can retain nothing at all.

In the *third* place,—after you have finished this short explanation of the Catechism, you will enter the larger Catechism, in order that your hearers may understand the whole more completely. Here you will illustrate the several commandments, the distinct parts of the Creed and of the Lord's Prayer, in their appropriate colors; you will enumerate the different duties, the various results and advantages which arise from them, and likewise the dangers and the losses which we incur, if we fail to discharge them. These points you will find amply unfolded every where in the writings of pious men.

You will most earnestly enforce those commandments which directly apply to men committed to your charge. To give an example of this,—you will press the seventh commandment most especially upon merchants, and upon those who perform manual labor. With great propriety too, this commandment may be urged upon farmers, and upon male and female servants, for they act very unfaithfully with men, and in various ways commit dishonest deeds. So it is proper to urge the fourth commandment especially upon the young and the uninstructed, that they may be quiet, observe good faith in all things, be obedient to magistrates and to parents, and not disturb the public peace. These instructions must also be illustrated by examples from sacred literature,—showing where God exacted severe punishments from the violators of this commandment, or wonderfully promoted all the enterprises of those who observed it.

In this place you should make it your primary object to warn the magistrate and parents of their duty, that they may discharge their public functions with great diligence, and devote their children to the study of letters. And they ought to be urged to feel themselves bound by divine authority to attend these duties; for should they fail to observe them, it will be a most grievous offence. What else indeed are they doing, but rejecting at the same time divine and human government, in no sense different from the most implacable enemies both of God and of men!

And here you can exhibit as it were in a table, what serious losses those bring upon their country, who do not devote their children to the acquisition of knowledge, since these very children may at some time be chosen parishioners or ministers of the word, as well as to other offices, of which this life cannot be destitute without incurring very great distress. You will also add that God will inflict the severest punishments upon parents for this neglect. Indeed I do not know that any other point merits a full discussion so justly as this. For it cannot be told how much, in the present age, magistrates and parents have offended in this respect. And there is no doubt that it may chiefly be attributed to the influence of Satan, who designs to bring some great calamity upon Germany.

Lastly,—since the tyranny of the pope has been weakened and diminished, you will find many every where who never approach the sacrament, but evidently despise it as a useless and an unnecessary thing. These also must be persuaded and urged. I am unwilling, however, in this way, to force any one either to believe or to take the sacrament; and those act very injudiciously, who prescribe rules, certain times, and certain places for such purposes.

Those however who are engaged in the administration of the word, ought to teach them, that without our rules, influenced by their own voluntary choice, they should come as hearers to us, and as it were compel us, the ministers of the word, to extend the sacrament to them. This will assuredly happen, if you teach that there is danger lest those who despise the sacrament, who do not take it at least four times in a year, may not be considered worthy to be reckoned in the number of Christians; as those who do not believe, or who will not hear the Gospel, are not reckoned in the number of Christians. For when Christ instituted the sacrament, he did not say "omit this or despise this,"—but, "do this as often as ye drink," &c. By this he certainly wishes us to do so; he does not wish us entirely to neglect or to despise it, for he says "Do this."

Because, if any one despises the sacrament, it is a certain evidence, that he has no regard either for sin, or flesh, or Satan, or the world, or death, or dangers, or hell, that is, he has no belief whatever in any of them, although he is all immersed in sin, and bound completely captive in the kingdom of Satan; on the other hand, he has no need of grace, nor life, nor of Paradise, nor of heaven, nor of Christ, nor of God, nor of any other good. For if he could believe himself covered with sins, and very far off from grace, without doubt he would not despise the sacrament, in which is held forth a remedy against all sins, and a great abundance of all good things for us. And there is no need of any laws for him, by which he might be compelled to take the sacrament;—he should come of his own accord, driven by the weight of his sins, and rather compel you to administer the sacrament to him.

Here you must not act by laws of compulsion, as the pope does. But strive in your discourse, as far as you can, to portray the advantages and disadvantages, the dangers and the benefits, the necessity as well as the utility of this sacrament. Then they will run to you voluntarily,—they will compel themselves. And if some are not influenced by these means, permit them to live in their own way,—only say this to them, that those who cannot be moved, either by necessity, or by the kindness and grace of God, which he exhibits to them in the sacrament, may remain unmolested in the kingdom of Satan. Those indeed who do not stir their hearers in this way, but would prefer to force them by legal restrictions, actually furnish them a pretext for despising the sacrament. For when the ministers of the word are so wavering, it is no wonder if the hearers also become more negligent. Parishioners and ministers of the word, should therefore consider this profoundly,—that their present duty is far

different from what it was formerly under the papacy. Now it is the ministration of salvation and of grace; it has therefore become more difficult and laborious. And though very distressing dangers and temptations must be encountered in the ministry, yet there is neither reward nor gratitude in this world for our labors. But this ingratitude of the world, as it is connected with great impiety, cannot affect us. Christ himself has set rewards before us sufficiently magnificent, if only we labor with honest fidelity in his vineyard. And that we may be able to do this with greater success, may the Father of all grace vouchsafe, to whom be all praise and glory forever, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS:

AS THEY ARE MOST PLAINLY TO BE TAUGHT BY A FATHER TO HIS FAMILY.

THE FIRST COMMANDMENT.

Thou shalt have no other Gods.

What does this imply?

Ans.—That we should fear and love, and trust in God above all things.

THE SECOND COMMANDMENT.

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.

What does this imply?

Ans.—That we should fear and love God, so that we may not curse, swear, conjure, lie, or deceive by his name; but to call upon the same in every time of need; to pray, praise, and give thanks.

THE THIRD COMMANDMENT.

Thou shalt sanctify the Sabbath-day.

What does this imply?

Ans.—That we should fear and love God, so that we may not despise the preaching of the Gospel, and his word; but to keep it holy; willingly to hear and learn it.

THE FOURTH COMMANDMENT.

Thou shalt honor thy father and thy mother.

What does this imply?

Ans.—That we should fear and love God, so that we may not despise nor provoke our parents and superiors; but to give them honor, to serve, obey, love, and esteem them.

THE FIFTH COMMANDMENT.

Thou shalt not kill.

What does this imply?

Ans.—That we should fear and love God, so that we may not hurt, or afflict our neighbor in his body; but we should help and further him when he is in bodily need.

THE SIXTH COMMANDMENT.

Thou shalt not commit adultery.

What does this imply?

Ans.—That we should fear and love God, so that we may live chastely and modestly in words and actions; and that each should love and honor his spouse.

THE SEVENTH COMMANDMENT.

Thou shalt not steal.

What does this imply?

Ans.—That we should fear and love God, so that we may not rob our neighbor of his money or possessions, nor acquire the same by spurious merchandise, or by fraudulent traffic; but to assist him in improving and protecting his property and livelihood.

THE EIGHTH COMMANDMENT.

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.

What does this imply?

Ans.—That we should fear and love God, so that we may not deceitfully belie, betray, and backbite our neighbor, nor raise an evil report; but we should excuse and speak well of him, and direct all things for the best.

THE NINTH COMMANDMENT.

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house.

What does this imply?

Ans.—That we should fear and love God, so that we may not by any stratagem attempt to obtain our neighbor's inheritance, or home, nor acquire the same under the pretext of justice; but to be subservient in preserving the same in his possession.

THE TENTH COMMANDMENT.

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbor's.

What does this imply?

Ans.—That we should fear and love God, so that we may not seduce our neighbor's wife, alienate his domestics, or force away from him his cattle; but cause them to remain and do their duty.

What does God declare concerning all these commandments?

Ans.—He says thus:—I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me; and shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me, and keep my commandments.

What does this imply?

Ans.—That God threatens to punish all such as transgress these commandments. We should therefore fear his wrath, and not sin against these commandments. But he promises grace and all blessings to all such as keep them. We ought therefore also to love him, and trust in him, and cheerfully obey his commandments.

THE CREED;

AS IT IS MOST PLAINLY TO BE TAUGHT BY A FATHER TO HIS FAMILY.

Of what does the first article treat?

Ans.—Of Creation.

How is it expressed?

Ans.—I believe in God the Father, Almighty Maker of heaven and earth.

What does this imply?

Ans.—That I believe, that God created me, together with every other creature, with a body and soul, eyes and ears, and all the other members, that he hath given me reason and all the senses, that he also preserves the same; moreover that he hath given me raiment and shoes, meat and drink, house and residence, a spouse and children; lands, cattle, and every other possession; that he amply and daily provides me with all the necessaries and support of the body, and of this life; that he protects me against all dangers and keeps me from all evil. All this he does without any of my own merit and worthiness, through pure fatherly, divine goodness and mercy. For all this I am under obligation to thank and praise, and to serve and obey him. This is most certainly true.

Of what does the second article treat?

Ans.—Of Redemption.

How is it expressed?

Ans.—And in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died and was buried. He descended into hell; on the third day he rose again from the dead; he ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of God the Father Almighty, from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

What does this imply?

Ans.—That I believe, that Jesus Christ, true God, begotten of the Father from all eternity, and also true man, born of the Virgin Mary, is my Lord, that he has redeemed me a wretched, lost, and condemned human being; gained and delivered me from all sin, from death and the power of the devil, not with gold, or silver; but with his holy, precious blood, and by his innocent sufferings and death; so that I might be his own, and live in subjection to him in his kingdom, and serve him in everlasting righteousness, innocence and felicity; even as he is risen from the dead, lives and reigns for ever. This is most certainly true.

Of what does the third article treat?

Ans.—Of Sanctification.

How is it expressed?

Ans.—I believe in the Holy Ghost, in a holy Christian church, in the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and life everlasting. Amen.

What does this imply?

Ans.—That I believe, that I cannot by my own reason or strength believe in, or come to Jesus Christ my Lord; but that the Holy Ghost has called me by the Gospel, enlightened me with his gifts, sanctified and preserved me in the true faith, even as he calls, assembles and sanctifies the whole Christian church on earth, and preserves the same in Christ in the only right faith, in which church he daily abundantly pardons all my sins, and the sins of all believers; and that he shall on the last day raise me and all the dead, and give unto me, together with all believers in Christ Jesus, an everlasting life. This is most certainly true.

THE LORD'S PRAYER:

AS IT IS MOST PLAINLY TO BE TAUGHT BY A FATHER TO HIS FAMILY.

How is the preface expressed?

Ans.—Our Father who art in heaven.

What does this imply?

Ans.—That God thereby intends to entice us to believe that he is truly our father, and that we are truly his children; so that we may cheerfully and with all confidence entreat him as beloved children do their beloved father.

THE FIRST PETITION.

Hallowed be thy name.

What does this imply?

Ans.—That although God's name be holy in itself, nevertheless we pray in this petition that it may also be sanctified by us.

How does this come to pass?

Ans.—When the word of God is purely and correctly taught, and we also as the children of God accordingly thereto live holy. In doing this may our heavenly Father assist us! But whosoever teaches and lives otherwise than the word of God teaches, profanes the name of God among us. Against which, mayest thou our heavenly Father defend us!

THE SECOND PETITION.

Thy kingdom come.

What does this imply?

Ans.—That although the kingdom of God indeed comes without our prayer, nevertheless we pray in this petition that it may also come to us.

How does this come to pass?

Ans.—When our heavenly Father grants us his Holy Spirit, so that we through his grace believe his blessed word, and live godly in time and eternity.

THE THIRD PETITION.

Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.

What does this imply?

Ans.—That although the good and gracious will of God indeed is done without our prayer, nevertheless we pray in this petition that it may also be done by us.

How does this come to pass?

Ans.—When God frustrates all wicked counsels and designs, which would not suffer us to sanctify God's name, nor his kingdom to come: such as the will of the devil, of the world, and of our flesh; and when he strengthens and preserves us firmly in his word, and in the faith unto the end. This is his gracious good will.

THE FOURTH PETITION.

Give us this day our daily bread.

What does this imply?

Ans.—That God indeed gives daily bread without our prayer, even unto all the wicked; notwithstanding we pray in this petition that he would make us sensible of his goodness; so that we may receive our daily bread with thanksgiving.

What is meant by daily bread?

Ans.—Whatever pertains to the support and the necessities of this life; such as meat and drink, raiment and shoes, house, residence, and lands; cattle, money, and goods; a pious spouse, pious children and servants; pious and faithful rulers, a good government; good seasons, peace and health; discipline and honor; good friends, faithful neighbors, and such like.

THE FIFTH PETITION.

And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us.

What does this imply?

Ans.—That we pray in this petition that our heavenly Father would not remember our sins, nor for the sake of the same deny our petitions, (as we are not worthy nor deserving of the things for which we pray,) but that he would give us those things through mercy, for we sin much daily and deserve nothing but punishments. That we also promise again heartily to forgive those, and freely to do them good, who sin against us.

THE SIXTH PETITION.

And lead us not into temptation.

What does this imply?

Ans.—That although God tempts no one to *sin*, yet we pray in this petition that he would preserve us; so that the devil, the world and our own flesh, may not beguile nor seduce us into unbelief and despair, and other great ignominious vices; and though we should thus be tempted, that we may notwithstanding finally obtain the victory.

THE SEVENTH PETITION.

But deliver us from evil.

What does this imply?

Ans.—That we pray in this petition as in a summary, that our heavenly Father would deliver us from all manner of evil, injurious to the body and soul, property and character; and finally at the arrival of the hour of death grant us a happy departure, and graciously receive us from this troublesome world unto himself into the mansions of glory.

THE CONCLUSION.

Amen.

What does Amen signify?

Ans.—That I shall be assured that such petitions are acceptable to our heavenly Father, and heard of him; for he himself has commanded us thus to pray, and has promised that he will hear us. Amen, amen signifies yea, yea, it shall be so.

OF THE

SACRAMENT OF HOLY BAPTISM:

AS IT IS MOST PLAINLY TO BE TAUGHT BY A FATHER TO HIS FAMILY.

FIRST.

What is baptism?

Ans.—Baptism is not only simple water, but it is the water that is comprehended in God's command, and connected with his word.

Which is that word of God?

Ans.—It is that which our blessed Savior declares in the last chapter of St. Matthew: "Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

SECONDLY.

What does baptism confer or benefit?

Ans.—It effects the forgiveness of sins, delivers from death and the devil; and confers everlasting salvation upon all, who believe it, as the words and promises of God declare.

Which are those words and promises of God?

Ans.—Those words of our blessed Savior, recorded in the last chapter of St. Mark:—"He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned."

THIRDLY.

How can water effect such great things?

Ans.—Indeed it is not the water that effects them, but the word of God that is with and in the water; and the faith trusting such word of God in the water. For without the word of God the water is mere water, hence no baptism; but with the word of God it constitutes a baptism, that is, an abundant gracious water of life, and a washing of regeneration, in the Holy Ghost; as St. Paul says, Tit. ch. 3d: "According to his mercy he saved us by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost; which he shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Savior; that being justified by his grace, we should be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life." This is most certainly true.

FOURTHLY.

What does such baptizing with water signify?

Ans.—It signifies that the old man in us is to be drowned by daily sorrow and repentance, and die with all sins and evil lusts; so that daily there may come forth and arise a new man, for ever living before God in righteousness and purity.

Where is this written?

Ans.—St. Paul saith Rom. ch. 6th, v. 4: "We are buried with him by baptism into death; that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life."

OF THE CONFESSION OF SIN.

What does the confession of sin imply?

Ans.—The confession of sin includes two parts: the first is, the confession of sins; the other is the receiving of the absolution from the confessor as from God himself; so that one should by no means doubt, but firmly believe that sin is thereby forgiven before God in heaven.

What manner of sins ought to be confessed?

Ans.—Before God we should acknowledge ourselves guilty of all sins, even of such as we do not know, as we do in the Lord's prayer. But before the confessor, we ought to confess those sins only, which we know and feel in our hearts.

Which are they?

Ans.—Thou oughtest to consider thy relation to the ten commandments, viz:—Whether thou art a father, a mother, a son, a daughter, a master or a mistress, a man-servant or a maid-servant:—whether thou hast been disobedient, unfaithful, indolent, angry, incontinent, ill:—whether thou hast injured any person by words or deeds:—whether thou hast pilfered, been negligent, or hast otherwise done harm.

A BRIEF FORM OF CONFESSION FOR THE INEXPERIENCED.

In this manner thou shouldst say to the confessor:

Worthy and beloved Sir, I desire of thee, that thou wouldst hear my confession, and announce forgiveness unto me for God's sake.

I, a miserable sinner, confess myself before God guilty of all manner of sins, in particular I confess in presence of thee, that I am a man-servant, a maid-servant, &c.; but I alas! serve my master or mistress unfaithfully; for here and there I have not performed what they commanded me; I have provoked them, and caused them to take the name of the Lord in vain; I have been neglectful to the injury of others. I have likewise been immodest in words and actions; I have been angry with my equals, murmured and uttered imprecations against my spouse, &c. For all this I am sorry, I pray for grace, and intend to reform my life.

A master or mistress should thus say:

In particular I confess in presence of thee, that I have not to the honor of God, faithfully reared my children and domestics. I have sworn, set bad examples by indecorous words and actions, done my neighbor injury, and spoken evil against him; I have been too extravagant in charges, I have given false weights and unjust measures.

And whatever else he may have done in his vocation against the command of God, &c. may be mentioned. But if any one does not find himself oppressed with these, or greater sins, he should not be solicitous, or strive to hunt after imaginary sins, and thus make a torture out of confession, but mention one or two, which he knows. Thus:—In particular I confess, that I have once profaned the name of God; again I have once been immodest in expression, have once neglected this or that, &c. Let this suffice.

But if thou art unconscious of any, (which however is almost impossible,) mention none in particular, but receive the remission after having made a general confession to God in presence of the confessor.

Hereupon the confessor shall say:

God be merciful unto thee, and strengthen thy faith. Amen.

Further:—Dost thou believe the remission which I announce, to be the remission of God? Answer. Yes, beloved Sir.

Then he shall say:

Be it unto thee, as thou believest. And I, by the command of our Lord Jesus Christ, announce unto thee the forgiveness of thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. Depart in peace.

But those who have great distress of conscience, or who are grieved and disturbed, the confessor will not be at a loss to console with more passages of Scripture, and to entice to faith. This shall be only a common form of confession for the inexperienced.

OF THE

SACRAMENT OF THE ALTAR, OR LORD'S SUPPER:

AS IT IS MOST PLAINLY TO BE TAUGHT BY A FATHER TO HIS FAMILY.

What is the Sacrament of the Altar?

Ans.—It is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, with bread and wine, instituted by Christ himself, for us Christians to eat and to drink.

Where is this written?

Ans.—The holy Evangelists Matthew, Mark, Luke, and the apostle St. Paul, write thus:

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, the night in which he was betrayed, took bread: and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it unto his disciples, saying, Take, eat: this is my body, which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me.

Likewise after the supper, he took the cup, gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this; this cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you and for many, for the remission of sins. Do this, as often as ye drink it, in remembrance of me."

What is the benefit of such eating and drinking?

Ans.—This is indicated by these words "*given and shed for you for the remission of sins:*" viz. that through such words in the sacrament the remission of sins, life, and salvation are imparted; for where there is remission of sins, there is also life and salvation.

How can bodily eating and drinking effect such great things?

Ans.—Indeed it is not the eating and drinking that effect them, but these words declaring: "*which is given and shed for you, for the remission of sins.*" Which words, besides the bodily eating and drinking are considered as the principal thing in the sacrament; that whosoever believes these words, enjoys what they indicate, and declare, viz: the remission of sins.

Who then receives the sacrament worthily?

Ans.—Fasting and keeping the body in subjection, are indeed a fine external discipline; nevertheless, he only is truly worthy, and well prepared, who has faith in these words: "*given and shed for you, for the remission of sins.*" But he who disbelieves

words, or doubts, is unworthy and unprepared; since the expression '*for you*' requires only such hearts as believe.

PRAYERS.

HOW A FATHER SHOULD TEACH HIS FAMILY TO DEVOTE THEMSELVES TO GOD IN THE MORNING AND EVENING.

MORNING PRAYER.

In the morning, on rising up, you should utter a benediction, saying: In the name of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

Then kneeling or standing, repeat the Creed and the Lord's prayer; and if you wish you may also repeat the following prayer:

I thank thee my heavenly Father through Jesus Christ, thy well-beloved Son, that thou didst guard me through the past night against all harm and danger. I pray thee, that thou wouldst this day also, defend me against sin and all evil; that all my ways and life may be well pleasing unto thee. For I commit my body and soul, and all I have into thy hands. Let thy holy angel be with me; so that no evil may befall me through the instigation of the wicked One. Amen.

And, a hymn being sung, or the ten commandments repeated, or whatever else your devotion may suggest, proceed to your calling with pleasure.

EVENING PRAYER.

In the evening, on retiring, you should utter a benediction, saying: In the name of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

Then kneeling or standing, repeat the Creed and the Lord's prayer; and if you wish you may also repeat this prayer:

I thank thee my heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ thy dear Son, that thou didst graciously guard me all this day. I pray thee, pardon all my sins wherewith I have sinned against thee. Graciously guard me through this night. I commit my body and soul, and all I have into thy hands. Let thy holy angel be with me; so that no evil may befall me, through the instigation of Satan. Amen.

And then sleep quickly and peaceably.

HOW A FATHER SHOULD TEACH HIS FAMILY TO PRAY BEFORE, AND AFTER MEAT.

The children and domestics should modestly proceed to the table, and with folded hands say:

The eyes of all wait upon thee, Lord; and thou givest them their meat in due season. Thou openest thine hand, and satisfiest the desire of every living thing.

Whereupon the Lord's prayer and the following prayer, may be repeated.

Lord! our heavenly Father, bless us, and these thy gifts, which we receive from thy benign goodness, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Thus after meat, they should also in like manner be modest, and with folded hands, say:

O give thanks unto the Lord; for he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever. He giveth to the beast his food, and to the young ravens which cry. He delighteth not in the strength of the horse: he taketh not pleasure in the legs of a man. The Lord taketh pleasure in them that fear him, in those that hope in his mercy. Amen.

Whereupon the Lord's prayer and the following prayer, may be repeated:

O God our heavenly Father! we thank thee, through Jesus Christ, our Lord, for all thy gifts and favors. Thou dost live and reign for ever. Amen.

A TABLE OF DUTIES,

SELECTED FROM THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, FOR THE SEVERAL ORDERS AND CONDITIONS OF MEN, BY WHICH THEY MAY BE ADMONISHED OF THEIR DUTY.

OF THE CLERGY.

A bishop must be blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behavior, given to hospitality, apt to teach; not given to wine, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre; but patient, not a brawler, not covetous; one that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity; not a novice, holding fast the faithful word, as he hath been taught, that he may be able by sound doctrine, both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers. 1 Tim. 3, 2, 6. Tit. 1, 9.

OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God; the powers that be, are ordained of God.

Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. For he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to *execute* wrath upon him that doeth evil. Rom. 13, 1–4.

*OF SUBJECTS OR COMMON CITIZENS.

Render unto Cesar the things which are Cesar's and unto God the things which are God's. Matt. 22, 21. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake. For, for this cause pay ye tribute also: for they are God's ministers, attending continually upon this very thing. Render therefore to all their dues; tribute to whom tribute *is due;* custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honor to whom honor. Rom. 13, 5–7. I exhort therefore, that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for kings, and for all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. For this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Savior, 1 Tim. 2, 1–3. Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers. Tit. 3, 1. Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king, as supreme: or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well. 1 Pet. 2, 13, 14.

OF HUSBANDS.

Husbands dwell with your wives according to knowledge, giving honor unto the wife, as unto the weaker vessel, and as being heirs together of the grace of life; that your prayers be not hindered. 1 Pet. 3, 7. And be not bitter against them. Col. 3, 19.

OF WIVES.

Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord. Eph. 5, 22. Even as Sarah obeyed Abraham, calling him lord, whose daughters ye are, as long as ye do well, and are not afraid with any amazement. 1 Pet. 3, 6.

OF PARENTS.

Fathers, provoke not your children to wrath; but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Eph. 6, 4. Col. 3, 21.

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*This paragraph does not appear in the edition of 1580, but is contained in the Leipsic edition of 1790, and it is retained here because it always follows in the detached Catechism.—TRANS.

OF CHILDREN.

Children, obey your parents in the Lord: for this is right. Honor thy father and mother, (which is the first commandment with promise). That it may be well with thee, and thou mayest live long on the earth. Eph. 6, 1–3.

OF SERVANTS AND HIRELINGS.

Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters, according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ; not with eye-service, as men-pleasers; but as the servants of Christ doing the will of God from the heart; with good will doing service, as to the Lord, and not to men, knowing that whatsoever good things any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free. Eph. 6, 5–8.

OF MASTERS AND MISTRESSES.

And, ye masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening: knowing that your Master also is in heaven; neither is there respect of persons with him. Eph. 6, 9.

OF COMMON YOUTH.

Ye younger, submit yourselves unto the elder: and be clothed with humility: for God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble. Humble yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God, that he may exalt you in due time. 1 Pet. 5, 5, 6.

OF WIDOWS.

Now she that is a widow indeed, and desolate, trusteth in God, and continueth in supplications and prayers night and day. But she that liveth in pleasure is dead while she liveth. 1 Tim. 5, 5, 6.

GENERAL DUTIES.

Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself, all other commandments are briefly comprehended in this. Rom. 13, 9. And continue instant in prayer for all men. 1 Tim. 2, 1.

Let each one learn his lesson well,
And peace and order in his house shall dwell.

NOTE.—Here, forms of marriage and of baptism are inserted in the Leipsic edition of 1790, from which we translate; but as they do not appear in the original edition of 1580, and in some others, and since they are mere *forms*, we deem it unnecessary to present them in our translation.—TRANS.

THE LARGER CATECHISM

OF

DR. MARTIN LUTHER.

A PREFACE

Pious, useful, and necessary; and a serious and faithful exhortation of Dr. Martin Luther's, addressed to all the devout, especially to Pastors and Preachers, urging them to exercise themselves and others assiduously every day in the Catechism, as it were in a synopsis and compendium of the whole sacred Scripture, faithfully and continually proclaiming it to the church.

We have abundant reasons indeed, not only to enforce the Catechism *ourselves* in our conventions, but to entreat and implore *others* to do the same; especially when we see preachers and parishioners, here as at the most of places, scorning both their own duty and the very doctrine itself, and actually coming to a pause. This chiefly arises from the fact, that some of them conceive themselves too learned and wise for such a duty, and some, regarding nothing in the world preferable to the enjoyment of ease and indulgence of the appetite, experience no other feelings in relation to this matter, than if they were appointed parishioners and preachers solely for the gratification of nature. It is not convenient for them to discharge any other engagements, than to waste and devour every thing while they are living, as they were once accustomed to do under the Papacy. And although they are at this time abundantly provided with all things necessary to be taught and preached, all things being placed in the broad light of day before their eyes, so many excellent and important treatises, being published for this very purpose; and, as they were formerly accustomed to declare, now in reality they have treasures ready prepared, discourses intrinsically proclaiming, "Sleep on in security;" yet some are so indolent or so perverse as not to think *these* volumes worth purchasing, and if they possess them, they are unwilling to look in them and to read. Merciful God! what a pernicious and detestable class of men is this, abandoned to voracity and excess, whom you would more wisely set over the swine and the dogs, than the souls of the faithful!

Indeed it were to be wished, that, while they desist from the useless and wearisome mumblings of *canonic prayers*, as they are called, they would, instead of these, turn over in the morning, at noon, and in the evening, some pages at least either in the Catechism or in the Prayers, or in the New Testament, or at all events would draw something else from the Sacred Books, and would repeat over the Lord's Prayer to God the Father, for their own sake and that of their flock. Let them at least return some gratitude to the Gospel, by which they have been relieved from so many evils and burdens, and let them blush with shame, not to learn any thing else from the Gospel, but the indolent, pernicious, and detestable indulgence of flesh, because it is the characteristic of dogs and of swine. For as people anyhow are too coldly disposed towards the Gospel, and even with our utmost exertions, we are able to produce little or no effect, how much less success must we expect, if we now begin to be indolent and careless, as we were under the Papacy?

To these evils must be added that dangerous and destructive idea of security and contentment, which has for a long time been silently stealing upon the minds of many, and which has so infected them, that they declare with a solemn oath, that nothing in the world is easier than this doctrine of the Catechism,—so easy indeed, that with a single reading, they can accurately repeat the whole. Then immediately, as if arrived at the highest proficiency and thoroughly instructed, they throw away the book into some corner, and it makes them ashamed only to take it in their hands again. Yea, what is still more to be deplored, some even among the nobility, are found at this day to have a spirit so depraved as to affirm that nothing further is necessary, either for parishioners or preachers, than to supply the books, from which any one, without aid or instruction, can learn these doctrines. Hence they suffer the parishes themselves to fall to ruin and lie entirely waste. They do not suffer, however, the parishioners and preachers to perish with hunger like vulgar and illiterate Germans. For such people do we Germans possess, and such are we compelled to tolerate.

But I, if indeed I may speak of myself, am also a doctor and a preacher, endowed, as I believe, with no less learning as well as experience, than those who presume so much on their abilities, and who have attained so high a state of security; yet by no means am I ashamed to imitate the young. Just as we teach the Catechism, so do I,—early in the morning, or whenever I get a moment of leisure,—privately recite word by word, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Articles of Faith, the Psalms, or something of

the kind. And though I have leisure every day for these lessons and studies, yet not even in this way am I able to reach the point which I am seeking, or to attain the proficiency which I desire.

So it happens, that I necessarily have to profess myself a boy and a student of the Catechism at this day,—and I profess it willingly. But these delicate, fastidious folks attain so much at a single lesson, that they leave all doctors every where behind them; they know all things; they have no further need of doctrine or of precept. Yes indeed, by this very conduct, they furnish the most conclusive evidence, that they have no concern whatever either for their own duty, or the salvation of their people, but that they equally despise both God and his word. And though they have now caused the most terrible distress, they are not in dread of some ultimate catastrophe, but rather the necessity which they are under of becoming students again, and of having to learn the first elements of knowledge, which they imagine have been trodden, as the saying is, under their shoes.

I entreat, therefore, these indolent epicures and presumptuous saints, for God's sake, to suffer themselves to be convinced, that they have by no means attained the proficiency which they arrogate to themselves. And besides let them never imagine that they have learned all portions of the Catechism thoroughly, and have a distinct view of them all, although these portions may seem to them to have been most diligently marked and studied. For let us make the most generous supposition;—let us grant that they do remember and understand every principle to the utmost perfection,—a thing which it is impossible to attain in this life,—yet we must never forget the endless applications and benefits resulting from a daily perusal of these same principles, and from daily exercise in meditating and discoursing upon them. No doubt the Holy Spirit may attend this perusal, this discourse, and meditation, excite new emotions and supply new light, cause us to feel more and more every day the influence of this doctrine, and bless our labors with more valuable results,—as Christ himself has promised in Matthew 18, 20, when he says, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."

Besides there is nothing more effectual against Satan, against the flesh, and all unholy thoughts, than to study the word of God with diligence, to form our discourses and meditations upon it; for the first Psalm declares those alone to be happy who meditate day and night upon the law of God. Nor can you entertain a hope of finding any charm more potent, any fragrance more resistless, against evil spirits,

than to study with deep application the word and the commandments of God, to mingle them in your familiar conversations, to sing them and to meditate upon them. For these commandments are indeed that consecrated water, that true sign by which Satan is put to flight,—which he most cautiously shuns.

And were no other advantage to be gained by this practice, than a liberation from Satan and wicked thoughts, certainly this consideration alone ought to be a sufficient inducement for you to read, to meditate, to study, and to learn willingly this portion of the doctrine. For Satan is not able to endure or to hear the word of God. That word, indeed, is not like the fabulous tales of the nursery, or the songs of lyric poets, but it is, as Paul says, Rom. 1, 16, "The power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." And that very power of God which distresses and subdues Satan most effectually, reanimates and inspirits us beyond measure. But what need is there of many words? Were I to enumerate all the advantages and beneficial results which flow from the word of God, both my paper and my time would fail me.

People generally call Satan the author of a thousand arts,—so great and complicated is his power. But by what name shall we honor that prayer of the Lord, which not only possesses various and complicated power, but even subdues and reduces to nought that very author of a thousand arts with all his power and ingenuity? Doubtless, you will say, we should call it the author not of a thousand arts, but of many myriads. If then indeed, we esteem so lowly this power so invincible, this utility so extensive, these influences so vast, this application so unlimited,—we, who desire to be considered parishioners and preachers,—we especially should not only be denied the food of life, but we should be chased by the very dogs, which need their daily bread not more than we, and which evidently are far better secured against the daily and unremitted designs and temptations of that author of a thousand arts.

Should these considerations not be sufficient to excite our minds to a diligent study of the Catechism, still the command of God alone ought to compel us. For we find in the sixth chapter of Deuteronomy, that we must never cease meditating upon these commandments, while sitting, or standing, or walking, or lying down, or rising up. We should hold them before our eyes as a sign, and carry them in our hands. Without a doubt, God imposed this severe injunction with a wise design. He well foresaw what dangers and necessities would attend us; with what determination and obstinate pertinacity evil spirits would stand every moment in array for our everlasting

destruction; and in opposition to this, our benevolent Father in heaven wished to furnish us with strong and invincible armor, by which we might be able to repel the fiery darts, the secret and dangerous attempts of these enemies. But O foolish and insensible men that we are!—though we must have intercouse among these enemies, these demons,—though we must live among them, we scorn our own defences;—heavy with stupor and drowsiness, we cannot endure to look to these defences or to remember them.

And while these full and presumptuous saints really scorn the doctrine of the Catechism, while they esteem it far too humble to be read and studied every day, what else, I ask, do they do than consider themselves far more learned than God himself, than all the angels, the patriarchs, the apostles, and all Christians. For since God is not ashamed to teach these doctrines daily,—the very best that he has to teach,—and since he frequently repeats and inculcates them over again,—never adding any thing new or inconsistent with them;—I say further, since all the saints knew nothing either better or more useful which they could learn, and were never able to study them sufficiently deep, are we not most eminent and accomplished men indeed, who, having read or heard this doctrine once, are fully persuaded that we know it all; nor is there any further necessity for us to read, as we are able to learn in one hour, what God himself has not been able to teach, though he has been teaching it from the creation of the world to the present time? In a word all the prophets and all holy men have been ever engaged in studying this, yet they remain students perpetually, and necessarily must ever so remain.

For it is certainly true and indisputable, that whoever has thoroughly examined and studied the Ten Commandments, understands the whole Scripture, and is able, on particular occasions and emergencies, to excel in wisdom, counsel, and consolation, to investigate and decide civil as well as ecclesiastical disputes. He is the proper judge of all tenets, sects, and dispositions, of justice and equity, and whatever can be in the world. And what else, I demand, does the whole book of Psalms contain, than mere reflections and exercises upon the first Commandment! Indeed I am persuaded that those voracious and haughty spirits ignorant of this truth, do not understand a single Psalm, much less indeed the whole Scripture. Yet these same men despise the inculcation of the Catechism, which is, as it were, a compendium of the whole Scripture, and contains a short and general description of it.

Accordingly, now again I entreat and implore all Christians, es-

pecially parishioners and preachers, not to fancy themselves Doctors too soon, and cherish the fallacy that they know every thing. For as with false weights and measures, so it happens with vain opinions, when they are brought under strict examination. But let them rather cultivate these studies daily, and impart these principles with diligence. Let them, besides, with due care and circumspection, secure themselves against the delusive idea of false security and presumption; let them strive most earnestly to devote their whole time to reading, learning, reflecting, meditating, and teaching, and let them not cease until they have really discovered and have become thoroughly convinced, that they understand the nature of Satan and of death, and have become more learned than God and all his angels. If they will employ this industry and application, I solemnly promise them, and they themselves will experience, the most gratifying results. God will cause them to become most excellent men; and they will even confess that the more they review and repeat the doctrine of the Catechism, the less they understand it; but that they find it necessary to study it continually. Then it will begin to please and delight them, like men perishing with hunger and thirst, though now, from too much satiety and pride, they cannot even bear the smell. That such may be the case, we pray to God, and may we experience his grace more abundantly. Amen.

SHORT PREFACE OF Dr. MARTIN LUTHER.

We have framed the style of the present little work, with no other view than to adapt it to the instruction of the young and illiterate. Hence among the ancients in the Grecian language, it was called Catechism, a word which signifies *juvenile instruction*. This book necessarily should be perspicuous and plain to all Christians, so that if any one should not have a knowledge of it, he might justly not be considered in the number of Christians, nor admitted as a recipient of the Sacraments. Just as any artist, who does not well understand the rules and principles of his profession, is reprehensible by the best laws of equity, and is to be considered of little value.

Accordingly, the articles relating to the Catechism or juvenile instructor, must be inculcated upon the young with the greatest diligence, and their industry must be exercised upon these articles in no small degree. Hence the duty of a faithful and vigilant father requires, that every seventh day he hold a careful examination of his

children and family at least once, and accurately inquire what they know or have learned about these matters, compelling them with proper seriousness and severity, to learn their Catechism. For I well remember, and we see it daily happen in our experience, that there have been men so slow and dull of intellect, in whom, when they come to years of maturity, no knowledge at all of this subject was found; nor do they manifest any at this day, although they are recipients with us of the sacraments, and share in all the ceremonies which have been instituted among Christians. Yet, while those who claim the use of the sacraments, ought to know more, they ought not to be endowed and informed with less knowledge of Christian duties, than boys or young students. But we, for the purposes of instruction, shall generally be content with these three parts, which have remained in the Christian community through a succession of ages, though very little has been properly and candidly delivered to the people, until the old as well as the young, and whoever wished to be Christians should have been well trained and exercised in them. These divisions are those which follow:

I.—THE TEN COMMANDMENTS OF GOD.

1. Thou shalt have no other gods before me.
2. Thou shalt not take the name of God in vain.
3. Thou shalt sanctify the Sabbath-day.
4. Thou shalt honor thy father and thy mother.
5. Thou shalt not kill.
6. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
7. Thou shalt not steal.
8. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.
9. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house.
10. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbor's.

II.—THE CHIEF ARTICLE OF OUR CREED.

1. I believe in God the Father, Almighty Maker of heaven and earth.

2. And in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, and was buried; he descended into hell; on the third day he rose again from the dead; he ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of God, the Father Al-

mighty, from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

3. I believe in the Holy Ghost, in a holy Christian church; in the communion of saints; the forgiveness of sins; the resurrection of the body, and life everlasting. Amen.

III.—THE LORD'S PRAYER, OR PRAYER WHICH CHRIST TAUGHT.

1. Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name.
2. Thy kingdom come.
3. Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.
4. Give us this day our daily bread.
5. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us.
6. And lead us not into temptation.
7. But deliver us from evil.

Amen.

These are the most necessary articles, which we should, in the first place, learn to repeat word by word; and children should be accustomed, daily, on rising up in the morning, on proceeding to table, and on retiring at night, to recite them; nor should they be permitted to eat or to drink, unless they have previously rehearsed them. A similar method every father of a family should observe with his domestics, male and female, namely, not to retain them with him, if they do not know, or are unwilling to learn these principles. For such rudeness, incivility, and ignorance, can by no means be tolerated in a person, since all that the Scriptures contain, is briefly, plainly, and most simply embraced in these three parts. The beloved Fathers or Apostles, (or whoever they may have been,) have thus also comprised in a summary what the Christian doctrine, life, profession, and wisdom, are, of what they speak and treat, and with what they are engaged.

Now, when these three articles are comprehended, it is also necessary for us to be able to rehearse and understand something concerning our sacraments which Christ himself has instituted,—viz., baptism, and the holy body and blood of Christ,—those texts, for instance, with which Matthew and Mark conclude their gospels, which Christ gave as his last instructions to his disciples, and then sent them forth:—

OF BAPTISM.

"Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," "He

that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned."

This much is sufficient for the unlearned to know from the Scripture, concerning baptism: and the like concerning the other sacrament, with a few simple words, as for example the declaration of Paul.

OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, the night in which he was betrayed, took bread: and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat; this is my body, which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me."

"Likewise also, the cup after the supper, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you for the remission of sins: this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me."

Thus, then, we would have in all five parts, comprehending the whole Christian doctrine, which we should continually urge, and require it to be rehearsed word by word. For it cannot be expected, that young people learn and retain in their memory merely from preaching. Now, when these parts are properly understood, certain psalms or hymns adapted to this purpose, may also be proposed as an extension and confirmation of them; in this way introducing the young into the Scriptures, and daily advancing them.

A mere conception and rehearsal of the words alone, should, however, not be considered sufficient; but let the young attend preaching also, especially at the time designed for exercise in the Catechism, in order that they may hear it explained, and learn to understand what each part comprehends in itself, so that they may be able to repeat it, as they have heard it, and give an accurate and correct answer, when interrogated; so that preaching be not vain and ineffectual. For this purpose we are diligent in lecturing frequently on the Catechism, in order that the young may be influenced by it; not in a manner lofty or tumid, but very brief and simple, so that they can easily perceive it and retain it in their memories. We shall, therefore, now take up in regular order the divisions just mentioned, and endeavor to treat of them in the clearest manner, so far as it is necessary.

PART I.

OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

THE FIRST COMMANDMENT.

Thou shalt have no other gods before me.

That is, you should hold me alone as your God. What does this signify, and how should it be understood? What is it to have a god, or what is God? Answer:—A god signifies a being to whom we should look for all good, and to whom we should have recourse in every necessity; so, that to have a god, is nothing else but to rely on and to believe in him cordially; as I have frequently asserted, that the reliance and faith alone of the heart, point out God and constitute an idol. If, then, your faith and confidence are right, your god is also right: and again, if your confidence is false and incorrect, your god is likewise untrue; for these two belong together, faith and God. Upon whatever, then, I say, you depend and have your heart fixed, that is properly your god.

Wherefore, the meaning of this commandment, is, that it requires of the heart true faith and confidence, which approaches unto and depends alone upon the true and the only God. And it would indicate as much as this:—Be careful, and allow me alone to be your God, and do not seek after any other; that is, look unto me for whatever good is wanting with you, and seek it from me, and if you suffer want and misfortune, come and depend on me, I, *I* will give you sufficient, and relieve you of every need, only let your heart cleave to or rest on no other.

I must explain this by ordinary examples, in order that it may be understood and observed. Many believe they have God with all abundance, when they possess money and goods, on which they rely with so much pride and confidence, as to have no regard for any one else. Behold! these also have their god, which is called Mammon,—an idol the most extensively adored on earth,—gold and splendor,—upon which they have fixed all their affections. Whoever possesses treasures of gold and of wealth, feels secure, full of joy, and free from alarm, as if in the midst of Paradise. Whoever, on the other hand, possesses no wealth, trembles with doubt and fear, as if he had no idea of a God. For we shall find but few, who are not disheartened, and do not mourn or complain, when they have not mammon, to which nature cleaves and adheres through life.

In like manner, he who relies on and prides in his great ingenuity, erudition, power, influence, dignity, and friends, has a god also, but not the true and only God. You can always perceive without difficulty, how confident, secure, and haughty we are who enjoy such advantages, and how desperate and abject we are, when we do not possess these, or when they are withdrawn from us. I therefore say again, that the true interpretation of this expression, *to have a god*, is to have something upon which the heart wholly depends.

Consider, again, what follies we have hitherto pursued, and what we have done through blindness under the papacy. When any one had pain in his teeth, he had recourse to, and adored St. Apollonia; if he was fearful that his property would be consumed by fire, he sought the assistance of St. Laurence; if he was in fear of pestilence, he paid his vows to St. Sebastian or Rochio, and similar abominations besides without number were practised, in which each one chose his own saints, invoking and imploring them for aid in time of need. To this class those also belong, who exceed every limit in these things, forming an alliance with Satan, in order that he may give them a sufficiency of money, or aid them in intrigue, or protect their stock, or restore their lost property, &c., as magicians and necromancers; for all these place their hearts and confidence elsewhere, rather than upon the true God, neither expect nor seek any good from him.

In this manner, then, you easily understand what and how much this commandment requires, namely, the whole heart of man, and entire confidence upon God alone and no other. For to have God, you will be at no loss to judge that you are unable to seize or grasp him with your hands, or to enclose him in a purse, or to secure him in a chest: but this is apprehending him, when the heart embraces him and cleaves to him. To cleave unto him with the heart, however, is nothing else, but to depend upon him wholly. For this reason he desires to divert us from all exterior things, and to draw us unto himself, because he is the only eternal good. As if he should say, all that you have hitherto sought from the saints, and for which you have depended upon mammon, or upon some other source, expect of me, and esteem me as the one who will assist you, and bless you abundantly with all good.

From this, then, you can form an idea of what the true honor and worship of God are, which are acceptable to him, and which he also commands under the penalty of eternal wrath: namely, that the heart should have no consolation and confidence but in him, and should not permit itself to be torn away from him, hazarding and

encountering all that is upon earth for him. On the other hand, you can easily perceive and judge how the world practise idolatry and mere false services to God; for there never has been a nation so profligate, as not to have established and observed some kind of worship; for all have assigned unto themselves a certain god to be reverenced, unto whom they looked for blessings, assistance, and consolation.

As for example, the heathens, who placed their foundation in power and dominion, elevated their Jupiter as supreme god; others, who sought after riches, voluptuousness, prosperity, and success, venerated Hercules, Mercury, Venus, or others. The females, who were in a state of gestation, claimed Diana or Lucina for protection, &c. And thus, to whatever each one's heart inclines he makes it a god; so that, properly, even according to the view of all heathens, to have a god, is to trust and believe. But the defect exists in this, that their confidence was false and incorrect; for it was not based on the only true God, without whom there is really no god, either in heaven or on earth.

Wherefore, the heathens really constitute an idol out of their own fantasies and dreams which they form concerning God, and rely on a mere nonentity. This is plainly the case with all idolatry. For it does not consist merely in the erection and adoration of an image; but especially, does it consist in the heart which is intent on something else, seeking help and consolation from creatures, saints or demons, and not embracing God, nor persuaded of as much benignity from him, as he would grant; much less believing that the good which results unto it, proceeds from him.

There is, moreover, another species of false service to God and of idolatry in the highest degree, which we have hitherto exercised, and which still prevails in the world, and upon which all ecclesiastical orders are based, touching the conscience alone, which seeks assistance, comfort, and salvation in our own self-devised works, presuming to wrest heaven from God, and estimating the number of our institutions, how often we have fasted, held masses, &c.; relies on and glories in these things, as if it would receive nothing from him, graciously bestowed, but desires to acquire or superabundantly to merit it ourselves, precisely as if God must be at our service, and our debtor, but we his creditors. What else is this, but constituting out of God a useless representation, yes, an idol, (*Pomona, Apfelgott,*) and regarding and elevating one's self as God? But this is rather too subtile, and it is not proposed for young pupils.

But in order that they may correctly observe and retain the mean-

ing of this commandment, this may be mentioned to the inexperienced, that we should rely upon God alone, and look unto him for all good, and await it from him, as the one who gives us body, life, meat, drink, nourishment, health, protection, peace, and all the necessaries of temporal and spiritual blessings; and in addition, guards us against every misfortune, and, if any adversity befall us, he aids and delivers us; so that God alone, as amply stated, is he from whom we receive all good, and by whom we are delivered from every misfortune. Hence, I conclude, that we Germans, from old, call God (more beautifully and elegantly, than any other language) even by this name, deriving it from the word, *Gut*, (good,) as he who is an eternal fountain-head which overflows with pure good, and from which issues all that is and can be called good.

For even if much good is otherwise afforded us from men, it is, however, still received from God, which is received through his command and order. For our parents and all who are in authority, as well as each one towards his neighbor, are commanded to do all kinds of generous offices to us; so, that we do not receive these from them, but from God through them. For the creatures are only the hand, the channel, and the medium, through which God gives all things, as he gives the mother's breasts and milk to nourish her infant, and grain and every kind of vegetables springing from the earth for nourishment; none of which blessings or products a creature is able to produce by himself.

For this, reason, no person should undertake to receive or to present any thing, unless it be commanded of God, that it be acknowledged as his gift, and thanks returned to him for it, as this commandment requires. These mediums, therefore, for the reception of benefits through the creatures, are not to be rejected; nor should other ways and means than those which God has commanded, be sought through presumption; for this is not receiving from God, but seeking from one's self.

Let each one, then, be careful in himself, that this commandment above all things, be greatly and highly esteemed, and that it be not cast into derision. Ask and search your own heart carefully, and you will truly discover whether it cleaves to God alone, or not. If you have a heart which can look unto him for all good, especially in time of need and want, as well as reject and forsake all that is not God, you have the true and the only God. Again, if it cleaves to something else, from which it expects more benefits and assistance, than from God, and does not approach him, but flees from him, when adversity surrounds it,—you have an idol.

In order, then, to see that it is not the will of God that this commandment should be lightly esteemed, but sincerely observed, he has adjoined to it, first, a terrible menace, afterwards, a beautiful and consolatory promise, which should be diligently urged and impressed upon young people, so that they may take them into consideration, and retain them:—

"I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me; and showing mercy unto thousands of them that love me, and keep my commandments."

These words relate, indeed, to all the commandments, as we shall hereafter show, but they are here applied, with great justice, to this chief commandment, as the human body is guided by the wisdom and prudence of the head, upon which the happiness of life chiefly depends. Learn, then, from these words the wrath of God against that man who depends on any other being; that his anger ceases not even to the fourth generation; that we are not so secure, so well fortified as the undevout imagine, who pretend that little depends upon these things. On the contrary let us learn how benevolent and gracious he is, how his beneficent goodness extends over many thousands of those who trust and believe in him with their whole heart. He is a God who does not suffer us to turn away from him with impunity; nor will his anger subside till in the fourth generation, even until we shall be entirely exterminated. He, therefore, wishes to be feared,—not to be rejected.

This he has also shown in all public events, as the Scriptures abundantly testify, and experience still teaches daily; for from the beginning he has entirely extirpated all idolatry, and, on account of it, has overthrown both Jews and Gentiles, as he now in our day also overthrows all false worship, so that ultimately, all, who persist in it, must be destroyed. Therefore, although, at the present day, haughty, mighty, and opulent misers are found, who insolently depend on their mammon, disregardful of God's being angry or not angry, as if they would without hesitation venture to withstand his wrath; yet they shall, however, not be able to accomplish it, but before they are aware of it, they shall be wrecked with all upon which they have depended, as all others have been destroyed, who presumed to be more secure and powerful.

And even on account of these obstinate persons who imagine that because God connives for a time, and permits them to rest in their security, he is unconscious of it, or does not engage in it, he must

necessarily execute his wrath and his punishment, since he cannot forget it until on children's children, so that every one may perceive and observe that with him there is no jest. For these are those to whom he refers, when he says: "Them that hate me;" that is, those who persist in their pride and haughtiness, unwilling to hear that which is preached or proclaimed to them; if they are reproved, so that they may judge themselves and amend their lives, before the punishment is executed, they become furious and enraged, so that they really deserve wrath; as we daily experience at the present time in bishops and princes.

But terrible as are these menacing words, so more powerful is the consolation contained in the promise, that those, confiding in God alone, shall be certain, that he will manifest mercy to them; that is, exhibit pure goodness and favor, not only to them, but also to their children, unto thousands and thousands of generations. This should indeed move and urge us to place our hearts on God, with full confidence, if we desire to have all blessings, temporal and eternal, since the supreme Majesty itself so kindly offers, so affectionately induces, and so abundantly promises.

Let each one, then, reflect seriously and cordially upon this matter, so that it may not be regarded as having been declared by a man; for it effects for you either eternal salvation, blessings, and happiness, or everlasting wrath, misery, and grief. What more would you have or desire, than his promise so affectionate, that he will be yours with every blessing, and protect and assist you in every necessity? But alas! it fails in this, that the world does not believe any of these words, or regard them as being the words of God, because it sees that those who place their trust in God, and not on mammon, suffer grief and want, and the devil opposes and resists them, so that they may obtain no money, favor, or honor, nay, scarcely sustain life. Again, those who serve mammon, have power, favor, honor, and wealth, and every convenience in the sight of the world. We must, therefore, embrace these words, even in opposition to this appearance, and know that they do not lie or deceive, but that they must be verified.

Reflect for yourself, or make inquiry, and tell me, what have those ultimately accomplished, who have devoted their whole care and attention to the accumulation of great wealth and possessions? And you will find, that they have lost labor and toil, or, even if they accumulated great treasures, they decayed and went to dust, so that they themselves never enjoyed their possessions, and these did not extend afterwards to the third generation. You will find examples

enough in all histories and in the experience of aged persons, to this effect, only observe them, and turn your attention to them. Saul was an illustrious king chosen of God, and a pious man; but when he was established, and permitted his heart to sink, depending on his crown and power, he had to cease, with all that he had, even so that none of his children remained. Again, David was a poor man, so driven and alarmed, that his life was nowhere secure; yet he must however remain in preference to Saul, and become king; for these words had to continue and be verified, since God cannot lie or deceive. Do not then allow the devil and the world to deceive you with their appearance which truly endures for a time, but ultimately vanishes.

Let us, therefore, carefully study the first commandment, so that we may see, that God will not suffer any presumption or reliance on any thing else, and that he requires nothing more of us than a cordial confidence of all good, in order that we may proceed judiciously and correctly, and use all the blessings which he confers, not otherwise than a mechanic uses his tools or materials in his vocation, and afterwards places them away; or, than a traveller enjoys an inn, nourishment, and a couch; only for temporal necessaries,—each one in his condition according to the order of God, not permitting any thing to become his lord or idol. This is sufficient concerning the first commandment, which it was necessary for us to explain at length, since upon it the sum and source of all piety turn, because, as we have already said, if the heart is reconciled with God, and this commandment is observed, all the others follow properly.

THE SECOND COMMANDMENT.

Thou shalt not take the name of God in vain.

Precisely as the first commandment instructs our hearts and inculcates faith; so this commandment conducts us, and directs our mouths and tongues towards God. For the first, which proceed from the heart and exhibits itself, are words. Now, as I have given instruction above how to answer, what it is to have a God: so you must likewise learn to comprehend in a simple manner the meaning of this and all commandments, and to reply in reference to them. When it is asked: How do you understand the second commandment, or what is meant by a vain use or misapplication of God's name? Answer in the most brief manner thus: This is misusing the name of God, when any one mentions God the Lord, in whatever manner it may occur, for the confirmation of falsehood or any other

kind of vicious tricks. Therefore, so much is commanded, in order that no one may repeat the name of God with levity, or take it in his mouth, when the heart is at the same time, or at least should be conscious of the opposite; for instance, among those who make oath before a court of justice, and one party bears false witness against the other. For there is no way in which the name of God can be misused more, than in falsifying and deceiving by it. Let this be considered the plain and simple meaning of this commandment.

From this every one can easily calculate for himself when and how variously the name of God is misused, although it is impossible to enumerate all the abuses; still in order to proceed briefly, every abuse of the divine name occurs first in political transactions and secular matters, which concern pecuniary interests, property, and honors, whether it be publicly before court, in the market, or some other place, in which persons swear or make false oath by the name of God, or appeal to their souls to sustain the matter. And especially is this customary in matrimonial affairs, where two associate and privately betroth themselves to each other, and afterwards deny with an oath the affiance. But most of all does this abuse occur in spiritual matters which concern the conscience, when false preachers arise and deliver their falsehoods for the word of God.

Behold, all this is decorating one's self with the name of God, or a desire to be fair and righteous, whether it happens in general, secular transactions, or in high subtile matters of faith and doctrine. And slanderers also belong among the number of liars, not only the most rude, who are well known to every body, and who without fear disgrace the name of God, (who belong not to our school, but to that of the executioner,) but also those, who blaspheme the truth and word of God, and impudently affirm that it is of the devil: concerning these persons it is not necessary at present further to speak.

Here then, let us learn and take to heart how much is depending on this commandment, so that we may with all diligence guard ourselves against, and dread every kind of abuse of the divine name as the greatest sin which can be externally committed. For lying and deceiving are in themselves great sins; but they become much more weighty when men wish to justify them, and refer to the name of God to confirm them, and make it a pretext for turpitude, so that from one lie a two-fold, yes, a complicated falsehood results.

God has, for this reason, annexed also to this commandment an earnest, menacing sentence, which reads thus: "For the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain." That is, it shall not be allowed in any one, nor passed by with impunity. For

as little as God will leave unrevenged, the turning away of our hearts from him, so little will he suffer us to use his name as a disguise for falsehood. But alas! it is a general misfortune in the world, that, few as there are who cordially rely on God alone, there are equally few who do not use the name of God for defending falsehood and all manner of wickedness.

For this ingenious propensity we all possess by nature, that, whoever has committed a crime, ardently desires to disguise and conceal his disgrace; and there is no one so audacious as to boast in presence of any one of the crime which he has perpetrated: all would rather have it kept concealed than to have it known. For if you charge a person with something of this kind, he will abuse the name of God,—represent his villany as piety, his disgrace as an honor. This is the common course of the world, like a great deluge overflowing every region of country. Therefore we have as reward, that which we seek and deserve, pestilence, wars, famine, destructive fires and waters, impious wives, children, and domestics, and all kinds of evil. From what other source should so much calamity originate? It is still a great favor that the earth supports and nourishes us.

It is therefore above all things necessary to train up and accustom young people, to hold high in their estimation this commandment and others, and if they transgress, they should immediately be checked, and the commandment should be presented to them, and continually be impressed, in order that they may be reared up, not only by chastisement, but also in fear and reverence to God.

Thus you perceive then, what an *abuse* of the divine name is; namely, (in order to a brief recapitulation,) to use it either simply in defence of falsehood, and in publishing any thing which is not true, or in cursing, swearing, deceiving, and in short, in whatever manner a person may desire to commit evil. It is necessary, moreover, for you to know how the name of God may be *used correctly;* for by these words, which he declares: "Thou shalt not take the name of God in vain," he gives us to understand that his name should be used in a proper manner. For it was revealed and given to us for the very purpose of being used to our benefit. It conclusively follows, since it is here forbidden to use the divine name in defence of falsehood or vice, that it is, on the other hand, commanded to use it in defence of truth and all honorable actions; for instance, if a person swears truthfully where it is necessary and required; also when we teach correctly; when we invoke this name in necessity, praising it and

returning thanks to it in prosperity. All of which is comprised and commanded as it were in a summary, in the fiftieth Psalm verse 15: "Call upon me in the day of trouble; I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me." In all these cases the invocation is sincere and his name used appropriately, it is hallowed, as the Lord's prayer reads.

In this manner you have the sum of this whole commandment illustrated. And from this view it is easy to solve the question, with which many teachers have perplexed themselves, why it is forbidden in the Gospel to swear, when at the same time Christ, St. Paul, and other saints have frequently sworn. This is briefly the meaning: no one should swear to wicked things, that is, to falsehoods, and in cases in which it is unnecessary; but to rightful things and the benefit of our neighbors we should make oath: for it is really a good deed, through which God is praised, truth and justice established, falsehood suppressed, the parties reconciled, obedience exhibited, and contentions settled; for here God himself interposes, and discriminates between justice and injustice, between good and evil. But if one party swear falsely, they have their sentence that the punisment shall not be omitted. And even if it be delayed for a while, nothing shall prosper for them of that which they obtain by perjury, and hold in their possession; and they shall never enjoy it peaceably; as I have observed in many persons who abjured their matrimonial vows, that they afterwards enjoyed no pleasant hours, nor healthful days, and thus they were miserably injured both in body and soul, as well as in property.

For this reason I say and admonish, as before, that children should, in due time, be trained up, by menaces and warning, by restraint and chastisement, to avoid falsehood, and especially the use of God's name to confirm it. For if they are allowed to indulge this practice, nothing good will result from it; as it is now evident that the world is worse than it formerly was, and that there is no government, obedience, fidelity, or faith existing, but an audacious, ungovernable race, with whom neither instruction nor punishment avails any thing. All which is the wrath and punishment of God, on account of such wilful contempt of this commandment.

They should, moreover, be urged and induced, on the other hand, to venerate the name of God, and continually to have it in their lips in all that may occur and present itself before their eyes; for this is the true honor of the divine name, to expect all consolation of him, and to call upon him for the same, so that the heart (as we have already stated) first gives God his honor, through faith, afterwards the lips through confession.

This is a salutary and useful custom, and very effectual against the devil, who is continually around us, and lurking about for an opportunity to bring us into sin and shame, into difficulty and misery, but very reluctantly hears, and cannot long abide if the name of God is mentioned and implored from the heart; and many terrible and calamitous disasters would befall us, if God, through the invocation of his name, did not protect us. I have felt and truly experienced myself, that frequently sudden and grievous misfortunes have been averted and removed, even in such supplication. For grief to the devil, I say, we should continually have this sacred name in our lips, so that he may not be able to injure us as he desires.

It also conduces to this effect, if we cultivate the habit of commiting ourselves unto God daily, with soul and body, wife and children, domestics and all that we have, against all casual dangers or distresses. From this custom benedictions, short prayers, and other morning and evening blessings, have originated and continued to exist. Again, children should be exercised in uttering a benediction when any thing terrific and horrible is seen or heard, saying: Lord God, protect,—help, beloved Lord Christ. So again, on the other hand, when any thing good approaches unexpectedly, no matter how insignificant it is, we should say: God be praised and thanked; this he has conferred on us. As the children were accustomed in former times, to fast, and pray to St. Nicholas and other saints. This would be acceptable and more pleasing to God, than any monastic life or Carthusian sanctity.

Thus we might bring up, in a manner adapted to children and their amusements, the young in the fear and honor of God, so that the first and second commandments might move on harmoniously, and be in continual exercise. Then something good might take hold, arise, and bring forth fruit, that persons might grow up, in whom a whole country could rejoice and delight; and this would be the proper method for rearing up children correctly, since they can be inured by affection and tenderness. For that which we enforce by the rod and chastisement alone, produces no good effect; and even if it succeeds to a considerable extent, they will not however continue dutiful longer than the rod lies on them. But here it takes root in the heart, if God is feared more than the rod and cudgel. This I state in a manner so simple, for the benefit of the young, so that it may at some time have its effect; for while we are preaching to children, we must also babble with them. Thus we have provided against the abuse of the divine name, and taught its proper use, which should consist not only in words, but also in exercise and conduct,

so that we may know that it is well-pleasing to God, and that he will as abundantly reward it, as he will horribly punish that abuse.

THE THIRD COMMANDMENT.

Thou shalt sanctify the Sabbath-day.

We have named the Sabbath-day after the Hebrew word *Sabbath*, which properly signifies to rest, that is, to cease from labor; hence we are accustomed to say: Cease working, or sanctify the Sabbath. Now, in the Old Testament, God selected the seventh day, and designed it as a cessation from labor, and commanded it to be kept holy in preference to all others; but with respect to this external cessation from labor, this commandment was designed for the Jews only, that they should cease and rest from secular labor or employments, so that both man and beast might be refreshed, and not exhausted by constant labor. They afterwards, however, viewed it in a manner too contracted, and grossly misused it, so that they censured it in Christ also, and could not tolerate such works as they themselves had performed on that day, as we read in the Gospel; precisely as if this commandment should be fulfilled by not performing any external work, which was not, however, the intention, but it was more particularly intended that they should sanctify the Sabbath, or day of rest, as we shall hear.

This commandment, therefore, with respect to its outward and literal sense, does not concern us Christians; for it is wholly an external thing, like other ordinances of the Old Testament, confined to certain conditions, persons, times, and places, which are all now abrogated through Christ. But in order that we may draw up for the uninformed, a Christian sense of what God requires of us in this commandment, it is necessary to observe, that we keep the Sabbath-day, not for the sake of intelligent and learned Christians; for these have no need of it: but in the first place, on account of physical reasons and necessities which nature teaches and requires for the common mass of people, men-servants, and maid-servants, who attend during the whole week to their labor and employments, so that they may also have a day set apart for rest and recreation: in the second, mostly for the purpose of enabling us to embrace time and opportunity on these Sabbath-days, (since we cannot otherwise embrace them,) to attend to divine service, so that we may assemble ourselves to hear and treat of the word of God, and afterwards to praise him, singing and praying.

But this, I say, is not so confined to time, as it was among the

Jews, that it must be precisely this or that day; for one day is not better in itself than another, but it should be daily attended to; but since the common class of people cannot attend to it, we should reserve one day in the week, at least, for this purpose. Inasmuch, however, as Sunday has been set apart from old for this purpose, we should therefore let it remain so, that the Sabbath may be observed with uniformity, and that no one cause disorder through unnecessary innovation. This is accordingly the simple meaning of this commandment, that since festivals are observed, they should be devoted to the study of God's word; so that preaching is the proper duty of this day, for the sake of the young and the indigent; yet we should not view this cessation from labor in a manner so contracted, as forbidding other casual labor which we cannot avoid.

Wherefore, when it is asked what is meant by the declaration: *Thou shalt sanctify the Sabbath-day?* Reply: To sanctify the Sabbath-day, signifies to keep it holy. What then is implied by keeping it holy? Nothing else but to be employed in holy words, and actions; for this day needs no sanctification for itself, because it is created holy in itself: but God desires it to be holy to you. Thus it becomes holy and unholy on your account, if you perform holy or unholy things on it.

How, then, is this sanctification accomplished? Not by sitting behind the stove, and performing no rough labor, nor by decorating the head with a wreath, and dressing in the finest and best apparel, but, as I have said, by being engaged in the word of God, and exercising in it.

And in truth we Christians should always observe such holy-day, performing nothing but holy duties; that is, we should be occupied in the word of God daily, and bear it on our lips and in our hearts. But since all of us, as already said, have not time and leisure, we must devote a few hours during the week to the young, or at least a day to the multitude, so that we may be concerned about this alone, and especially urge the ten commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's prayer, and thus regulate the whole course of our life and employment according to the word of God. Now, at whatever time this duty is earnestly attended to, then a holy-day is observed correctly, when it is not, it should not be called a Christian Sabbath; for a mere remission of labor can be observed by persons who are not Christians; as the whole multitude of our ecclesiastics stand daily in the church, singing and exclaiming, but sanctify not the Sabbath-day; for they neither preach nor urge the word of God, but even teach and live contrary to it.

For the word of God is the sanctuary above all sanctuaries, yea, the only one which we Christians know and have. For even if we had all the sainted relics, or holy and consecrated clothes together in a mass, it would still benefit us nothing; for it is all a dead thing, which can sanctify no one. But the word of God is the treasure which makes all things holy, and through which all the saints themselves were sanctified. In whatever hour, then, the word of God is taught, preached, heard, read, or considered, the person, day, and work, are thereby sanctified, not on account of the external performance, but on account of the word which constitutes all the saints. For this reason, I always say, that our lives and works must be governed and directed according to the word of God, if they are to be well-pleasing to him and holy: where this is done, this commandment advances in its power and accomplishment. On the other hand, whatever duty and work are instituted or performed independent of the word of God, they are unholy in his sight, no matter how beautiful and splendid they may appear, even if decorated with the specious garb of holiness; as the devised ecclesiastical orders, who do not know the word of God, and seek holiness in their works.

Observe then, that the power and efficacy of this commandment, do not consist in *cessation from labor*, but in sanctifying; so that this day has a particular holy exercise. For other labor and employment are not properly styled holy exercise, unless the person be previously holy. But here a work must be performed, through which a person becomes holy himself,—a thing which, as already shown, occurs through the word of God alone,—and to this effect places, times, persons, and the whole external service of God, are appointed and ordained, so that it may be publicly and assiduously exercised.

Since then, so much is depending on the word of God, that without it no Sabbath-day can be sanctified, we should know that God desires to have this commandment strictly observed, and that he will punish all who reject his word and are unwilling to hear and learn it, especially at the time appointed for this purpose. Therefore, not only those, who grossly abuse and impiously profane the Sabbath-day, as those who on account of their avarice or wantonness, neglect to hear the word of God, or lie in taverns, full and stupid like swine, sin against this commandment: but those also, who listen to the word of God as to idle talk, and attend preaching merely for the sake of fashion, and when the year has gone by, know as little as they did before. For heretofore it was

the opinion that the day was truly sanctified, if one mass or the Gospel was heard on Sunday; but no one made inquiry about the word of God, nor was it taught by any one.

And now, in truth, although we have the word of God, still we do not suppress this abuse; we allow persons to preach to us and to admonish us continually, but hear them without earnestness and concern. Know, therefore, that it is not sufficient for us to hear only, but we should also learn and observe; and think not, that it is left to your discretion, or that little depends on it, but that it is God's commandment, who will require of you how you have heard, learned, and honored his word.

In like manner, those fastidious spirits must also be reproved, who, after having heard a sermon or two, are so vain as to presume that they understand it perfectly themselves, and have no further need for a teacher. For this is even the sin, which was heretofore numbered among irrevocable sins, and called *akedeia*, (ακηδεια,) that is, listlessness or disgust,—a malignant and pernicious calamity, by which the devil fascinates and deceives many hearts, in order that he may overwhelm us, and clandestinely again draw away from us the word of God.

Permit us then to say to you, that even if you understood the word of God in the most perfect manner, and were master of all things, you are still, however, perpetually under the influence of Satan, who ceases neither day nor night, in his endeavors to deceive you, in order that he may excite in your heart unbelief and evil thoughts, against the former, and all commandments; you must, for this reason, perpetually have in your heart, on your lips, and before your ears, the word of God. But if the heart remains idle and the word does not find a response, he obtrudes himself, and has accomplished the injuries before we are aware of it. It has, moreover, such efficacy, that, if it is considered, heard, and treated of with sincerity, it never vanishes without fruit, but always excites new ideas and emotions, and creates a pure heart and thoughts; for they are not inactive or lifeless, but energetic, living words. And if no other motive and necessity urge us to a consideration of the divine word, this should excite every one to it, since through it Satan is alarmed and repelled, and this commandment fulfilled; and since it is more acceptable in the sight of God, than all glittering, hypocritical works.

THE FOURTH COMMANDMENT.

We have hitherto treated of the first three commandments, which

have express reference to God. *First*, that we should trust in him with our whole heart, fear and love him in all our life. *Second*, that we should not misuse his holy name in lying, or any evil deeds, but use it to the praise of God, and to the benefit and salvation of our neighbors and ourselves. *Third*, that we should hear and exercise the word of God with diligence, on festival or holy-days, in order that all the deeds of our life may harmonize with it. And now the other seven follow, which are proposed in reference to our fellow men, and among which the first and greatest is:—

Thou shalt honor thy father and thy mother.

Upon this paternal and maternal state, God has particularly conferred praise above all other states which are subordinate to him, by commanding us not merely to love, but to honor our parents. For in reference to brothers, sisters, and neighbors in general, he commands nothing higher than to love them, so that he separates and distinguishes father and mother from all other persons on earth, and places them next to himself. For, to honor is much more sublime than to love, as it embraces not only love but modesty, humility, and reverence, towards a natural majesty. Nor does he simply require us to address them in a friendly tone and with reverence, but mostly to conduct and demean ourselves, both in our hearts and in our deportment, so as to hold them in high estimation and regard them as next to God. For that which we should honor from our hearts, we should indeed esteem preeminently.

It is necessary then, that young persons be impressed with the idea that they should regard their parents in God's stead, and consider that even if they be poor, weak, deficient, and peevish, they are nevertheless a father and a mother given of God. They are not deprived of this honor on account of their deportment or defects; for this reason the personal appearance of the parents however deformed is not to be considered, but the will of God who thus created and ordered it. Otherwise we are, in truth, all alike in the sight of God, but in our midst things cannot exist without this inequality and ordinary distinction. For this reason, it is also commanded of God that you observe obedience to me as your father, and that I have the superiority.

Learn, then, *in the first place*, what that honor towards parents is which is required in this commandment; viz. that we should esteem them sincerely and worthily, as the highest treasure on earth: should demean ourselves towards them modestly in our expressions:

and we should not approach them maliciously, or look upon them with contempt or disdain, but yield to them in their claims, and keep silence even if they act imprudently. Finally, we should manifest this honor in our conduct, that is, in love and goodness, which may serve, assist, and maintain them when they are old, sick, feeble, or in need; and all this not only willingly, but with humility and reverence, as if it were done in the presence of God. For whoever knows how he should esteem them in his heart, will not let them suffer with hunger and want, but will regard them equal and superior to himself, and impart to them whatever his ability and possessions will permit.

In the second place, observe and mark how great, how good, and holy a work is here proposed for children, which alas! is entirely neglected, and no one perceives that God has commanded it, or that it is a holy, divine declaration and doctrine. For if it had been held in this light, each one could have perceived from it, that they must have been holy people, who lived according to these words; consequently no one would have dared to establish any course of monastic life, or any ecclesiastical orders, had each child adhered to this commandment, and if he could have directed his conscience towards God and said: "If I am to perform good and holy works, I know of none indeed that are better than to render all honor and obedience to my parents, since God has ordered it himself; for what God commands must be far more noble than all that we can advise of ourselves: and since there can be found no higher or better master than God, there can undoubtedly be no better doctrine than that which he gives. Now, he teaches abundantly what men should do, if they wish to perform really good works; and inasmuch as he commands these works to be done, he implies that they are well-pleasing to him. If then, it is God who commands this, and if he knows nothing better to propose, I shall be unable to amend it."

Had any father a pious son properly instructed in this manner, liberally educated and kept at home in the service and obedience of its superior, great pleasure and enjoyment he would see in it. But no one has obliged the command of God to be honored thus, but has suffered it to lie forgotten, or to be violated, so that a child is incapable of reflection, and while it gapes with silly astonishment after that which we have devised, not once does it consult God on the subject.

Let us, therefore, for God's sake, once teach young persons to banish from before their eyes all other things, and fix their attention first upon this commandment, and if they wish to serve God with

really good works, to perform that which is desireable to their parents, or to those to whom they are subject instead of their parents. For the child conscious of this and observing it, has the great consolation within his heart, which enables him to say with freedom and honor (in defiance of, and in opposition to, all who are engaged in their own self-chosen works:)—"Behold! this work is well-pleasing to my God in heaven; of this I am certain." Let others come forward and boast of their great, their numerous, their tedious and laborious works, and then let us see whether they can produce a single work, more noble and important than the obedience due to father and mother, which God has commanded and which he places next to the obedience due to himself; and although, where his word and will maintain their proper ascendancy and obedience, nothing can be superior to the will and word of parents, yet this will and word must remain in due subserviency to him, and must not conflict with the preceeding commandments.

You should, therefore, rejoice in your heart, and thank God, because he has chosen you, and rendered you worthy to perform a work so precious and acceptable in his sight. And you should esteem it great and valuable, even if it is looked upon by others as the most insignificant and despicable, not on account of our worthiness, but because it is comprehended and embraced in the treasure and sanctuary, namely, God's word and command. O how dear a treasure should it be to all Carthusians, monks, and nuns, if they could produce in all their religious austerities one single work before God, which was done according to his command; and could say with joyful hearts in his presence, "We are now certain that this work is well-pleasing to thee." How shall they, these indigent persons, appear, when they shall stand before God and all the world, blushing with shame in the presence of a child that has lived in obedience to this commandment, and when they must acknowledge that with the purposes and performances of their whole life, they have not been worthy to serve it with a drink of water? This justly happens to them on account of their diabolical perversion, since they trample God's command under foot, in torturing themselves to no purpose, with their own self-devised works, reaping derision and shame as their reward.

Should not the heart leap and melt with joy, when it goes to work and performs that which is commanded, so that it can say, "Behold, this is more noble than all Carthusian sanctity, even if they torture themselves to death by fasting and praying on their knees without intermission?" For in reference to the former, we have an indubitable declaration and testimony that he has commanded it; but in

reference to the latter, he has not enjoined a single word. But this is the misfortune and lamentable blindness of the world, that no one believes it. Thus the devil has fascinated us with false holiness and a pretence of our own works.

It is therefore my ardent desire, (I repeat it again,) that we might open our eyes and our ears, and take these things to heart, in order that we may not at some time be led away again from the pure word of God, by the delusive arts of the devil. Thus we might look for a happy period in which parents could enjoy the more peace, love, friendship, and harmony in their families, and children could gain the whole affection of their parents. Again, if they are pertinacious, and will not do that which they should, unless they are chastised, they provoke both their God and their parents, and by this means deprive themselves of this treasure and peace of conscience, and bring upon themselves nothing but misfortunes. And it is on this account, that we find the unfortunate state of affairs now existing in the world, of which every one complains, that both young and old are extremely dissolute and ungovernable, destitute of fear and honor, carrying nothing into effect unless forced by chastisement, and in a clandestine manner withdrawing from each other, and perpetrating whatever they can. On account of which God also punishes them, so that they fall into all manner of calamity and distress. And we also see, that parents themselves are generally uninformed; one simpleton instructs another; and as the parents have lived, so the children live after them.

And this should, I say, be the first and the greatest consideration urging us to an observance of this commandment, on account of which, if we were destitute of parents, we should desire God to propose for us wood and stone which we might call father and mother. How much more, since he has given us living parents, should we delight in being able to render honor and obedience to them, since we know that it is so well-pleasing to the Supreme Ruler of the universe and to all angels, and that it is so unpleasant to all devils,—the noblest work which can be performed after the high service of God comprised in the foregoing commandments, the giving of alms and all other acts of benevolence, are still unequal to it. For God has placed this state in the first order, yes, he has instituted it in his own stead on earth. This will and pleasure of God should be a sufficient cause and inducement for us to do with willingness and delight whatever we are able.

We are indeed, under still further obligation in the sight of the world, to be thankful for the favors and all the benefits which we

have received from our parents. But here the devil again so exerts his influence in the world, that children forget their parents, as all of us forget God, and no one considers how God nourishes, defends, and protects us, and how many blessings he confers upon our bodies and souls; especially if an unhappy period approaches, we become angry and murmur with impatience, and all the blessings which we have received during our whole lives, sink into oblivion. Even so do we also act towards parents, and there is no child that can perceive and consider these things, unless it receives grace from the Holy Spirit. This wicked disposition and ingratitude of the world, God plainly perceives; for this reason he impels and admonishes us with commandments, in order that each one may reflect what his parents have done for him, learning from this that he derived his body and life from them, that he is nourished and reared up by their care, without which there have been hundreds of conjunctures in which he might have perished in his destitution. Therefore, it is rightfully and properly said by aged and wise persons: *Deo, parentibus et magistris non potest satis gratiæ rependi;* that is, it is impossible for us ever to compensate sufficiently God, parents, and teachers. Whoever observes and considers this, will indeed render all honor to his parents without compulsion, and act towards them in the most affectionate manner, as those through whom God has given him all blessings.

Besides all these things, this should also be considered a great motive urging us the more to an observance of this commandment, namely, that God has annexed to it a temporal promise, saying: "So that thou mayest live long in the land where thou dwellest." Observe then the earnestness of God in reference to this commandment, since he indicates not only that it is acceptable with him, and that he has pleasure and delight in it, but also that it shall be well with us, and we shall prosper abundantly, reaping the enjoyments of life with all blessings. Therefore, St. Paul, Eph. 6, 2, 3, also has reference to it, and highly commends it, where he says: "This is the first commandment with promise, that it may be well with thee, and thou mayest live long on the earth." For, although the other commandments have their promise also included, yet it is not so expressly and explicitly laid down in any of them as it is in this one.

Here then you have the fruits and the reward of this commandment, that he who observes it, shall have quiet days, prosperity, and success: on the other hand, you have also the penalty, that he who is disobedient, shall perish the sooner, and shall not enjoy his life. For the enjoyment of long life signifies in the Scriptures, not only a

far advancement in years, but the possession of all that pertains to long life, good health, wife and children, subsistence, peace, good government, &c. without which this life cannot be enjoyed happily, or prolonged to an advanced age. Now, if you will not obey your father and mother, and receive instruction, then obey the executioner; if you will not obey him, then obey the all-subduer, which is death. For in a word, it is the design of God, either, if you obey him, and render love and service to him, to compensate you abundantly with all blessings, or, if you provoke him, to send upon you both the executioner and death. Whence arise so many criminals, whom we must daily subject to the gallows, to decapitation, and the crushing wheel, unless it is from disobedience? Because they would not suffer themselves to be reared up in piety, and in this way, through the judgment of God, they cause us to behold their misfortunes and distresses. For very often does it happen that such reprobate persons die an unnatural and untimely death.

But the pious and the obedient have the blessing of living a long life in peace and tranquillity, and of seeing their children's children (as already said) in the third and fourth generation. And experience teaches us, that wherever there are prosperous and ancient families, of excellent character and blessed with many children, the cause of it truly is, that some of them have been well raised, and have held their parents in due estimation. Again, it is written, Psalm 109 verse 13, in reference to the ungodly: "Let his posterity be cut off; and in the generation following let their name be blotted out." Let it therefore be told to you, how great a thing obedience is in the sight of God, since he esteems it so highly, permits it to be so well-pleasing unto himself, so abundantly rewards it, and moreover, so strictly regards it as to punish those who violate it.

I mention all these things in order that they may be deeply impressed on the minds of the young. For no one easily believes how necessary this commandment is, yet hitherto it has not been esteemed or taught under the papacy: each one considers the words simple and easy, and thinks he is already well acquainted with them; for this reason he passes them by, and gapes after other things, without seeing and believing that he so greatly provokes God, when he neglects this commandment, or that he performs a work so precious and acceptable when he observes it.

In the consideration of this commandment, it is also necessary further to treat of various forms of obedience to superiors, who have to command and to govern. For from parental authority all other pow-

ers are propagated and extended. For if a father is not able in himself to educate his child, he chooses a teacher for the purpose of instructing it; if he is unable to do this, he applies to his friends or neighbors for assistance; but if he departs this life, he commits and delivers it to the government and guardianship of others appointed for this purpose. Again, he must have under him also domestics, men-servants and maid-servants, for the administration of his domestic affairs, so that all who are called masters and mistresses, serve instead of parents, and must receive power and authority from them to rule. Hence they are all called fathers according to the Scripture, as they exercise in their government the office of father, and they should bear fatherly hearts towards their subjects. And as, from ancient times, the Romans and many other people, have called masters and mistresses by terms equivalent to *Patres et Matres familias;* that is, fathers and mothers of families. So they also called their priaces and sovereigns *Patres patriæ;* that is, fathers of the whole country, to our great shame who wish to be Christians, because we do not confer this title upon them, or at least this regard and honor.

In whatever respect then a child is indebted to father and mother, all are likewise indebted, who are included in the family government. For this reason, men-servants and maid-servants should endeavor not only to render obedience to their masters and mistresses, but also to hold them in honor as their own fathers and mothers, and to perform all that they know is required of them, not through compulsion and severity, but with pleasure and delight, even for the reason already mentioned,—because it is the commandment of God, and more acceptable with him than all other works; for the sake of which they should even be willing to remit some of their wages, and they should rejoice that they are able to procure a master and mistress, that they have a conscience so quiet, and know how they should perform true golden works; which have heretofore been neglected and despised, and for which every one, in the name of the devil entered into monasteries, resorted to pilgrimages, and indulgence, with shame and troubled conscience.

Now, if we could impress these things on the deluded multitude, a little girl might leap with joy, praising and thanking God, and with her delicate labor, for which she in other respects receives her subsistence and reward, obtain such a treasure as all, who are regarded as most holy, do not possess. Is it not an excellent glory, to know and to say, when you have performed your daily duties in your domestic employment, that it is better than all the holiness of monastic life and austerities? And besides, you have the promise that you shall increase and prosper with all blessings. How would

you be more happy, or live more holy, so far as regards your operations? For in the sight of God faith alone truly justifies, and serves him alone, but works serve the people. Here you have all blessings, defence, and protection, a cheerful conscience and a gracious God besides, who will abundantly reward you; and you are truly a nobleman if you only are pious and obedient. But if you are not, then you have, in the first place, nothing but the wrath and vengeance of God, no peace at heart, and finally, all misfortune and distress.

Now, those whom this will not move and induce to piety, we commit to the executioner and the all-subduer. Let each one, therefore, who will suffer himself to be admonished, consider that with God it is no jest, and know, that God speaks to you, and requires obedience. If you obey him, then you are a beloved child; but if you despise it, you have reproach, distress, and grief for your reward.

In a similar manner we should also speak concerning obedience to civil magistrates, who, as remarked, derive their authority from paternal jurisdiction, which authority is very extensive. For here are fathers not of a single family only, but of as many persons as there are citizens, freemen, orsubjects under their jurisdiction; for through them, as through our parents, God gives us our subsistance, houses and homes, and sustains us in them. Therefore, since they bear with honor this name and title, as their highest glory, we are also under obligation to honor and esteem them greatly, as the most valuable and precious treasure on earth.

Now, whoever is submissive, obedient, and subservient to them, and performs with cheerfulness whatever belongs to the honor due them, knows that he acts acceptably before God, and receives as a reward peace and prosperity. If he will not perform it through love, but if he rejects and opposes their authority and will not comply with it, he should also know that he has neither favors nor blessings, and if he expects to gain one gilder by it, he looses ten times more in some other respect, or falls into the hands of the executioner, or perishes through wars, pestilence, and famine, or realizes no pleasure in his children, or suffers injuries, injustice, and violence from domestics, neighbors, or strangers and tyrants, so that he may receive such compensation and reward as he seeks and deserves by this disobedience.

Could we once be persuaded that these works are so acceptable in the sight of God, and so abundantly rewarded, we would sit in pure, superabundant blessings, and have what our hearts desire. But since we observe the word and command of God as contempt-

ously as if they had been declared by a worthless man, let us also consider whether we are the men who are able to enter into contest with him? How weighty would it be indeed for him to reward us again? Therefore, we live more under the protection of God in peace and prosperity, than under his wrath in adversity. Wherefore do you suppose that at present the world so abounds with perfidy, disgrace, distress, and murder, except because every man being his own lord and ruler, regards no one, and does whatever he pleases? For this reason by one knave God punishes another, so that if you deceive or disrespect your lord, another comes, who treats you in the same manner again; yes, so that in your family you must suffer ten times more from your wife, children, or domestics.

We feel our misfortune indeed; we murmur and complain about perfidy, violence, and injustice; but we will not perceive that we are knaves ourselves, who have justly deserved punishment, and still do not reform. We do not desire to be in possession of grace and righteousness; for this reason we justly have nothing but adversity, without any mercy. There must still be some pious persons on the earth, since God still grants us so many blessings. For our sake we should not retain a farthing in the house or a straw in the field. With so many words I had to urge all these things, that they might once be taken into due consideration, in order that we may be liberated from the blindness and distress in which we so deeply have been involved, and have a proper conception of the word and will of God, and embrace them with sincerity. From this word and will we would learn how we may have peace and prosperity abundantly, and happiness, temporal and eternal.

Thus we have fathers of two descriptions indicated to us in this commandment; the one a natural father, presiding over the family; the other an official father, presiding over the country. Besides these there are also spiritual fathers, not as those in the papacy, who have falsely arrogated this title to themselves, without, however, exercising any fatherly office; for those alone are worthy to be styled spiritual fathers, who govern and direct us through the word of God, as St. Paul, 1 Cor., 4, 15, glories in calling himself by this name, where he says: "For, in Christ Jesus, I have begotten you through the gospel." Inasmuch, then, as they are fathers, this honor is due to them also, even above all others; but here it is least rendered; for, indeed, all the honor which the world confers upon them, is to banish them from the country, and begrudge them a morsel of bread; and in a word, they must (as Paul says, 1 Cor.,

4, 13,) be the filth of the world, and the offscourings of all things.

It is still necessary, however, to impress upon the minds of the multitude, that those who wish to be called Christians, are under obligation in the sight of God to hold as worthy of double honor, such as attend to the welfare of their souls, so as to manifest kindness and favors towards them, and to provide for them; for this purpose God will grant sufficient means. But here every one resists and opposes, filled with fear that his body might perish. And now we cannot support one learned, virtuous, and faithful preacher, where we heretofore satisfied the appetites of ten epicures. For this reason we richly deserve that God should deprive us of his word and blessing, and permit false preachers to rise up again, who lead us to the devil, and consume our labor and subsistence.

Those, however, who regard the will and commandment of God, have the promise of being abundantly compensated for whatever they bestow both on natural and spiritual fathers, and for the honor they render unto them: not that they shall have bread, raiment, and money for a year or two only, but long life, sustenance, and peace, and shall be rich and blessed forever. Therefore, only perform your duty, and leave all the care to God, how he supports you and procures a sufficiency for you; because if he has promised it, and has never yet broken his word, he will also not deceive you. This should indeed create such a heart as might melt for joy and love towards those to whom our honor is due, and induce us to lift up our hands and thank God with joyfulness, who has given us such a promise as we should seek to the extremity of the world. For even if all the world were to combine, it would still be unable to add a single moment to life, or to produce from the earth a single grain; but God is able and willing to give you all things abundantly, according to the desire of your heart. Now, whoever neglects this promise, or rejects it, is unworthy to hear a single word of God. We have now abundantly discussed every thing relating to those who are subject to this commandment.

It were, moreover, well also to instruct parents in reference to the requirements of their duty, and the manner in which they should conduct themselves towards those who are committed to their government; which, although it is not expressed in the ten commandments, is, however, strictly enjoined in many other portions of the Scripture. God desires it also to be understood, even in this commandment, when he mentions father and mother; for it is not his will that there should be knaves or tyrants in the management of this office; nor does he attribute this honor to them, that is, power

and authority to rule, so that they might permit themselves to be worshipped; but they should consider that they are under the control of God, and they should above all things discharge the duties of their office with sincerity and good faith, not only in nourishing their children, domestics, subjects, &c., and in providing for their physical wants, but mostly in rearing them up to the praise and honor of God. Think not, therefore, that it is left to your own choice and pleasure, but that God has strictly commanded and enjoined it, unto whom you will have to render an account for it.

But here we perceive again the wretched misfourtune, that the duties of this office are neither regarded nor observed by any one. We act as if God had given us children for the purpose of gratifying our vanity and folly in them; as if he had given us domestics as beasts of burden to be used only for the accomplishment of labor, or subjects to act according to our caprice, permitting them to act as if we were unconcerned about what they learn, or how they live; and no one perceives that it is the command of the Supreme Being, who earnestly requires and expects this; or that so much importance is attached to a proper attention to the young. For if we wish to have ingenious and pious persons, both for civil and ecclesiastic government, we must in truth spare no pains, care, or expense, in educating and rearing our children, so that they may serve God and their fellow men; and we should not consider only how to accumulate money and possessions for them; for God indeed can nourish and enrich them without our aid, even as he does every day: but for this reason he has given us children, and commanded that we should educate and rule them according to his will; otherwise he has no use for father and mother. Therefore, let each one know, that he is under obligation, at the forfeiture of divine grace, to bring up his children above all things, in the fear and knowledge of God, and if they are endowed with talents, to let them learn and study useful arts and literature, so that they may be beneficial to society.

Now, if these things were attended to, God would abundantly bless us and grant his grace, so that persons of this character might be raised, and the condition of the country and the people ameliorated, and moreover, that there might be useful citizens, chaste and economical females, who might in future raise pious children and families. Think, then, for yourself how fatal an injury you cause, if you are negligent, and suffer any want of effort on your part, in having your children brought up to useful and virtuous habits; and moreover, you bring upon yourself condemnation and wrath, and thus deserve hell through your own children, even if you were otherwise

pious and holy. Wherefore, because these things are despised, God so terribly punishes the world, that we have no discipline, peace, or government, of which we all complain, but we do not perceive that it is our fault; for as we raise them, so we have ill-bred, disobedient children and subjects. Let this suffice as an admonition; for to discuss this at length belongs to another occasion.

THE FIFTH COMMANDMENT.

Thou shalt not kill.

We have now treated both of spiritual and civil government, that is, divine and paternal authority and obedience. We accordingly take leave of our own residence, and proceed to our neighbors, for the purpose of learning how we should live among each other,—each individually towards his neighbor. Wherefore, God and the magistracy are not comprehended in this commandment; nor does it divest them of their authority which they have for inflicting capital punishment. For God has committed his right in punishing criminals to magistrates in the room of parents, who in former times (as we read in Genesis) were under obligation to bring their children to judgment, and to sentence them to death. For this reason, that which is forbidden here, is forbidden particularly to private persons, and not to the magistracy.

Now this commandment is easy to be understood, and it is frequently inculcated, since we annually hear it in the Gospel, Matt. 5, 21, where Christ himself explains it, and comprises it in a summary, namely, that we should not commit murder, either with our hands, or by the devices of our hearts, or by our lips, or by testimony or treachery, or assistance and counsel. Every one is, therefore, here forbidden to be angry, excepting, as remarked, those who occupy God's place on earth, that is parents and magistrates. For it behooves God and persons who are engaged in divine orders, to be indignant, to rebuke and to punish, even on account of those who transgress this and other commandments.

The reason and necessity, however, for the institution of this commandment are, because God truly knows how wicked the world is, and the numerous misfortunes attending this life, on account of which he has instituted this commandment and others, to protect the pious against the ungodly. Now, as there are various oppositions against all commandments, so there is here; because we must live among many persons who injure us, and give us occasion to be at enmity with them: as when your neighbor sees that you have

better residence and lands, more blessings and prosperity from God than he has, he becomes offended, envies you, and speaks nothing good of you.

Thus, through the instigation of the devil, you get many enemies who accord you no blessings, either temporal or spiritual. Therefore, when we see these men, our hearts become inflamed with anger, and begin to burn with a desire of revenge. Thence arise blows and maledictions, from which calamity and murder finally result. Here God, like a kind and clement father, interposes as arbitrator, and desires the contention to be allayed, so that no misfortune may result from it, nor one injure another. And, in a word, by this commandment he wishes each one to be protected, defended, and guarded against the violence and injuries of every one, and that it should be placed as a rampart, a fortress, and a safeguard for our neighbors, in order that they may not be molested, or receive any personal injury.

The import of this commandment is, that no one should injure his neighbor on account of any malicious act whatever, even if he richly deserves punishment. For where murder is forbidden, there every cause is also forbidden from which murder might arise; for many a one, if he does not commit murder, utters imprecations and harbors malicious designs, which, if they should effect us would be intolerable. Inasmuch, then, as this principle is implanted in all of us by nature, and since it is the universal practice that one will not suffer any injuries from another, God intends to eradicate the root and the cause through which our hearts become embittered against our neighbor; and he intends to accustom us to have this commandment continually before our eyes, viewing ourselves in it as in a mirror, beholding the will of God, and submitting unto him with sincere confidence and supplication of his name, the injustice which we suffer, and thus permitting those to indulge their fury and rage, to do whatever they can; so that we may learn to assuage our wrath, and to keep an enduring, patient heart, especially towards those who give us occasion to be angry, that is, towards our enemies.

Therefore, the whole sum and substance of these words, *not to kill*, should be expounded to the inexperienced in the most explicit manner:—*In the first place*, that no one should commit an injury, first, with his hands or by his deeds; second, he should not use his tongue for the purpose of doing injuries. Moreover, he should not employ or justify any kind of means or ways by which another might be injured. And, finally, his heart should not be at enmity with any one, or imprecate evil upon him, through anger and hatred. So that

both body and soul should be innocent with respect to every one, but especially in respect to him who wishes or causes us evil: for, to do evil to him who wishes us well and does us favors, is not human but diabolical.

In the second place, not only he who perpetrates evil, violates this commandment; but he who is able to favor, assist, restrain, control, and protect his neighbor, so as to prevent him from being molested, or from receiving injuries in his body, and does not do it, also violates this commandment. For if you permit a naked person to depart when you are able to clothe him, you have suffered him to perish with cold: if you see some one suffering with hunger, and you do not administer to him, you let him starve: so, if you see an innocent man sentenced to death, or in similar distress, and do not rescue him, if you know of ways and means for this purpose, you have put him to death; and it will not benefit you if you do allege that you did not give your consent, advice, or assistance, to this act; for you have withheld from him that love, and deprived him of that kindness, by which his life might have been saved.

For this reason God also justly calls all those murderers, who do not advise and assist in the exigencies and dangers of body and life; and he will pass a most terrible sentence over them on the day of judgment, as Christ himself, Matt. 25, 42, 43, announces, saying: "I was a hungered, and ye gave me no meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me not in: naked, and ye clothed me not: sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not." That is, you would have permitted me and my followers to perish with hunger, thirst, and cold; to be torn by wild beasts; to linger in prison, and to be destroyed by want. What else is this but reprimanding you as murderers and blood-hounds? For even if you have not perpetrated this in deed, you have, however, so far as it pertains to yourself, permitted your neighbor to remain and perish in misfortune.

This is as much as if I were to see some one laboring to extricate himself from deep water, or some one who had fallen into fire; and if I could extend my hand to rescue either of them from danger, and still would not, should I not appear before the world a murderer and a wicked wretch? Therefore, the whole design of God is, that we should not permit injury to befall any person; but that we should manifest all kindness and love to them; and this has as already said, especial reference to our enemies; for to do good to our friends, is but a heathen virtue, as Christ, Matt. 5, 46, says.

But here we have the word of God again, by which he wishes to

entice and urge us to true, to noble, and excellent works; as meekness, patience, and in short, love and kindness towards our enemies. And he would remind us continually to remember the first commandment, from which we learn that he is our God, that he desires to assist, defend, and protect us, and to suppress our inclination for revenge.

These things should be urged and impressed upon the minds of the multitude: then we would all find abundant occasion to do good works. But this would not be preaching for the monks; but it would more justly detract from the religious orders, and bring in a remarkable depression of Carthusian sanctity; and it would perhaps be called even a prohibition of good works, and a destruction of monasteries. For by this means the condition of common Christians would avail equally as much as these orders, yes, much more; and all persons could see how they impose upon and deceive the world with their false, hypocritical appearance of holiness, since they scatter to the winds, this and other commandments, and regard them as unnecessary; as if they were not commandments, but counsels; and, moreover, since they impudently boasted and proclaimed their fictitious orders and works as the most perfect course of life, so that they might lead an easy life, without opposition and penance, For this cause they also entered into monasteries, in order that they might not be molested by any one, or have necessity to do a favor for any one. But know, then, that those are the right, the holy, and divine works, in which God rejoices with all angels; and in contrast with which, all human sanctity is filth and pollution, which deserves nothing but wrath and condemnation.

THE SIXTH COMMANDMENT.

Thou shalt not commit adultery.

The following commandments are now easy to be understood in themselves from the interpretation of the preceding; for they all tend to the protection of our neighbor against every kind of injury. They are, indeed, arranged in a judicious order. *First*, they secure his own person; *second*, they respect the person nearest himself, or the nearest good next to his body, namely, his consort, who is one flesh and blood with him; so that no one can do him greater injury in any thing. It is for this reason explicitly said here, that we should bring no disgrace on his wife. And it speaks particularly concerning adultery; because, among the Jewish people it was ordered and commanded, that every one had to enter into the matrimonial estate.

Therefore the youth were married at a very early age; consequently a state of virginity was of no moment among them; nor were there any public prostitutes, or obscenity tolerated, as at the present; wherefore the most general sin among them, that of unchastity, was adultery.

But inasmuch as there is existing among us a shameful mixture of all kinds of vices, and lewdness of the basest order, this commandment is likewise directed against every species of unchastity, no matter how it may be called; and it forbids not only the outward act, but also every cause, inducement, and means, leading to it; so that our hearts, our lips, and our whole bodies may be chaste, giving no occasion, assistance, or advice tending to immorality. And not only so, but it also requires us to guard, protect, and rescue, our neighbor where there is danger or necessity; and, moreover, to assist and advise him, so that he may sustain his honor. For if you tolerate this, when you are able to prevent it, or if you connive at it, as if it did not concern you, you are guilty, as well as the perpetrator himself. This commandment briefly, then, requires each of us to live chaste himself, and also to assist his neighbor in doing so. For God wishes the companion of every one to be secured and protected, by this commandment, against insult and outrage.

But inasmuch as this commandment has so express a reference to a state of matrimony, and since we have occasion to speak of it, you should in the first place observe how highly God honors and requires this state, in confirming and protecting it by his command. He has confirmed it above in the fourth commandment: "*Thou shalt honor thy father and thy mother.*" But here, as we have said, he has secured it. He therefore desires us also to honor it, and to observe and use it as a holy, blessed state, since he has instituted it superior to all others; and for this reason he created male and female differently, as it is evident, not for lustful or licentious purposes, but in order that they might live together in a state of matrimony, and be fruitful, nourishing their families, and rearing them up to the honor of God.

For this reason God has also most abundantly blessed it above all other states; and besides, he has crowned it with all things in the world, and committed all things to it, in order that this state might be richly and amply provided for. Consequently, the state of matrimony is no jest or device; but it is a sacred and a divine reality; for upon it all that power is depending by which persons are reared up, who serve the world, and promote the knowledge of God, a happy life, and all virtues, striving against vice and Satan.

Wherefore, I have always taught that no one should contemn this state, nor hold it as dishonorable, as the blind world and our false ecclesiastics do; but it should be viewed according to the word of God, with which it is adorned and sanctified, so that it is not only set on an equality with other states, but it precedes and excels all others, whether they be imperial, sovereign, episcopal, or whatever they may be. For both spiritual and secular states must humble themselves, and all be found in this condition, as we shall hereafter hear. It is, therefore, not a particular, but a universal and an exalted state, which prevails and extends through all Christendom; yes, through the whole world.

In the second place, it is also necessary for you to know that this is not only an honorable state, but it is also necessary and earnestly commanded of God, and that in general, in all conditions or occupations of life, male and female who are fitted for the enjoyment of matrimony, should be found living in these social ties; some few however excepted, whom God has peculiarly excluded, because they are not adapted to it, or whom he has exempted through extraordinary gifts, so that they are enabled to observe chastity without marriage. For where nature predominates, as implanted by the Creator, it is impossible to remain chaste without matrimony; for flesh and blood remain flesh and blood, and the natural inclinations and attractions maintain an unfettered, an unconstrained influence, as every one sees and feels. Wherefore, in order that it might be the more easy to avoid, in some measure, unchastity, God has instituted marriage, so that each one might have his allotted companion, and live with her satisfied; although the grace of God is still necessary, that the heart may also be chaste.

From this you perceive how our papistical multitudes—priests, monks, and nuns, who contemn and prohibit marriage, strive against the order and command of God, avow perpetual chastity, presume to observe it, and besides, deceive the illiterate with false words and appearances. For no persons have less love and desire for chastity, than those who, on account of their pretended holiness, avoid matrimony, and either publicly and impudently indulge in fornication, or privately exercise a worse practice, which decency forbids us to name; as alas! has been too much experienced. And, to be brief, even if they abstain from this deed, yet their hearts are full of unchaste thoughts and evil desires, so that there are incessant ragings of passion and internal sufferings, which may be avoided in married life. Therefore, by this commandment every illegitimate vow of chastity is condemned, and leave given, yes, it is even commanded to

all poor captivated consciences, deceived through their monastic vows, to forsake their unchaste conditions, and to enter into a state of matrimony; for even admitting that monastic life might be godly, it still does not lie in their power to observe continence; and if they do continue in this observance, they must sin to a greater extent against this commandment.

These things I have said in order that young persons might be persuaded to obey their desires for matrimony, and that they may know that it is a felicitous state, and acceptable in the sight of God. For by this means we might be able, in the course of time, to restore it to its due honor, that this polluted, obscene, and inordinate course of conduct, might be diminished, which now prevails every where in the world in a manner so offensive to chastity, with fornication and other shameful vices which have resulted from a contempt of married life. For this reason parents and magistrates are also under obligation to see to the young, that they be raised up in decency and honesty; and when they are grown, that they be admonished of the will of God and of honor: for this purpose he will grant his blessings and his favors, so that peace and joy must result from it.

From all this, let it be said then, in conclusion, that this commandment requires each one not only to live chastely in thoughts, words, and actions, in his condition, that is, especially in his matrimonial estate, but also to love and esteem the consort that God has given him. For if conjugal chastity is to be observed, husband and wife must above all things live together in love and harmony, so that one confide in the other from the heart, and with entire reliance. For this is one of the most important points which creates love and desire for chastity, and from which, where it exists, chastity will follow spontaneously. For this reason Paul also so diligently admonished married persons to love and honor each other, Eph. 5, 22—Col. 3, 18, 19. Here, then, you have very precious works, yes, numerous and excellent good works, which you may cheerfully perform in opposition to all ecclesiastic orders, chosen without the word and command of God.

THE SEVENTH COMMANDMENT.

Thou shalt not steal.

Next in order after your own person and your consort, temporal property presents itself. God desires to have this protected also; and he has commanded that no one should encroach on, or di-

minish the possessions of his neighbor. For, to steal signifies nothing else than to obtain the property of another through unjust means; in which view are briefly comprehended frauds against your neighbor, of every species, in all kinds of traffic. Now this is a common vice and very extensive, but so little noticed and regarded that it exceeds all limits, insomuch that if all should be suspended to the gallows who are thieves and yet do not wish to bear this name, the world would soon be desolate, and wanting both in executioners and in gallows. For we must, as already said, regard as stealing, not only an extraction from the coffer and the purse secretly, but also taking advantage in the market place, in all mercantile establishments, taverns, wine and beer houses, work-shops, and in short, wherever we execute the ordinary transactions of commerce, receive or give money for merchandise or labor.

As—for the purpose of illustrating the matter in somewhat a simple and plain manner, for the benefit of the common people, in order that we may see how pious we are—when a man-servant or a maid-servant is not faithful in the performance of duty, and causes injury or permits it to be perpetrated which could easily have been prevented; or when, in some other respect, there is an indifference or carelessness, on account of negligence, indolence, and malice, causing the master or mistress trouble and provocation, or any thing of this kind which can happen through a wicked disposition. For I do not speak of the injuries which are done through oversight and reluctance. In this manner I say you can annually defraud your master or mistress out of a guilder, yes, thirty or forty, or even more, for which, if some one else had secretly taken or withdrawn them, he must have been suspended by the rope; but here you can venture to act in a presumptuous manner, and no one dares to call you a thief.

In a similar manner I also speak in reference to the mechanic, to workmen, and hirelings, who all exercise their malignity, not knowing how they shall defraud their employers enough, and moreover they are indolent and unfaithful in their labor. All these surpass by far, secret thieves, against whom we can guard by means of locks and bolts, or if they are apprehended, we can so confine them, that they will not repeat the same offence. But against the former no one is able to guard, nor dares he regard them with disrespect, nor charge them with theft. Consequently, we would much rather sustain loss immediately from our purse. For here are my neighbors, my good friends, and my own domestics, to whom I look for favors; and these first of all deceive me.

Thus also in the market and in common places of traffic, this kind

of dishonesty is exceedingly frequent, where one deceives and cheats another openly with false measures, unjust weights, and adulterated coin, and defrauds by crafty cunning and strange imposture, or by deceptive artifices. And again, when one overcharges and oppresses another wilfully, thus overreaching and perplexing him. And who can relate or think of all? In short, this is the most common art, and it produces the most numerous class of criminals on earth. And now if some one should seriously contemplate the world through all professions, he would see nothing but an extensive banditti of notorious thieves. Wherefore, these men are in reality usurpers, high-way robbers, and country thieves—not robbers of chests or secret thieves, who seize the property of another by force; but those who preside in office and are called illustrious noblemen, and honorable and pious citizens, exercising injustice and robbery under pretext of honesty.

Yes, here we might be silent in reference to the minor cases of individual thieves, if we were to assail the great, the powerful, and notorious thieves, with whom lords and princes enter into society; those who daily pillage not a town or two, but all Germany. Yes, where would remain the head and supreme protector of all thieves—the holy See at Rome, with all his adherents, who has dishonestly usurped the treasures of the whole world, and holds them in possession to this day? In short, the usual course of procedure in the world is this,—whoever can openly steal and rob, wishing to be honored besides, passes freely and securely, unpunished by any one; while the little clancular thieves, who have once committed theft, must bear the shame and punishment, so that those others may appear pious and honorable; yet they should know that they are the greater thieves in the sight of God, who will inflict upon them such punishment as they merit and deserve.

Inasmuch, then, as this commandment is so comprehensive, as we have now shown, it is necessary to exhibit and illustrate it to the multitude, so that they may not act so inconsiderately and securely, but that the wrath of God may be presented and inculcated before their eyes. For, these things we must preach not to Christians, but mostly to knaves and rogues, to whom the judge, the prison-keeper, or the executioner should more justly preach. Therefore, each one should know that he is under obligation, at the hazard of incurring the divine displeasure, not only not to injure his neighbor, or to take the advantage of him, either in commerce, or in any contract, or to manifest any kind of perfidy or mischievous conduct towards him, but also to protect his property faithfully, and to promote his interest,

especially if he receives competent remuneration and sustenance for it.

Now, whoever maliciously contemns these things, may persist in his course, and escape the executioner, but he shall not evade the wrath and punishment of God; and if he exercises his pride and arrogance for a considerable length of time, he shall be a fugitive and a beggar, and suffer, besides, all manner of distress and misfortune. And still you persist in this unjust course, when at the same time it is your duty to protect the property of your master or mistress, for which service you receive your necessaries and support,—receiving your wages unjustly, and exulting in them as a nobleman; as there are many who manifest impertinent pride towards their masters and mistresses, unwilling to serve them through love and obedience, in repelling their injuries. But observe what you gain by this conduct: when you shall have received your wages, and are sitting at your ease, God will send all misfortunes upon you, and you shall discover and experience again that where you have obtained one farthing by fraud, you will have to repay thirty fold.

We meet with workmen and laborers of similar character, whose intolerable arrogance we must now hear and bear, as if they were noblemen occupying foreign possessions, and every one must give them as much as they desire. Well, only let them pillage as long as they can, God will not be unmindful of his commandment; he will also reward them as they have deserved; and he will not suffer them to flourish, but to degenerate, and they shall never aggrandize themselves nor prosper. Indeed, if there were a proper government established in the country, this licentiousness could soon be checked and resisted, as in former times it was among the Romans, where persons of this character were immediately apprehended, in consequence of which others were necessarily deterred.

And a similar fate shall all others meet, who constitute nothing but a place of oppression and robbery out of the open and public market, in which the poor are defrauded daily, and new oppressions and extravagances practised—each one availing himself of the market according to his own arbitrary will, insolently boasting and ranting as if he had legal authority to dispose of his possessions at prices as extravagant as he desires, and as if no one had a right to make complaint against him. We shall, indeed, connive at these, and let them exercise their oppressions, frauds, and covetuousness; but we have confidence in God, that he will, however, when they have extortioned and oppressed for a considerable length of time, pronounce a curse on them; so that their grain shall spoil in the garner, and their beer in

the cellar, and their cattle shall be destroyed in the stall. Yes, if you cheat or defraud any one out of a guilder, all your treasures shall depreciate and be consumed, so that you sh all never be able to enjoy them with peace.

That this is true, we perceive, indeed, from daily experience, that nothing which is acquired either by fraud or theft, prospers. How many are there who make every effort, both day and night, to accumulate wealth, and still do not become a farthing richer? And even if they accumulate an abundance, they must still endure so many calamities and misfortunes, that they cannot enjoy it with peace, or transfer it to their children. But inasmuch as no one is solicitous about these things, proceeding as if they do not concern them, God must visit us otherwise, and teach us morals, by enforcing upon us contributions, and sending us a swarm of soldiers for guests, who instantly pillage our coffers and purses—not ceasing while we possess a farthing; and besides this, burn and destroy our houses and residence, violate and murder our wives and children.

And in short, if you steal much, rest assured that as much more will be stolen from you; and whoever robs, or obtains any thing by violent and unjust means, must suffer from another, who will treat him in a similar manner. For God well knows how to employ one thief to punish another, since one robs and defrauds another; where could we otherwise procure ropes and gallows sufficient?

Whoever, then, will permit himself to be advised, should know that it is the commandment of God, and that it is not to be regarded as a jest. For even if you contemn us, defraud, steal, and rob, we shall, however, endeavor to bear it, and to endure and suffer your arrogance, and to commiserate and forgive it, according to the Lord's prayer; for we know that the pious shall have sufficient, and that you do yourself greater injury than any one else. But here, when the beloved poor call upon you for assistance, who are now so numerous, and who are compelled to support themselves by their daily penny, beware that you do not act as if every body were dependent on your mercies; exercising extortion and oppresson upon them, and sending those away arrogantly and inhumanly, to whom you should give and confer; they depart miserable and sorrowful, having no one to whom they can complain; their cries and entreaties shall ascend to heaven: here I admonish you again, be on your guard, as if it were against Satan. For these sighs and entreaties will not be jests, but they will have an energy or an influence which is more weighty than you and all the world can bear. For it will touch *Him* who accepts poor, distressed hearts, and who will not leave this unre-

venged. And if you contemn these, and act arrogantly, observe whose displeasure you have heaped upon yourself: and if you are prosperous and successful, then you may denounce God and myself as liars before all the world.

We have now sufficiently admonished, warned, and advised: whoever will neither regard nor believe these things, we shall permit to proceed until he is taught by experience. It is necessary, however, to impress these things on the minds of the young, so that they may be on their guard not to imitate the hardened and untractable multitude, but have in their view the commandment of God, in order that his wrath and punishment may not come upon them also. It pertains unto us to admonish and reprove through the word of God: but it belongs to princes and magistrates to restrain such manifest injustice; who should have their eyes and their minds engaged in instituting and preserving regulations for all kinds of traffic and commerce, so that the poor be not burdened and oppressed, and they themselves be not loaded with the sins of others.

Let it suffice then, as a definition of stealing, that the term be not confined to limits so contracted, but extended to all our dealings with our fellow man. And for the purpose of comprehending in a few words, as we have done in the preceding commandments, the meaning of this one, it is necessary to show that it forbids us, in the first place, to do our neighbor any injury and injustice, (no matter how many ways can be contrived to diminish his goods and chattels, and to impede and avert his interests,) or to allow or tolerate these things; but it enjoins on us to guard and protect him against them; and in the second, it commands us to improve and promote his possessions, and where necessity requires it, to impart and extend our assistance, both to friends and foes.

Whoever, then, seeks and desires to do good works, finds abundant occasions to perform such as are acceptable and pleasing in the sight of God, and, moreover, he will be remunerated and caused to overflow with exalted blessings; so that whatever we do for the benefit and protection of our neighbor, shall be abundantly compensated; as king Solomon also teaches, Prov. 19, 17: "He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth unto the lord; and that which he hath given will he pay him again." Here you have a bountiful Lord, who is, indeed, sufficient for you, and will not permit you to be in want, or to suffer; and thus you can enjoy, with cheerful conscience, infinitely more than you can accumulate by perfidy and injustice. Now, whoever does not desire these blessings, will find wrath and misfortune enough.

THE EIGHTH COMMANDMENT.

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.

Besides our bodies, our consort, and temporal property, we have another treasure still, namely, honor and reputation, with which we can also not dispense. For it is intolerable to live among people when you are oppressed with scandal, and scorned by all. For this reason it is as little the will of God for our neighbor's reputation, character, and honor to be assailed, as for his money and possessions to be diminished; but it is his will that each one should be respected by his wife, children, domestics, and neighbors. And in the first place, the most simple meaning of this commandment is, as the words declare, that we should not bear false witness before a public court of justice, in which a poor innocent person is accused and oppressed by false evidence, through which he is punished in his person, property, and honor.

This appears as though it concerned us but little at the present time; but among the Jews it was a very noted and common thing. For the people were embraced in their established orders of government; and where such government still exists, there this sin prevails. The reason is this,—where a judge, mayor, prince, or other magistrate presides, it never fails, and it is according to the course of the world, that no one willingly desires to offend, but dissembles and speaks according to favors and interest, or friendship; for this reason a poor man must be defeated, and suffer injustice and punishment. And it is a common misfortune in the world, that pious persons scarcely ever sit in judgment; for it is above all things necessary for a judge to be a pious man—not only a pious, but also a wise and discreet, yes, a shrewd and fearless man: so it is also necessary that a witness should be fearless, yes, particularly a pious man. For he who should judge all matters equitably, and proceed properly with all decisions, will frequently offend friends, relations, neighbors, the rich and powerful, who can aid or injure him much. Therefore, he must be entirely blind, having his eyes and ears closed, neither seeing nor hearing, but directly and impartially decide according to the case brought before him.

First, this commandment accordingly tends to urge each one to assist his neighor in sustaining his rights, not allowing them to be violated or infringed, but promoting and fearlessly defending them, whether it be judge or witness, no matter under what circumstances. And especially is there, in this place, a limit fixed for our honorable jurists, in accordance to which they should see that forensic matters

are transacted rightfully and judiciously, so that they may permit that which is just to remain just—not perverting it by concealment or silence; uninfluenced by money, property, honors, or dominion. This is one part of this commandment, and its plainest meaning, in reference to all that occurs in a court of justice.

Second, it comprehends much more, if we have reference to ecclesiastical jurisdiction or authority, in which it is frequently the case that some one bears false witness against his neighbor. For wherever pious preachers and Christians are found, they are judged before the world as heretics and apostates; yes, they are denounced as seditious, abandoned wretches: and besides, the word of God must be persecuted, blasphemed, falsified, perverted, and erroneously quoted and explained, in the most shameful and pernicious manner. But we shall pass over this for the present, since it is natural for the blind world to condemn and to persecute the truth and the children of God, without, however, regarding it as sinful.

Third, with respect to that which pertains to all of us,—all sins of the tongue are forbidden in this commandment, by which we can injure or offend our neighbor. For bearing false witness is nothing less than the action of the lips; whatever we do, then, to the injury of our neighbor, by an act of our lips, God desires to be prohibited; whether it be done by false teachers, with perverse doctrines and blasphemies, or by iniquitous judges and witnesses, with false decisions, or by others who are not in authority, with falsehood and virulence of their tongues. And to these especially belongs this most detestable vice of secret detraction or slander, with which Satan has so deeply infected us; concerning which a great deal might be said. For it is a pernicious and a universal error, that every one prefers hearing evil rather than good about his neighbor. And though we ourselves are so malicious that we cannot suffer any one to circulate an evil report concerning us, yet we all ardently desire the whole world to applaud us in the most commending terms; and still we are unwilling to hear the best said about others.

For this reason we should be careful to avoid this vice; for it is inadmissible for any one to judge and reprove his neighbor publicly, even if he sees him sinning, unless he has authority to judge and to punish. For there is a great difference between these two phrases: *to judge sins*, and *to be conscious of sins*. We may indeed be aware of them, but we have no right to judge them. We can, evidently, see and hear that our neighbor has sinned, but we have no right to report it to others. When we proceed to judge and condemn another, we commit a greater sin than he: if you know it, however,

do nothing more than bury it in the secrecy of your own bosom, until you are commanded to judge and to punish by virtue of your office.

Those are secret calumniators or slanderers, who are not contented with a knowledge of an error, but assume to themselves judiciary authority, and if aware of the slightest misdemeanor of another, they rumor it in every corner—scoffing and sneering for the purpose of exciting the derision of others, like swine wallowing in the mire. This is nothing else but presumptuously anticipating God in his judgment and office, judging and condemning with the severest acrimony. For no judge can punish more severely, nor go further than to declare that this one is a thief, a murderer, or a traitor. For this reason, whoever presumes to assert these things about his neighbor, usurps a power even as extensive as that of emperor or the whole magistracy. For even if you do not wield the sword, you, notwithstanding, employ your virulent tongue to the reproach and injury of your neighbor.

For this reason God wishes to restrain us from speaking any evil of a fellow creature, even if he be guilty and we are conscious of it; much less if we are uncertain, and have received our information merely from report. But if you ask: "Shall I say nothing about it, when I know it to be true?" Why do you then not refer it to lawful judges? But you will say: "I am unable to sustain it by indubitable testimony, and I might, perhaps subject myself to the danger of incurring punishment for a false accusation." Well! beloved friend, if you dread the consequences, and do not trust to appear before authorized persons, and sustain the charge, say nothing about it; but if you know it to be true, know it for your own benefit, and not for that of another; for if you circulate it, even if it be true, you must still be regarded as a liar, because you are unable to make it appear true: and besides, you act like a wicked wretch, since no one has a right to speak injuriously of the honor and reputation of his fellow man, unless that honor and reputation have been already taken away from him by legal authority.

Consequently every thing that cannot be established, as it should be, may be regarded as false evidence. Wherefore, whatever is not manifest from sufficient testimony, no one should publish or relate as truth. And in a word, that which is secret should be left undivulged, or be reproved in private, as we shall hear. Wherever therefore, a secret calumniator approaches you, and detracts from the character of another by slandering him, reprove him to his face, that he may blush. By this means many might be

put to silence, who would otherwise bring an innocent person into derision, from which he would scarcely extricate himself. For it is easy to take away the honor and reputation of a man, but it is difficult for him to regain them.

Thus you perceive that we are strictly forbidden to publish any thing evil concerning our neighbor; but civil magistrates, ministers, and parents may do so, that this commandment be understood as not permitting evil to go unpunished. For according to the fifth commandment, we should not personally injure any one; but the executioner, by virtue of his office, should show the guilty no favors, but inflict punishments on them; which he may do without sinning against the command of God, because God has instituted this office on account of transgressors. For God reserves to himself the right of inflicting punishment according to his own will, as he threatens in the first commandment. And though no one, as an individual, should judge or condemn any one, yet if those do not, who are authorized, they sin indeed, as well as those who usurp that authority. For necessity requires an evil deed to be proclaimed, and submitted to examination and testimony. And this is carried into effect by means similar to those which a physician employs when about effecting a cure, by making at times, in private, the necessary examination and inspection with reference to his patient. Thus, magistrates, fathers, and mothers, yes, even brothers and sisters, and other good friends, are under obligation to each other to reprove vice when it is necessary and beneficial to do so.

But the proper method of restraining vice, would be to observe the order prescribed in the Gospel, Matt. 18, 15, where Christ says: "If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go tell him his fault between thee and him alone." Here you have a precious and a noble doctrine, worthy of diligent observance, cautiously directing your influence against this detestable abuse. Direct your conduct, then, according to it, in order that you may not so unreservedly detract from the character of your fellow man, and calumniate him; but admonish him privately, to reform himself. And pursue a similar course when any one whispers in your ear the errors of which this or that individual is guilty; advise him to go and reprove these offences, if they have fallen under his observation, and if not, to remain silent.

This you may learn from the administration of daily family-government. For this is the method pursued by the father of a family,—seeing a servant neglecting the performance of his duty, he reproves that servant. But were he so imprudent as to leave his

servant at home, and to go forth upon the streets for the purpose of uttering complaints to his neighbors against him, he undoubtedly would have to hear this declaration: "Thou fool, what does it concern us, why do you not reprove him yourself?" If he were to observe this advice, he would act in a very brotherly manner, so that the evil might be amended, and his servant sustain his honor and reputation. As Christ himself also says: "If he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother," Matt. 18, 15. Here you might achieve a great and memorable deed. Or do you consider it a small thing to gain a brother? Let all the monks and holy orders come forward with all their works combined, and we shall see whether they are able to claim the honor of having gained a brother.

Christ further teaches: "If he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established," verse 16. Consequently, we should confer with the individual himself, whom it concerns, and not backbite him; but if this course avails nothing, then present it to the proper authorities whether to a civil or to an ecclesiastical court. For in this case you are not alone, but in connection with those witnesses, by whom you are able to convict the accused, and upon whose testimony the judge can rely, decide, and inflict punishment. In this way we are able to attain the object in a regular and just manner, restraining the evil or amending it. Otherwise, if you defame another by detraction, stirring up his misdeeds, the bad habits of no one will be amended; and afterwards, when you must appear and testify, you will deny that it was said by you. It would therefore be serving these detractors justly, to wound the intemperance of their tongues severely, so that the desires of others for slander might be checked by it. For if those things were circulated by you, for the improvement of your fellow man, acting through the love of truth, you would not skulk around privately, avoiding the day and the light.

All these things are said with respect to secret sins. But when the sin is so distinctly evident that it is known by the judge and every one else, you may, without committing sin in any respect, avoid and discard the perpetrator as one who has exposed himself to shame; and you may also bear witness against him openly. For there can be no scandal, false evidence, nor injustice, in speaking of that which is clearly evident. Even as at present, we censure the doctrine of the pope, which appears publicly in print, and which is proclaimed throughout the world. For if the sin is manifest, manifest reproof should also follow, so that each one may know how to guard himself against it.

Thus we now have the substance and general meaning of this commandment,—that no one should injure his fellow man by the detractive malignity of his tongue, whether friend or foe, nor speak evil of him, whether it be true or untrue, if it be not done by commandment or for his benefit and edification; but he should employ his tongue profitably, and speak the best of every one, covering over the sins and imperfections of his neighbor, excusing, embellishing, and adorning him with his honor. The cause, however, should be chiefly this, which Christ indicates in the Gospel, and in which he would have comprised all the commandments relating to neighbors: "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, Matt. 7, 12.

We are also taught these things by nature itself, in our own bodies, as St. Paul, 1 Cor. 12, 22, 23, says: "Nay, much more those members of the body which seem to be more feeble, are necessary. And those members of the body which we think to be less honorable, upon these we bestow more abundant honor; and our uncomely parts have more abundant comeliness." The face, the eyes, the nose, and mouth, no one conceals, for they have no need of it, being in themselves the most honorable members which we have; but the most uncomely, of which we are abashed if they should be exposed, we conceal with the greatest care; and our hands and our eyes, together with our whole body, will be occupied in covering and veiling. So we should also act among each other, decorating whatever is dishonorable and defective in our neighbor, making every effort within our power to conduce to his honor, improving and promoting it. And, again, we should restrain whatever might result in his dishonor. And particularly is it an amiable and a noble virtue in him who is able to put the best construction upon all (excepting that which is evidently wicked) that he hears said about his neighbor, or to defend it in the most efficient manner, against the virulent tongues which busy themselves, whenever they can search out or discover any thing, in censuring their fellow man, and in the most malignant manner, proclaiming and perverting it; as it happens at the present time, especially with the beloved word of God and his ministers.

Therefore, in this commandment there are very many good works comprehended, which are in the highest degree pleasing in the sight of God, and bring with themselves superabundant blessings and favors, if the blind world and the false saints would only perceive them. For there is nothing in, nor belonging to the entire man, which can, in a greater degree and to a wider extent, both accomplish good and

effect evil, in spiritual as well as in civil matters, than the tongue, although it is the smallest and the feeblest member.

THE NINTH AND TENTH COMMANDMENTS.

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house.

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbor's.

These two commandments were given almost exclusively to the Jews, although they are partly applicable to us. For they do not explain them as referring to unchastity or theft, since these are sufficiently forbidden in the foregoing commandments; and they also held that they had observed all those commandments, if they had performed externally the works enjoined, or if they had abstained from those forbidden. For this reason God added these two commandments, that it might also be considered as sinful and forbidden to covet our neighbor's wife or possessions, or endeavor to obtain them in any way; and especially, since, under the Jewish government, servants were not like our hirelings, at present, at liberty to serve for wages as long as they pleased, but they were the property of their masters, with their bodies and whatever they had, like cattle and other property. And besides this, the Jews also had power over their wives to put them away publicly, through a writing of divorcement, and to take another. Under these circumstances they were necessarily exposed to the danger, if any one desired to have the wife of another, of his taking occasion, by some means, both to put away his own wife, and to alienate the wife of another, in order that he might obtain her under the appearance of justice. Now among them this was not considered either a sin or a disgrace, as little as it now is when a father of a family gives his servant a permit, or when one alienates the servant of another.

Therefore they, I say, thus explained these commandments, and correctly too, (though they are somewhat more comprehensive,) that no one should presume and endeavor to obtain the possessions of another; his wife, for instance, his domestics, house and home, lands, or cattle, even with a good appearance and pretext of justice, yet with injury to his neighbor. For in the seventh commandment, the guilt of one so seizing upon the property of another, or of withholding from our neighbor that to which we can have no right, is forbidden.

But here it is also forbidden to take away any thing from our neighbor, even if we are able to obtain it honorably in the sight of the world, so that no one would dare to impeach or to censure us with having acquired it through unjust means.

For we are so inclined by nature, that no one desires another to be as successful as himself, and every one accumulates as much as he can, no matter what the condition of his neighbor may be. And still we wish to be regarded as pious, putting on the best appearance, and concealing the imposture; we seek after and devise ingenious artifices and crafty schemes, (which are now daily contrived with consummate skill,) as though they were sanctioned by law; and boasting we boldly appeal to these; and we wish them to be called not deceptions or frauds, but sagacity and prudence. And all these are suffered by jurists and judges, who distort and extend the law by forced constructions, in whatever manner it will apply to the case, perverting the words and using them to their benefit, regardless of justice and the necessities of their fellow man. And in a word, he who is the most ingenious and expert in these things, is most favored by the laws, as they also say: *vigilantibus jura subveniunt.*

This last commandment is, therefore, not given for abandoned knaves in the sight of the world, but particularly for those who wish to appear the most pious, and to seek applause, desiring to be esteemed honorable and blameless, having in no wise transgressed the preceding commandments; as the Jews especially, and many great nobles, lords, and princes, desire to be called in the present day. For the common mass of people are embraced in the seventh commandment, —which is of a more general import,—who are but little concerned how they may obtain their possessions with honor and justice.

Thus these things occur mostly in litigations, in which persons determine to gain something from their neighbor, and to deprive him of his just rights. For instance, when a person contends for a large legacy, a depending fortune, &c., he avails himself of those means which seem to have an appearance of justice, and he so embellishes the matter with a display of words, that the court must favor it, and he holds the property by such a title, that no one is able to lay claim to it. Moreover, when one desires to occupy a castle, town, an earldom, or something else of great value, he employs so many resources, through the instrumentality of his friends, and whatever other means he is able to effect, that another, being driven away, the possession is adjudged to himself; and besides, it is confirmed by seal and writing, so that it may be said that he gained it with honesty and the title of a prince.

Similar practices are also carried on in common traffic and contracts, in which one, through grasping cupidity, defrauds another, so that the latter must be perpetually on his guard, or be deceived and defrauded, or whatever contributes to the interest and advantage of the former; and the one who has been defrauded, may probably, on account of pressing necessity or debt, not be able to retain his property, or to redeem it without sustaining serious injury; so that the other one obtains it for half or less than half of its value. And yet this is not considered as taking unjustly or stealing, but as buying honorably. According to the common saying, "Let the first be the best—let each one watch his own interest, regardless of the condition of another." And who would be skilful and ingenious enough to think of all the ways in which wealth may be accumulated under this appearance of justice? which the world does not consider unjust; nor will it see that by this means our fellow man is injured, and must be deprived of these things, the want of which he cannot bear without pain; when at the same time there is no one who desires such practices to be exercised towards himself; from which it is easy to perceive that this kind of resource and appearance is false.

A similar course was pursued with respect to women among the ancients, who could contrive such artifices, when one was pleased with the wife of another, that he could within himself or through the instrumentality of others, (as there were various ways and means which could be devised,) so contrive, that her husband became displeased with her, or that she resisted him or so conducted herself, that he must put her away, and permit this one to have her. This doubtless prevailed very much among the Jews, as we also read in the Gospel, concerning King Herod, that he married his own brother's wife, even whilst his brother was yet living, who, nevertheless, wished to be an honorable, pious man, as St. Mark testifies, Mark, 6, 20. But such examples, I trust will not be tolerated among us, since under the New Testament dispensation the married are forbidden to separate themselves from each other, unless it were in such a case as when one takes away the chosen spouse of another, through cunning artifices or dexterity. But among us, however, it is not a rare thing for one to alienate the servant or handmaid of another, or otherwise to lead her away by the pursuasion of flattering words.

Now, let all these things happen as they may, we should know, that it is not the will of God that you should take away anything from your neighbor, which belongs to him, so as to reduce him to want, in order to satiate your avaricious desires, even if you can hold it honorably in the sight of the world. For it is an insidious de-

ception, practiced, as it is said, under a false coloring, to prevent it from being detected. For even if you act as if you had done no one injustice, you have still encroached on your neighbor's rights, and if it is not called stealing or cheating, it is, however, coveting the property of your fellow man; that is, striving after it, taking from him without his consent, and envying that which God has bestowed upon him. And even if the judge and every one must allow it to you, yet God will not; for he truly perceives the deception of the heart and the cupidity of the world, which, if we grant it a finger's breadth, will take the length of an ell, so that finally manifest injustice and violence result from it.

We, therefore, understand these commandments according to their common meaning:—First, that they forbid us to desire our neighbor any injury, or to assist or to be instrumental in injuring him; but on the other hand, they require us willingly to allow him whatever justly belongs to him, and to favor him in it; moreover, to promote him in whatever may contribute to his interest and advantage, and to defend the same, as we would that others should do unto us. And consequently, they are particularly given in opposition to envy and insatiable avarice, in order that God may remove the cause and the source, from which all the evils spring, through which our neighbor is injured. For this reason he has plainly expressed them with these words: "Thou shalt not covet," &c. For he especially desires to have the heart pure, although we cannot attain this purity while this life endures; so that these, indeed, as well as all others, remain commandments, which continually accuse us, and indicate how impious we are in the sight of God.

CONCLUSION OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

Thus we have the ten commandments, the essence of the divine doctrine, showing what we should observe in order that our whole lives may be acceptable in the sight of God; and moreover, the true fountain and source, from which must spring and into which must return, all works which are to be considered good; so that without the ten commandments no work nor course of conduct can be good and pleasing in the sight of God, let it be as great and as precious in the sight of the world as it will. Now, let us see what our great and notable saints are able to boast of, concerning their spiritual orders and their great and difficult works which they have devised and established, omitting those embraced in the decalogue, as if they were much too insignificant, or as if they had been long

since accomplished. I am indeed of the opinion, that we would all find enough here to engage our utmost endeavors, to observe these, —lenity, patience, and love towards enemies, chastity, benevolence, &c., and all that is connected with these virtues. But works of this kind have no authority and splendor in the eyes of the world. For they are not proud and haughty, nor confined to certain particular times, places, modes, and customs, but they are common daily domestic performances, which one neighbor is able to exercise towards another; therefore they have no respectability or reputation.

But the former works excite the curiosity and attention of men, being promoted with the most pompous ceremonies, great expenses, and royal edifices; and they are so embellished that all things must appear brilliant and splendid;—here they burn insence; here they sing and tinkle; here they light up tapers; so that on account of these things nothing else can be heard or seen. For the appearance of a priest in a surplice decorated with gold, or the sitting of a layman during the whole day in the church on his knees, is called a precious work, which no one is able to extol sufficiently; but the diligent attention of a poor little girl to an infant, and the faithful performance of that which is commanded her, must be regarded as nothing. What else should monks and nuns expect in their cloisters?

But observe, is this not an execrable presumption of those desperate saints, who presume to discover orders and a course of life, better and more sublime than those taught in the ten commandments; affirming, as already said, that this is merely an ordinary course of life, for the observance of common persons? but that theirs is proposed for the saints and the perfect. Nor do these poor blind persons see that no man is able to arrive at such a state of perfection, as will enable him to keep one of the ten commandments, as it should be kept, but that it is still necessary for faith and the Lord's prayer, to come to our assistance, (as we shall hear,) through which we seek and implore, and continually receive this grace and virtue. Their glorying is therefore not otherwise than if one should boast and say: "It is true I have not a farthing with which to pay, but I hope easily to pay ten guilders."

I insist upon these things in order that we may once be liberated from this miserable abuse, which has so deeply taken root, and which still adheres to every one; and in order that we accustom ourselves to have our eyes intent upon these things alone, in every condition of life on earth, and to be solicitous about them. For no doctrine or orders will ever be produced which will be equal to the ten commandments, since they propose a character so exalted, that

no one is able through the powers of man, to attain it; and whoever attains it, is a heavenly, angelic being, far superior to all the sanctity of the world. Take these commandments into consideration, then, and use every exertion, devoting all your power and energy to them, and you will find so much to perform, indeed, that you will neither seek nor esteem any other works. Let this suffice, in reference to the first part of the common Christian doctrine, being considered at sufficient length, both for instruction and admonition; yet in conclusion, we must repeat the text which belongs here, and which we have also spoken of before, in the first commandment, in order that we learn what God wishes to have depending on it, so that we may diligently learn to inculcate and exercise the ten commandments.

"*I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me; and showing mercy unto thousands of them that love me and keep my commandments.*"

Although this Declaration as we have already heard, is annexed to the first commandment, yet it was laid down for the sake of all of them, since they should conjointly be referred and directed to it. For this reason I have said that it should be held forth to youth, and be impressed upon their minds, so that they may learn and retain it, in order that they may see what should urge and constrain us to observe these ten commandments; and we should not regard it in any other light, than that it is joined with each one in particular, so that it pertains and relates to all of them.

Now, as we have already said, there is both a terrible menace and a gracious promise embraced in these words, for the purpose of terrifying and warning, and moreover, of provoking and enticing, in order that we may receive God's word in holy sincerity, since he himself expresses how much is depending upon it, and how inflexibly he will insist upon it, namely: that he will severely and terribly punish all who contemn and transgress his commandments; and again, how abundantly he will reward, favor, and bless with every kind of beneficence, those who greatly esteem them, and cheerfully act and live according to them. By this means he requires that all should proceed from a heart which fears God alone, and keeps him ever present to its thoughts through such fear, abstaining from all that is contrary to his will, so as not to provoke him; and, on the other hand, which trusts in him alone, and performs, through love to him, that which he desires, since he permits himself to be heard as affectionately as a father, and offers unto all favors and blessings.

And in like manner the true meaning and the proper explanation

of the first and principal commandment, from which all others should spring and proceed, is nothing else but that which these words: *Thou shalt have no other gods*—express in the simplest terms, as required here: thou shalt fear and love me as thine own true God, and trust in me; for whatever heart is thus inclined towards God, has fulfilled this and all other commandments. And again, whoever fears and loves any thing else either in heaven or on earth, observes neither this nor any other commandment. Therefore, the whole Scripture has every where enforced and inculcated this commandment, directing all things upon these two,—fear and confidence in God; and especially does the psalmist David teach it throughout the Psalms, for instance, where he says: "The Lord taketh pleasure in them that fear him, in those that hope in his mercy," Psalm 147, 11, —explaining this commandment in one verse, and implying even thus much: the Lord taketh pleasure in those who have no other gods.

Let the first commandment, then, enlighten the whole; let it diffuse its radiance over the rest; and let the Declaration attached to the first commandment, unite and hold them all together in bright harmony, like a wreath of flowers on a circular band, which the eye may continue to pass over repeatedly, without forgetting a single flower. For instance, we are taught in the second commandment to fear God, and not to misuse his name in swearing, lying, cheating, and in other deceptive and dishonorable practices, but to use it correctly and truthfully in supplication, prayer, praise, and giving of thanks, through the love and confidence resulting from the first commandment. And in like manner this reverence should inspire warm confidence and love; not contempt of his word, but a desire to hear and learn it cheerfully, to honor it and to hold it sacred.

And it extends, moreover, through the following commandments, all of which are to be observed towards our neighbor by virtue of the first commandment; and this order should be followed out, that we honor our father and our mother, our superiors, and the whole magistracy, and be subservient and obedient, not on account of their will, but on account of the will of God. And you should not be urged to the performance or to the neglect of any of these duties, merely in consideration of your parents, or through fear or love towards them; but you should especially observe that which God desires, and will very strictly require of you: if you neglect it, you incur the displeasure of a wrathful Judge, or if, on the other hand, you observe it, you secure a benevolent Father.

Again, that you do your fellow man no injury or violence, nor encroach upon his rights in any respect, whether it be in reference to his own body, or to his wife, or to his property, or to his honor, or to his just claims, as they are commanded in this order, even if you might have room and occasion for it, and if no one would reprove you for it; but that you do good unto all, helping and promoting them whenever and in whatever respect you can, through love and pleasure towards God alone, in full confidence that he will abundantly reward you for all. Thus you see then, how the first commandment is the head or fountain, which passes through all the others, and to which they all return and cleave; so that the end and the beginning are indissolubly united and bound up in each other.

It is useful and necessary, I say then, to present these things continually to the young, and to inculcate and impress them deeply on their minds, in order that they may be reared up, not merely by constraint and through fear of the rod, like beasts, but in the fear and honor of God. For they themselves would be spontaneously moved and urged to perform the will of God with cheerfulness, if they seriously consider and cordially reflect, that these are not the idle talk of men, but the commandments of that Divine Being, who so seriously enjoins them, and who punishes those who contemn them, pouring out his wrath over them; but on the other hand, remunerating those who observe them, with inestimable benignity. Therefore it was commanded in the Old Testament not without reason, that the ten commandments should be written on all the walls and every corner, yes, even upon their garments, not merely for the purpose of standing written here, and of being carried about as a spectacle, as the Jews did, but to be perpetually before our eyes, and continually in our memory, in all our business and actions. And let each one permit them to be his daily exercise, in all circumstances, occupations, and dealings, as if they were standing written on every place at which he directs his eyes, yes, wherever he stands or goes. Thus we would find sufficient cause to exercise the ten commandments, both for ourselves at home, and towards our neighbors, so that it would be unnecessary for any one to labor in seeking a cause.

Now, from all this we can easily perceive how highly these ten commandments should be exalted and extolled, above all orders, commands, and works, which men otherwise teach and exercise. For here we can boast and say, let all the wise and the saints come forward, and see whether they are able to produce a single work like these commandments, which God requires so solemnly, and en-

joins with his most terrible threatenings of punishment, and adds, besides, a most glorious promise, that he will shower us over with all blessings and benignity. We should, therefore, teach them in preference to all others, holding them high and precious in our estimation, as the noblest treasure given of God.

PART II.

OF THE CREED.

Hitherto we have heard the first part of the Christian doctrine, and perceived all that God wishes us to perform, and all from which he desires us to abstain. Here then, the Creed properly follows, which presents to us all that we must expect and receive from God; and to speak briefly, it teaches us to acknowledge him wholly and entirely. Which should contribute even to enable us to perform that which is required of us in the ten commandments; for they are, as we have stated above, so sublime and lofty in their institution, that all the powers of man are far too low and feeble to observe them. It is as necssary, therefore, to teach this part, as it is to teach the former, in order that we may know how to observe the commandments, and from what source and through what means this power is to be derived. For if we were able to keep them by our own powers, as they should be kept, we would have no need of any thing further, neither the Creed, nor the Lord's prayer. But before we proceed to explain these benefits, and the necessity of the Creed, it is sufficient, first, for those who are entirely inexperienced to learn to comprehend and understand the Creed in itself.

Heretofore, in the beginning, the creed was divided into twelve articles. Although there are a great many more articles, if we should comprehend singly all the particulars which are in the Scriptures, and which pertain to the Creed; nor could they be distinctly defined with so few words. But, in order that it may be comprehended in the easiest and most simple manner, as it is to be taught to children, we shall briefly comprise the Creed in three chief articles, according to the three persons of the Trinity, and to these articles all that we believe is referred, so that the first article, concerning God the Father, explains creation; the second, concerning the Son, redemption; the third, concerning the Holy Spirit, sanctification. As if the creed were briefly comprehended in so many words: I believe in God the Father, who has created me; I believe in God the Son,

who has redeemed me; I believe in the Holy Spirit who sanctifies me. One God and one faith but three persons; therefore, also three articles or confessions. Thus we shall now briefly pass over the words of the Creed.

ARTICLE I.

I believe in God the Father, Almighty Maker of heaven and earth.

Here it is delineated and prefigured in very few words, what the essence, the will, the operation, and the influence of God the Father are. For, since the ten commandments teach that we should not have more than one God, the question might then arise: What kind of a being is this God? what does he do? how can he be praised, or delineated and described, so as to be known? This the following article teaches, so that faith is nothing but an answer and a confession of Christians, founded on the first commandment. As when we ask a child: Beloved, what kind of God have you? —what do you know about him?—that it can reply: This is my God, first, the Father who has created the heaven and the earth; excepting this one alone, I hold nothing else as God; for there is no one else who could create heaven and earth.

But for the learned, and those who have made some proficiency in the knowledge of the Scriptures, we might expatiate upon each of these three articles, and divide them into as many parts as there are words. But for young pupils, it is sufficient, at present, to notice the most important points, namely, as we have stated, that this article pertains to creation, and that we rely upon the words: *Creator of heaven and earth.* What then is implied, or what do you understand by the words: *I believe in God the Father, Almighty Maker,* &c.? Answer: I mean and believe that I am a creature of God; that is, that he has given me, and continually preserves my body, soul, and life, and all my members; my senses, reason, and understanding, and the like; meat and drink, raiment and sustenance, wife and children, domestics, house and residence, &c. And besides; he permits all creatures to contribute to the benefits and necessaries of life—the sun, the moon, and the stars in the firmament; day and night; air, fire, water, earth, and whatever they produce and are able to bring forth; fowls, fish, animals, grain, and all kinds of growth. Again, those blessings which are of a more secular and temporal kind, good government, peace, and security. So that we learn from this article, that no one of us possesses life, or any of those things which we have just enumerated, or which may be hereafter mentioned, of himself; nor is he able to preserve any of

them, no matter how small and insignificant it may be; for all are comprehended in this word *Maker*.

We also confess, moreover, that God the Father has not only given us all those things which we have and behold; but that he also protects and defends us daily against all evil and calamity, and averts all kinds of danger and misfortune. And all this he does, unmerited by us, through pure love and goodness, like an affectionate father, who takes care of us, so that no evil befall us. A further consideration, however, of these things pertains to the other two parts of this article, where we say, *Almighty Father*.

Hence it is easy to infer, and it naturally follows, since God daily gives, sustains, and preserves all that we possess, together with all that is in heaven and on earth—that we are under obligation to love, to praise, and to thank him continually, and in a word, thus to serve him wholly and entirely, as he requires and orders in the ten commandments. Here there would be a great deal to say, if any one should describe how few there are who believe this article. For we all pass over it superficially, hearing and repeating it, but we do not see and consider what the words convey to us. For if we believed it sincerely, we would also act according to it, and not so proudly pass along with insolent pride, as if we possessed life, opulence, power, and honors, &c., of ourselves, that others must fear and serve us, as the unhappy, perverted world is accustomed to do, which is clouded in its own blindness—misusing all the gifts and blessings of God in its arrogance, avarice, voluptuousness, and disgraceful pleasures alone, without once looking up to God for the purpose of returning thanks to him, or of acknowledging him as Lord and Creator.

For this reason we all should be humbled and alarmed by this article, if we truly believe it. For we daily commit sins with our eyes, our ears, and hands; with our bodies and souls; with our money and property, and with all that we have; especially those who still war against the word of God; yet Christians, however, have this advantage, that they acknowledge themselves to be under obligation to serve and obey him for the blessings conferred on them.

Wherefore, this article should be daily exercised and impressed on our minds, and repeated in our memories in all that presents itself to our eyes, and occurs to us, and when we have been rescued from dangers and difficulties; inasmuch as God grants us all these blessings and procures them for us, in order that we may perceive and experience his fatherly affection and superabundant love towards us. By this our hearts would be warmed and animated with thankfulness,

and induced to use all these blessings to the honor and glory of God. Thus we have this article in the most compendious form, so far as it is necessary for the inexperienced to learn at first, both as to what we have and receive from God, and what we are under obligation to do; a knowledge almost unlimited; a treasure of inestimable value. For here we see how the Father has given himself unto us, with all creatures, and presides over us in this life, in the most bountiful manner; besides that he showers us over with ineffable and eternal blessings, through his Son and Holy Spirit, as we shall hear.

ARTICLE II.

And in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died and was buried. He descended into hell; on the third day he rose again from the dead; he ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

Here we learn to know the second person of the Trinity, and we perceive what we derive from God besides the temporal blessings mentioned above, namely, how he has poured out himself wholly and entirely, and reserved nothing. Now this article is very full and comprehensive; but in order that we may discuss it also in a brief and simple manner, we shall take up before us a single word, and comprise in it the whole sum and substance of the article, namely, as we have stated, that we may learn how we are redeemed; and we should rely on these words: *In Jesus Christ our Lord.*

Now, when it is asked, What do you believe in the second article concerning Jesus Christ? reply briefly: I believe that Jesus Christ the true Son of God became my Lord. What is meant, then, by becoming Lord? It is this, that he has redeemed me from sin, from Satan, from death, and from all misfortune. For before this I had no Lord nor King, but I was chained under the power of Satan, condemned to death, and entangled in sin and blindness.

For when we were first created, and when we had received inestimable blessings from God the Father, the devil came, envious of our felicity, and drew us, by his craft, into disobedience, sin, and every kind of misfortune, so that we lay under the wrath and displeasure of God, adjudged to eternal punishment, as we deserved

and merited. "Here there was neither counsel, nor help, nor consolation, until this only and eternal Son of God, moved by the impulses of fathomless goodness, commiserated us in our deplorable and calamitous condition, and descended from heaven to help us. Thus, then, the powers of those tyrants and oppressors are put to flight and suppressed, and Jesus Christ has succeeded in their stead—the Lord of life, righteousness, all good, and salvation, and has rescued the poor, lost creatures out of the jaws of hell,—gained and liberated us, restored us into the favor and grace of the Father, and has received us as his own property, into his care and protection, that he may rule us through his righteousness, wisdom, power, life, and benevolence.

Therefore the sum of this article is, that the word *Lord* signifies, in its most simple meaning, as much as Redeemer, that is, the one who has brought us from Satan to God—from death to life—from sin to righteousness, and thus preserves us. The parts, however, which succeed each other in this article, chiefly serve to illustrate and explain this redemption,—how and through what means it came to pass; that is, how dear and precious a price it cost Christ, what he bestowed upon it, what he hazarded to gain us and to bring us into his kingdom; namely, he became man, was begotten by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary, free from all sins, in order that he might be the Lord of sin; moreover, he suffered, died, and was buried, that he might make expiation for me, and make compensation for my transgressions, not with gold or silver, but with his own precious blood. And all this he did, that he might be my Lord; for he did none of it for himself, nor had he any need of it. Afterwards he arose from the dead, and overcame death; and finally, he ascended to heaven, and received dominion at the right hand of the Father, that the devil and all powers might be subject to him, and lie beneath his feet, until he, ultimately on the last day, shall separate and remove us from this wicked world, from Satan, death, and sin.

But to treat each of these particulars separately, does not comport with a brief lecture for children; but it belongs to the more lengthy sermons throughout the year, especially at the times set apart for this purpose, to treat each article at proper length, concerning the nativity, passion, resurrection, and ascension of Christ. Moreover, the entire Gospel which we preach, depends also on this, that we properly embrace this article, since our whole redemption and happiness are based upon it, and since it is so abundant and copious, that we always have enough to learn in it.

ARTICLE III.

I believe in the Holy Ghost, in a holy Christian church, in the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and life everlasting. Amen.

I am unable to express this article in better terms, (as we have already stated,) concerning *sanctification*, than simply to say, that by it the office of the Holy Ghost is indicated and described; namely, that its province is to sanctify. We must insist, therefore, that the term *Holy Spirit* is the most comprehensive that can be employed. For there are various spirits made mention of in the Scripture; as for instance, human spirits, heavenly spirits, and evil spirits: but the Spirit of God alone is called Holy Spirit; that is, who has sanctified us and still sanctifies. For as the Father is called Creator, the Son Redeemer, so also should the Holy Spirit, on account of his office, be called a Sanctifier, or one who sanctifies. But how is this sanctification accomplished? Reply: In the same manner as the Son obtains dominion, through which he gains us by his nativity, death, resurrection, &c.: so the Holy Spirit accomplishes this sanctification, through the following means; namely, through the communion of saints or the Christian church, the remission of sins, resurrection of the body, and eternal life: that is, that he first leads us into his holy communion, and lays us in the bosom of the church, through which he teaches us and leads us to Christ.

For neither I nor you could ever know any thing of Christ or believe in him, and approach the Lord, if it were not offered and freely given to us through the preaching of the Gospel by the Holy Ghost, through whom this work is performed and accomplished; for Christ gained and obtained this treasure by his suffering, death, and resurrection. But if it should remain in obscurity, unknown to any one, it would be vain and utterly lost. But in order that this treasure might not remain buried in obscurity, but that it might be applied and enjoyed, God sent forth his word to be preached and revealed to all; in which word the Holy Ghost is given to bring home unto us this treasure and redemption, and to appropriate them to us. Wherefore, this act of sanctification is nothing else but bringing us to Christ the Lord, for the purpose of receiving this blessing, to which we are unable to arrive by our own powers.

Learn, then, to understand this article in the clearest manner, so that when you are asked what you understand by the words, *I believe in the Holy Ghost;* you can answer, "I believe that the

Holy Ghost sanctifies me, as the name implies." But by what means does he do this? or what is the method and medium employed in accomplishing it? Answer: Through the Christian church, forgiveness of sins, resurrection of the body, and eternal life. For in the first place, he has his own church in the world, which is the mother that bears and nourishes every Christian through the word of God, which the Holy Ghost reveals and enforces,—animating and enlightening their hearts so that they may comprehend and embrace it, adhere and cleave to it.

For if he does not preach and awaken it in the heart, so as to be understood it is of no avail, as was the case under the papacy, where faith was wholly suppressed, and no one acknowledged Christ as Lord, or the Holy Ghost as the Power that sanctifies; that is, no one believed Christ to be that Lord who obtained this treasure for us, and reconciled us to the Father, without our works and merits. Wherein was the deficiency? In this, that the Holy Ghost, who might have revealed and preached these things, was absent; but human and evil spirits attended, who taught us to obtain grace and to be saved through our works. It was, therefore, no Christian church; for wherever Christ is not preached, there is no Holy Ghost constituting and assembling the Christian church, without whom no one can come to Christ the Lord. Let this suffice, then, concerning the sum and substance of this article; since, however, the parts enumerated in it, are not altogether clear to the inexperienced, we shall also consider them.

The Creed calls the holy Christian church *Communionem Sanctorum*, a communion of saints,—terms perfectly equivalent. But formerly the one was not employed; and it is also unhappily and unintelligibly rendered in German, *eine Gemeinschaft der Heiligen*, a communion of saints. If we should render it clearly, we must express it quite differently according to the German idiom; for the Greek word *Ecclesia* signifies strictly an assembly; but we are accustomed to the little word *Kirche*, church, which the illiterate do not understand as referring to an assembled multitude, but to the consecrated house or edifice; however, the sacred house should not be called a church, unless because a multitude of persons convene in it. For we who assemble, make and assign for ourselves a particular place, and designate the house by the name of the multitude.

Thus the little word *Kirche*, church, properly signifies nothing else but a common assembly; and it is not of German, but of Greek origin (as also the word *ecclesia*); for they call it in their language Κυριακὸν; as it is also called in Latin *curia*. It should therefore be

called a Christian community or congregation, *eine Christliche Gemeine oder Sammlung*, or most appropriately and clearly, a holy Christianity, *eine heilige Christenheit*.

Wherefore, also the word *communio*, which is attached, should be interpreted, not *Gemeinschaft*, communion, but *Gemeine*, community. And this word is nothing else but a definition by which some one wished to explain what the Christian church is; instead of which, some among us, who were unacquainted either with the German or the Latin language, rendered it *Gemeinschaft der Heiligen*, communion of saints, when at the same time, no dialect of the German language is thus spoken or understood. But to speak proper German, it should be called *eine Gemeine der Heiligen*, a community of saints, that is, a community in which there are pure saints, or still more clearly, *eine heilige Gemeine*, a holy community. These remarks I make, in order that the words *Gemeinschaft der Heiligen*, communion of saints, may be understood; for, since they have thus obtained currency, it would be difficult to abolish them; and, on the other hand, to change a word, would instantly be branded with heresy.

This is, however, the meaning and substance of these words which were added, *Communion of saints*:—I believe that there is a holy congregation and community on earth, of pure saints, under one head Christ, called together through the Holy Ghost, in one faith, mind, and understanding, with various gifts—yet concordant in love, free of heresy and dissension. I also believe that I am a part and a member of these, and a participant and a copartner of all the blessings which they have,—brought in and incorporated with them, by the Holy Ghost, through my having heard, and still continuing to hear the word of God; which is the first step towards entering into this community. For before we had come to this, we were entirely the subjects of Satan, as those who knew nothing of God and Christ. Thus until the last day, the Holy Ghost will remain with the holy Christian church through which he persuades us, and which he uses for the purpose of promulgating and exercising the word; by which he effects and extends sanctification, so that it daily increases and becomes stronger in faith and the fruits which he produces.

We, moreover, further believe that in this Christian church we have forgiveness of sins; which takes place through the holy sacraments and absolution, and besides, through all consolatory passages of the whole Gospel. All, therefore, that is to be taught concerning the sacraments; in short, the whole Gospel, and all the offices of the Christian church, which are also necessary to be exercised con-

tinually, here find their application. For, although the grace of God is obtained through Christ, and sanctification is wrought by the Holy Ghost, through the word of God in the union of the Christian church; yet we are never destitute of sin, in consequence of our flesh, with which we are still encumbered.

All things in the Christian church are, therefore, ordered that we may daily obtain full remission of sins through the word and the signs, instituted for the purpose of consoling and elevating our consciences, while we continue in this life. Thus the Holy Ghost accomplishes this happy end for us, that, even if we are contaminated with sins, they still, however, cannot injure us, since we are in the Christian church; in which there is full remission of sins, both because God forgives us, and because we forgive one another, mutually bearing with each other, and assisting one another. Out of the Christian church, however, where the Gospel does not exert its influence, there is no forgiveness of sins, and, consequently, there can be no holiness. Therefore, all those have separated and excluded themselves from this church, who wish to seek and merit holiness, not through the Gospel and the remission of sins, but through their own works.

But inasmuch as sanctificaton is commenced, and daily increases, we are awaiting the time when our flesh shall have perished, with all its imperfections, and when it shall have been raised again in complete holiness, in a new and eternal life. For now we exist only partially pure and holy; and it is necessary for the Holy Ghost continually to operate on us through the word, and daily to impart forgiveness, till we, in a future life, in which there will be no more forgiveness, but completely and entirely pure and holy persons full of piety and righteousness, removed and freed from sin, death, and all misfortunes, shall enjoy a new, immortal, and glorious life.

Behold, all this is the office and work of the Holy Ghost, who begins our sanctification here upon earth, and daily increases it by these two agencies,—the *Christian church*, and *forgiveness of sins*. But when we shall pass into the future life, in the twinkling of an eye, he will perfect it—*by the resurrection of the body, and life everlasting*, he will retain us eternally in that holiness.

This is the article, then, which should continually prevail and continue in operation. For we now have creation complete; and so is redemption also accomplished: but the Holy Ghost exercises his work without intermission, until the final day; and for that purpose he has ordained a community or church upon earth, through which he speaks, and performs all things; for he has not yet entirely brought together all his followers, nor entirely conferred remission. For this

reason, we believe in him, who daily advances us in holiness through the word, and gives us faith, increasing and strengthening it through this same word and remission of sins; in order that, when all this shall have been accomplished, and we have lived and passed away from the world and all its calamity, he may finally make us entirely and eternally holy; for which we now await through the word in faith.

Observe, here you have the whole divine power, the will, and the operation, portrayed with great elegance, and yet in very few but expressive words. In this consists all our wisdom; it transcends all the wisdom and the intelligence of man. For all the wisdom of the world, although every effort were made to discover what God is, what he has in view, and what he is doing, is still unable to obtain a proper view of either of these. But here you enjoy it all in rich abundance; here in these three articles, he himself has opened and unfolded the depths of his paternal heart,—his own pure ineffable love. For he has created us for the very purpose of redeeming and sanctifying us, and besides this, of placing in our possession all that is in heaven and on earth; he has also given us his Son and the Holy Spirit, through which he brings us unto himself. We could never (as we have shown above) be able to perceive the favor and grace of the Father, unless it should be through Christ the Lord, who is a mirror of his Father's benevolence, and without whom we see nothing but a wrathful and a terrible Judge; and we could likewise know nothing of Christ, if he were not revealed to us by the Holy Ghost.

These articles of the Creed separate and distinguish Christians from all other persons on earth. For those who are not in the Christian church, no matter whether they be Pagans, Turks, Jews, or hypocrites, even if they believe in, and worship only one true God, still do not know what his will towards them is; neither can they look to him for any love or kindness: wherefore they remain under perpetual wrath and condemnation. For they have not Christ the Lord, and besides, they are not enlightened and favored with any gifts through the Holy Ghost.

Hence you perceive that the doctrine of the Creed is quite different from that of the ten commandments. For these teach, indeed, what *we are to do;* but the former states what *God does for us*, and what he gives unto us. The ten commandments are also inscribed on the hearts of all men, but the Creed no human wisdom is able to comprehend; it must be taught by the Holy Ghost alone. The doctrine of the former, therefore, does not as yet make any

Christians; for the wrath and indignation of God even yet remain upon us, because we are unable to observe that which God requires of us: but the latter confers upon us pure grace, making us pious and acceptable in the sight of God. For through this knowledge we are disposed to love all the commandments of God, because in it we perceive how God gives us himself wholly and entirely, with all that he has and possesses, for aid and assistance in observing the ten commandments—the Father with all his creatures; Christ with all his works; the Holy Spirit with all his gifts. Let this suffice, in reference to the Creed for the present, to lay a foundation for the inexperienced, so as not to overburden them; in order that, after having learned to understand the sum and substance of it, they may pursue the study to a greater extent themselves, and apply whatever they learn in the Scriptures, ever increasing and growing in a more enlarged understanding. For while we remain here in this life, we should study the Creed with fidelity.

PART III.

OF PRAYER.

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

We have now heard what we should believe and do; in which things the best and most felicitous life consists. Now the third part follows, teaching *how we should pray*. For since, from our natural constitution, no one is able to keep the ten commandments completely, even if he has begun to believe; and since the devil, with all his powers, together with the world, and our own flesh, strives against it, there is nothing more necessary than to call incessantly upon the Divine name, invoking and entreating God to grant us faith and power to fulfil the ten commandments, preserving and increasing this faith and power, and to remove from us all that obstructs and retards our progress. But in order that we might know what and how we should pray, Christ our Lord himself has taught us the manner and the words, as we shall see.

Before we proceed, however, to illustrate the Lord's prayer successively, it is very necessary, indeed, to admonish and urge the people to prayer in the outset, even as Christ and the apostles did. And our first object should be to know that we *are under obligation to pray*

by the command of God. For we have heard in the second commandment: *Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain*—that it is required there to praise the holy Name, and in every time of need to call upon it, or to pray. For, to invoke is nothing else but to offer up prayer to God; consequently, this is as strictly and as earnestly ordered, as we are forbidden to have other gods, to kill, or to steal, lest any one should think that the consequences are all the same, whether he prays or not, as the rude are accustomed to act under these conceits and imaginations:—"What shall I pray? Who knows whether God hears or regards my prayers? If I do not pray, another will pray;"—and thus they fall into the custom of never praying, excusing themselves by falsely presuming, that because we reject false and hypocritical prayer, we teach that people should not or dare not pray.

It is true, however, that the prayers heretofore delivered, vociferated, and sounded in clamorous words in the church, were undoubtedly no prayers. For external things of this kind, if conducted properly, may be an exercise for young children, pupils, and the inexperienced, and may be styled singing or reading, but they cannot be properly called praying. To pray, however, as the second commandment teaches, is—*to call upon God in every time of need.* This he desires us to do; and it is not left to our own choice, but we should and ought to pray, if we wish to be Christians, as well as we should and must obey our father and mother and the magistracy; for through this invocation and entreaty the name of God is employed with due reverence: this above all things you should observe, in order to repress and repel such thoughts as would prevent and deter you from prayer. For precisely as it would avail nothing, if a son should say to his father, "What is depending on my obedience? I will go on, and perpetrate what I can; it avails equally as much." But here stands the command of God, that you should and must do it. So it likewise is not left discretionary with me to pray or not to pray, but we should and must pray, * [unless we wish to incur the wrath and indignation of God. Now, this we should above all things observe and remember, so as to silence and expel the thought,—that it makes but little difference if we do not pray, or that those only are commanded to pray who are more holy and accepta-

* Although the portion of this paragraph embraced in the brackets, is not contained in the original Dresden edition of 1580: yet inasmuch as it appears in the Leipsic edition of 1790, from which we have made the translation, and since it belongs to the Larger Catechism of Luther, it was deemed proper to retain it here. TRANS.

ble in the sight of God than we are; for these thoughts prevent and deter us from prayer. The heart of man is so perverted by nature, that it ever shrinks from God, and thinks God is averse to our prayers, because we are sinners, and have merited nothing but wrath. Opposed to these thoughts, I say, we should take into consideration this commandment, and turn to God, in order that we may not provoke him to a greater extent, through this disobedience. For by this commandment, he lets us sufficiently understand, that he will neither reject nor repel us from himself even if we are sinners, but he desires to draw us to himself, that we may humble ourselves before him, and lay open our distress, entreating him for grace and assistance. To this effect we read in the Scripture, that God is angry with those also who have been oppressed and chastised on account of their sins, because they have not returned unto him, appeased his wrath through prayer, and implored his grace.]

From this you should think and conclude,—since you are so earnestly commanded to pray,—that you should by no means contemn prayer, but highly and greatly esteem it, and ever draw this similitude from the other commandments. A child should not, under pain of death, abjure his obedience towards his father and mother, but he should reflect, "Whatever I do, I do from no other motive than obedience and from submission to the command of God, upon which I can sustain myself, and highly value these duties, not on account of my worthiness, but for the sake of the commandment." So also here, what and for what we pray, we should view as required of God, and done in obedience to him; and thus we should think: "On my account it would be nothing, but because God has commanded it, it must avail." Therefore, every one, for whatever he may have occasion to pray, should always come before God in obedience to this commandment.

We, therefore, entreat, and most earnestly admonish every one to take this matter to heart, and by no means contemn prayer; for heretofore, the doctrines which were taught, were so perverse that no one was concerned about these things, thinking the mere utterance of prayer sufficient, whether God heard it or not. This is a vague and indefinite offering up of prayer; and consequently, it is ineffectual. For we permit thoughts like these to lead us astray and to perplex us: "I am not holy and worthy enough; if I were as pious and as holy as St. Peter or Paul, I would pray." But away with such thoughts; for even the command which ordered St. Paul to pray, orders me also; and the second commandment was instituted equally as much for my sake as for his; so that he has neither a better nor a

more holy commandment to boast of than I have. For this reason, you should say, "My prayer, which I make, is as precious, indeed, and as holy, and as acceptable in the sight of God, as that of St. Paul, or the most holy saint. I will freely admit that greater holiness belonged to his person, but by no means to the commandment; because God regards prayer, not for the sake of the person, but on account of his word and the obedience manifested towards it; for upon that commandment upon which all saints base their prayers, I also base mine: besides, I pray even for what they all pray, or have prayed. Consequently, it is as highly necessary for me to pray as it was for those eminent saints." The first and most necessary point is, to base all our prayers on obedience towards God, regardless of our persons,—whether we be sinners or pious, worthy or unworthy. And we should know that God will by no means suffer it to pass as a jest, but that he will become angry and inflict punishment if we do not pray, as well as he punishes all other disobedience; and besides, that he will not permit our prayer to be vain and ineffectual. For, if he were not pleased to hear you, he would not command you to pray, and he would not have enjoined it so strictly.

In the second place, we should be the more urged and induced to pray, since God has given us a promise, and declared, that whatever we pray for, shall be sure and certain; as he says, Psalm 50, 15: "Call upon me in the day of trouble; I will deliver thee.." And Christ, Matt. 7, 7, 8, says: "Ask, and it shall be given you," &c. "For every one that asketh, receiveth," &c. These promises should excite and stimulate our hearts to pray with love and desire,—since he testifies by his word, that our prayer is well-pleasing to him, and besides, that it shall be assuredly heard and granted,—lest we should slight or neglect it, or pray in uncertainty.

These promises you can refer to, and say: "Here I come, beloved Father! and I pray, not from my own designs, nor induced by my own worthiness, but incited by thy command and promise, which can neither mislead nor deceive me." Whoever, then, disbelieves these promises, should know that he provokes God to wrath, by dishonoring him in the highest degree, charging him with falsehood.

We should, moreover, be persuaded and constrained to pray, since besides giving the command and promise, God interposes, prescribing the words and manner of prayer himself, and placing in our mouths how and what we should pray; so that we see how earnestly he is concerned about our welfare, and doubt not that such prayer is acceptable before him, and will be assuredly heard; which is an advan-

tage surpassing by far all commandments which we might devise of ourselves. For on this point the conscience would ever remain in doubt, and say: "I have prayed, but who knows how it pleases him, or whether I have attained the legitimate mode and measure of prayer." Therefore, there cannot be found on earth a nobler prayer than the Lord's Prayer, since it has this excellent testimony,—that God so affectionately hears it,—a thing which we should not exchange for the riches of the world.

It is likewise prescribed in certain words, in order that we may perceive and consider the necessity which should urge and constrain us to pray without ceasing. For whoever wishes to pray, must refer to, present, or mention something which he desires; if he does not, it cannot be called a prayer. We have, therefore, justly rejected the prayer of the monks and priests, who moan and murmur dolefully day and night, but not one of them thinks of praying for the least thing; and if all the churches, with their ecclesiastics, were convoked, they would have to confess that they have never prayed from their hearts, not even for the least thing; for no one of them was induced through obedience to God, or actuated by faith in the promise, to pray, nor perceived any necessity; but thought no further, (when it was executed in the best manner,) than that he was performing a good work; by which he presumed to compensate God, as those who would not *receive from him*, but only *give to him*.

But wherever prayer is to be genuine, there must be earnestness and sincerity, so that we feel our need—such need as urges and impels us to supplicate and to entreat; then prayer proceeds spontaneously from the heart, as it should, without requiring any previous instruction to prepare us and to create devotion for prayer. But, we may discern in the Lord's Prayer abundant need of that which should concern us, both with respect to ourselves and our fellow creatures. Therefore, it should also serve to remind us of our wants, and to cause us to perceive them, and deeply to reflect on them, in order that we may not become remiss in prayer. For we all have necessities sufficiently numerous; but the fault consists in this, that we neither feel nor see our state of need. Therefore, God wishes us to present and to declare this need and solicitude, not that he does not know them, but that thereby our hearts may be encouraged the more earnestly to implore God, to desire, and to be prepared the better to receive his bountiful blessings.

Wherefore, we should accustom ourselves daily to pray from our youth up, each one for himself in every time of need, if he but feels something threatening him, and also for other persons among whom

he resides—for ministers, magistrates, neighbors, families, &c., ever, as we have already said, bringing up before God his command and promise, and knowing that he will not have them contemned. These things I mention, seriously wishing them to be impressed on the minds of the people, so that they may learn to pray devoutly, and not lead a rude and unconcerned life, in consequence of which they daily become more incapable of praying,—a thing which the devil wishes, and to which he directs all his powers; for he truly feels the injury and harm which result to him, when prayer is fervently and diligently exercised.

We should know, that all our protection and defence depend on prayer alone. For we are much too weak to resist Satan with his power and his adherents who assail us, and who could readily trample us under foot. We must, therefore, think of, and lay hold on the weapons with which Christians should be equiped to withstand Satan. For what do you suppose could have hitherto accomplished things so great,—defeating the counsels of our enemy, disclosing their plots, checking their murderous designs, and suppressing their seditions, in which the devil hoped to involve us together with the Gospel,—if the prayers of certain pious persons had not interposed a shield, and had not defended us? Otherwise, our adversaries themselves would have witnessed a far more cruel tragedy, namely, how the devil would have submerged all Germany in her own blood. But now they may deride it presumptuously, and enjoy their insolent triumph; we shall, however, be sufficiently able for them and the devil, through prayer alone, if we only continue diligent and do not become indolent. For wherever a pious Christian prays, "Beloved Father, let thy will be done!" immediately from on high God responds: "Yes, beloved child, it shall be even so, and come to pass, in defiance of the devil and all the world."

Now, these things are said for admonition, that we may above all things learn to esteem prayer greatly and preciously, and to perceive a distinction between verbose babbling and a prayer petitioning for something. For we do not reject prayer, but this mere senseless moaning and murmuring we reject, as Christ himself also rejected and prohibited vain repetitions. Matt. 6, 7. Now we shall treat the Lord's Prayer in the briefest and clearest manner possible. Here then, in seven articles or petitions succeeding each other, all the distresses are comprehended, which continually befall us; and each one of these is so great, that it should urge us to pray while we exist in this life.

THE FIRST PETITION.

Hallowed be thy name.

This is somewhat obscure, and expressed in terms not altogether significant. For we would more naturally express ourselves thus: Heavenly Father, grant, that thy name alone may be hallowed. What is implored by saying, may thy name be hallowed? Is it not already holy? Reply:—Yes, it is ever holy in its essence, but *we* do not hallow it. For the name of God is given to us, because we are baptized and have become Christians, since we are called the children of God, and have the sacraments, through which he incorporates us with himself: so that all that belongs to God, shall contribute to our enjoyment. Here then, the great necessity, which should mostly concern us, is, that the Divine name have its due honor, and be held holy and sacred, as the most exalted and the holiest treasure that we possess; and that we as pious children pray that his name which is holy in heaven, be and remain holy also on earth among us and throughout the world.

How then, does his name become holy among us? Answer, (in order to speak as explicitly as we can,) When both our doctrine and our life are godly and Christian. For since we call God our Father in this prayer, we are under obligation to demean and conduct ourselves in every respect as pious children, that he may derive honor and praise from us, and not disgrace; for his name is profaned either by words or by actions. (All that we perform on earth, is comprehended either in word or deed, in speaking or in doing.)

Thus, *in the first place*, it is profaned, when something that is false or seducing, is preached, taught, or spoken under the pretext of the Divine name, so that his name must adorn the falsehood, and give it credibility. Now, this is the greatest indignity and dishonor to the name of God. It is, moreover, violated, when it is grossly employed as a covering for infamy, by swearing, cursing, deceiving, &c.

In the second place, it is profaned by a dissolute life, and deeds manifestly wicked, when those who are called Christians and the people of God, are adulterers, inebriates, epicures, and envious detractors; here again the name of God must be exposed to contumely and shame on our account. For even as it is a shame and a dishonor to a natural father who has a wicked, ill-bred child trespassing against him in words and actions, so that he must, on account of the child,

be scorned and abused: so it also reflects dishonor on God, if we who are called after his name, and enjoy all kinds of blessings from him, teach, speak, and live otherwise than pious and heavenly children, so that he must hear, that it is said of us, you cannot be the children of God, but the children of the devil.

Thus you perceive, that we pray even in this article, as God requires in the second commandment—that his name be not abused in swearing, cursing, lying, cheating, &c., but that it be employed usefully to the honor and praise of God. For whoever uses the name of God to any vicious purpose, profanes and desecrates this holy name: even as in former times a church was called desecrated, if murder or some other malicious act had been perpetrated in it, or if the tabernacle or sanctuary had been disgraced, as this was holy in itself, but had become unholy in its use. Thus this article is clear and distinct, if we but understand the expression correctly, that to sanctify or hallow signifies as much as to praise, extol, and honor both with words and actions.

Here then, observe, how highly necessary such prayer is. For since we see how the world is filled with sects and false teachers, all using this holy name as a covering and a pretext for their diabolical doctrines, we should justly, without intermission, cry out and exclaim against all these, both, those who teach and believe false doctrines, and those who assail and persecute our Gospel and pure doctrine, endeavoring to suppress it; for instance, all the bishops, tyrants, fanatics, &c. It is, moreover, also necessary for ourselves, we who have the word of God, but are not thankful for it, and do not live according to it, as we should. Now, if you pray for this from your heart, you can be certain that it is well-pleasing to God; for nothing does he hear more favorably and affectionately, than that his honor and praise flourish and prevail above all things, and that his word is purely taught, and held dear and high in estimation.

THE SECOND PETITION.

Thy kingdom come.

As we have prayed in the first petition, which relates to the honor and glory of God's name, that God would prevent the world from covering its falsehoods and malicious acts under the pretext of his name, and that we may hold it holy and sacred both in doctrine and in life, that we may praise and extol it: so we pray here that his kingdom also should come. But even as God's name is holy in it-

self, we yet pray that it be hallowed among us; so, also his kingdom comes of itself, without our prayer; yet we pray, however, that it may come to us; that is, that it may prevail among and with us, so that we may also be a portion of those, among whom his name is sanctified, and among whom his kingdom flourishes.

What, then, is the kingdom of God? Reply:—Nothing else but, as we have heard in the foregoing Creed, that God sent his Son, Christ our Lord, into the world, that he might redeem and liberate us from the power of the devil, and bring us to himself, and rule us, as a king of righteousness, life, and glory, defending us from sin, death, and an unholy conscience. To this effect he has also given us his Holy Spirit, to confer these things upon us through his holy word, and to illumine and strengthen us in faith, through his power. For this reason, we pray here in the first place, that that which Christ has obtained for us, may be efficient among us, and that his name be praised, through the word of God and Christian life; that we, who have embraced it, may adhere to it and daily increase in it, and also that it may obtain currency and permanency among other people, and prevail powerfully through the world, that many may come to the kingdom of grace, and be participants of redemption, through the Holy Ghost; in order that we may all thus remain together eternally in one kingdom now commenced.

The kingdom of God comes to us in two different ways:—First, in this world *temporally*, through the word and through faith; afterwards, *eternally*, by manifestation in the life to come. Now, we pray in this petition, both, that this kingdom may come to those who are not yet in it, and to us, who have obtained it, through daily increase, and in future in eternal life. All this is nothing more than saying: "Beloved Father, we pray thee grant us; first, thy word, that the Gospel may be purely and sincerely preached through the world; second, that being received through faith, it may operate and live in us, that thus thy kingdom prevail among us through the word and power of the Holy Spirit; and that the kingdom of the devil may be overthrown, so that he may have no dominion nor power over us, until, ultimately, his kingdom be entirely destroyed, and sin and death and hell extirpated; so that we may eternally live in the enjoyment of perfect righteousness and bliss."

Hence you perceive, that here we do not pray merely for a morsel of bread, or for temporal and transitory blessings, but for an eternal inexhaustible treasure, and all that God himself possesses; which is more than any human heart could presume to desire, if God himself had not commanded it to be prayed for. But since he is God, he also

wishes to have the honor that he grants much more and more abundantly than any one is able to comprehend; like an eternal, imperishable fountain, which, the more it discharges and overflows, issues the more freely from its source; and nothing does he more ardently desire from us, than that we supplicate him for many and great blessings; and on the other hand, if we do not confidently pray and entreat, his anger is provoked.

For even as if the most opulent and powerful emperor would command a poor indigent beggar to request whatever he might desire; and if the former were ready to grant great and princely gifts, and the foolish mendicant would beg nothing more than a mess of pottage, he would be justly considered a villain and a wicked wretch, mocking and deriding the command of imperial Majesty, in whose presence he would not be worthy to appear.

So it also reflects extreme dishonor and contumely on God,—who offers and promises us so many ineffable blessings,—if we slight his offer and promise, or hesitate to receive them, scarcely venturing to pray for a morsel of bread. But all this may be ascribed to our impious unbelief, which does not look unto God for even as much as will nourish our bodies, much less that we should confidently await this eternal blessing from God. We should, therefore, fortify ourselves against such incredulity, and let this be the first thing for which we pray; and we shall undoubtedly also have every thing else abundantly; as Christ, Matt. 6, 33, teaches: "But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." For how should he allow us to suffer temporal wants, since he promises this eternal and imperishable blessing?

THE THIRD PETITION.

Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.

In the foregoing articles or petitions we have prayed that God's name might be honored by us, and that his kingdom might prevail among us. In which two articles, all that pertains to the honor of God and to our salvation is wholly comprehended, so that we obtain God with all his blessings as our own. But here it is, indeed, equally necessary for us firmly to maintain these blessings, and not to suffer them to be torn away from us. For, as in a well constituted government, there must be, not only those who are occupied in its improvement and in the judicious administration of its laws, but

those also who are engaged in defending, guarding, and firmly maintaining it: so also here, when we shall have prayed for the most necessary things, with respect to the Gospel, faith, and the Holy Spirit,—that he would rule over us, and liberate us from the power of Satan; yet we must also pray that God would cause his will to be done. For, if we shall remain steadfast in it, many difficulties will arise, so that we must suffer many oppositions and privations on account of it, from all those who strive to impede and to subvert the two foregoing articles.

For no one easily believes how the devil strives against these things, who cannot endure any one to teach correctly or to believe sincerely; and it grieves him beyond measure, when he must suffer his falsehoods and abominable doctrines, trimmed with the fair pretext of the Divine name, to be divulged, and exposed to open shame, and besides, to be driven from the heart, and allow such a breach to be made in the walls of his kingdom. Therefore, he rages and raves like a furious foe, with all his power and might, arraying all his force, and calling to his aid the world and our own flesh, besides. For our flesh in itself is corrupt and prone to evil, even if we have embraced the word of God, and believe it; and the world is extremely base and wicked: here he incites, instigates, and provokes oppositions, so as to impede and retard us, and finally to overthrow and subject us to his power again. All this is his will and the designs of his malignant breast, which he pursues day and night, and employs all the artifices, all the cunning ways and means, which he is able to devise.

Wherefore, if we wish to be Christians, we must consider and be fully persuaded, that we shall have the devil with all his angels and the world as enemies, who shall cause us all kinds of misfortune and affliction. For wherever the Gospel is preached or received or believed, and brings forth fruit, there the holy cross must also be found. And let no one think that he will have peace, but he must hazard whatever he possesses on earth—his fortune and honor, his house and home, his wife and children, his body and life. Now, this severely grieves our flesh, that is, our old Adamic nature; for it is required of us to remain steadfast, and to bear with patience all persecution, and willingly yield what is forced away from us.

Therefore, as necessary as it is to pray incessantly in all other petitions, so necessary is it in this one to pray incessantly: "Thy will be done, beloved Father, not the will of the devil and our enemies, nor that of all those who persecute thy holy word and endeavor to suppress it, or to impede the progress of thy kingdom: and enable us

to bear with patience and to overcome all that must be endured, so that our miserable flesh may not through weakness or sloth yield or turn back."

Behold, thus in these three petitions we find displayed in the most simple manner what pertains to God, yet all for our sake; for that which we implore is for our own benefit, namely, as already said, that that which must be done *without us*, may be done *in us* also. For even as, without our prayer, his name must be sanctified, and his kingdom must come; so must also his will be done, and prevail, even if the devil with all his adherents strives and furiously rages against it, and undertakes to defeat the Gospel entirely. But for our own sake we must pray that his will may prevail among us also unobstructed, against this their rage, so that their efforts may be ineffectual, and that we may adhere firmly to it against all violence and persecution, and be entirely satisfied with this will of God.

Now, this prayer shall be our protection and defence to avert and overthrow all that the devil, the pope, the bishops, tyrants, and heretics, are able to do in opposition to the Gospel. Let them all rage at once, and make their utmost endeavors, and devise ways and means for the purpose of oppressing and subverting us, so that their will and counsel may prosper; and in opposition to these, one single Christian or two with this single petition shall be our wall against which they may run and wreck themselves. For we have this consolation and confidence, that the will and designs of the devil and of all our enemies must be suppressed, and vanish away, no matter how arrogantly, securely, and strongly they may confide in them. For if their will were not effectually defeated, the kingdom of God could not remain on earth, nor could his name be hallowed.

THE FOURTH PETITION.

Give us this day our daily bread.

Here we take into consideration the necessaries of our bodies and temporal life. And these words, although they are brief and simple, are, however, very comprehensive. For if you pray for, and mention daily bread, you pray for all that pertains to the possession and enjoyment of daily bread; and, on the other hand, you deprecate all that tends to withhold it. You should, therefore, expand your thoughts, so that they may extend, not only to the limits of a kneading-tray or of an oven, but also to the wide fields and over the whole country, which bring forth and produce daily bread and every species of nourishment for us. For if God did not permit all kinds

of fruits to grow out of the earth, and bless them, and preserve them from destruction, we would never draw any bread out of the oven, nor have any to put on the table.

But in order to speak briefly, this petition includes all that pertains to this life, since on account of it alone we must have daily bread. Now, it is not sufficient for life, that our bodies have food and raiment, and other necessaries alone, but it is necessary for us also to enjoy peace and tranquillity among those persons, with whom we live and converse, and with whom we carry on our daily transactions, negotiations, and contracts of every kind; and in short, whatever belongs both to domestic and political or civil matters and government; for if these two are interrupted, so that they do not proceed as they should, the necessaries of life are also intercepted, so that they, finally, cannot be procured. And it is truly a matter of the greatest necessity to pray for civil magistracy and government, since through these, God mostly preserves our daily bread and the tranquil condition of this life. For, although we may have obtained an abundance of all kinds of good from God, yet we are unable to preserve any of them, or to use them securely and joyfully, if he would not give us a permanent and a peaceful government. For wherever hostilities, contentions, and wars exist, there daily bread is already taken away, or at least diminished.

Wherefore, the armorial sign of each pious prince might justly be the picture of a loaf of bread, instead of the image of a lion or of a chaplet of rue, or it might be stamped on the coin for an impression to remind both them and their subjects, that through their princely office we have protection and peace, and without them we could neither eat nor retain this indispensable bread; for which reason, they are also worthy of all honor, so that we should confer upon them whatever we ought and are able, as those, through whom we enjoy with peace and tranquillity all that we have, when otherwise we could not preserve a farthing. And besides, we should pray for them, so that God may give unto us, through them, the greater blessings and abundance.

Thus we have exhibited and delineated how far this petition extends through the various kinds of intercourse on earth. And out of it we might make a long prayer, and enumerate all those parts which belong to it; as for instance, to pray God to give us meat and drink, raiment, house and residence, and health of body; moreover, to permit grain and fruits to grow and prosper in the fields; and finally, to aid us in transacting our domestic duties properly, and to bless us with pious companions, children, and domestics, and to

protect them; and to permit our labors, our professions, or in whatever we may be occupied, to increase and prosper, and to provide us with faithful neighbors and good friends. Again, to entreat God to grant emperors, kings, and all estates, and especially, the prince of our country, all consuls, peers, and prefects, wisdom, fortitude, and success in ruling well, victoriously to triumph over the Turk and all our enemies; and grant the subjects and the common multitude obedience, peace, and concord to live among each other; and again, to protect us against all the injuries of life and subsistence, pernicious tempests, calamitous fires, destructive inundations of water, venom, pestilence, distempers, wars, and bloodshed, famines, wild beasts, wicked people. All of which it is necessary to impress on the minds of the inexperienced, showing them that all blessings must be received of God, and sought for by us.

But especially is this petition directed against our chief enemy, the devil. For it is his whole wish and desire to take away or withhold all that we receive from God. Nor is he contented with perplexing and disturbing spiritual government, by deceiving the souls of men through his falsehoods, and bringing them under his power; but he also exerts every power within himself to prevent the existence of any government, or of honorable and peaceful administration of affairs upon earth—here he excites so many litigations, slaughters, seditions, and wars; moreover, he sends tempests and hail to destroy the fruits; he infests the flocks with contagions; he pollutes the atmosphere with poison. And in a word, it is painful to him to see any one receive a morsel of bread from God, and to eat it in peace; and if it lay within his power, and if he were not checked by our prayers (through God), we would most assuredly not retain a straw on the field, or a farthing in the house, yes, not even our life a single hour; especially those who observe the word of God, and wish to be Christians.

Thus God wishes to exhibit to us how solicitous he is about all our wants, and how faithfully he provides for our temporal sustenance. And although he grants and preserves these blessings bountifully, even for the ungodly and the knave; yet he desires us to pray for those things, in order that we may acknowledge that we receive them from his munificent hand, and that we perceive in them his paternal goodness towards us. For if he should withdraw his hand, nothing could prosper, nor finally be preserved, as indeed we see and feel daily. What kind of misery now exists in the world in consequence of adulterated coin, yes, of daily oppressions and exactions in common commerce, contracts, business, and labors, of those, who ac-

cording to their own wanton desires, oppress the unfortunate, and withhold from them their daily bread?—Things which we must, indeed, suffer; but they must take heed, that they do not lose this common prayer; and they should guard themselves, lest this article of the Lord's Prayer should operate against them.

THE FIFTH PETITION.

And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us.

This article touches our miserable and wretched life, which, although we may have the word of God, we may believe, perform his will, and suffer, and nourish ourselves with the gifts and blessings of God, does not, however, proceed without sin; for we still daily digress much, and exceed proper bounds, while we live in this world among people, who cause us a great deal of sorrow, and give us occasion for impatience, wrath, and revenge. And besides this, being pursued by the devil, who urges us on every side, and strives (as we have already heard) against all the foregoing articles, so that it is impossible always to remain firm in this perpetual contest.

Here, then, it is again highly necessary to pray and to exclaim: "Beloved Father, forgive us our trespasses." Not, that he does not also forgive sins without and prior to our prayer. For he has given us the Gospel, in which there is pure remission of sin before we prayed for it, or once thought of seeking after it. But for this reason we should pray, that we may acknowledge and accept such forgiveness. For since the flesh, in which we daily live, is of such a nature as not to trust and believe in God, and is ever agitated with evil lusts and wicked desires, so that we daily sin in words and actions, by commission and omission, in consequence of which our consciences become dissatisfied, and fear the wrath and indignation of God, and thus let their consolation and confidence afforded by the Gospel, sink down: it is, therefore, necessary to resort to this source without intermission, and to receive consolation and raise up our consciences again.

But these things should contribute to this end, that God may subdue our pride, and keep us in humility. For he has reserved unto himself this prerogative, if any one wishes to boast of his piety, and despise that of others,—that he should view himself, and place this prayer before his eyes. Thus he will find that he is not superior in piety to the others, and all must drop their plume before God, and

rejoice that we become participants of remission. And let no one think, while we live here, to arrive at such a degree of perfection, that he has no need of this forgiveness: and in a word, if God does not forgive us continually, we are lost.

Consequently, then, the meaning of this petition is, that we desire God not to look upon our sins, or to charge us with that which we daily deserve, but to act towards us graciously, and to forgive us, as he has promised, and thus afford us a joyful and tranquil conscience, so that we can approach him in prayer. For if the heart is not at peace with God, and cannot obtain this assurance, it will never venture to pray. This assurance, however, and joyfulness of heart we cannot obtain, unless we know with certainty that our sins are forgiven.

Here there is, however, a necessary and yet a consolatory clause annexed: *As we forgive those who trespass against us.* He has promised, that we should be certain, that all is forgiven us and pardoned, yet so far, that we also forgive our fellow creatures. For, as we daily commit many offences against God, and still he forgives all through grace; so we must also ever forgive our neighbors who do us injury, violence, and injustice, and manifest a wicked disposition towards us. But if you do not forgive, think not, that God will forgive you; if, on the other hand, you forgive, you have the consolation and assurance, that you are forgiven in heaven, not on account of your forgiveness towards others, for God does it freely and through pure grace, because he has promised it, as the Gospel teaches; but for the purpose of strengthening and assuring us, he proposes this as an evidence in connection with the promise, which accords with this petition, Luke 6, 37: "Forgive, and ye shall be forgiven." For this reason, Christ also repeats it immediately after the Lord's Prayer, Matt. 6, 14, saying: "For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you."

Therefore, this evidence is connected with this petition, that, when we pray, we may be reminded of the promise, and thus think: "Beloved Father, for this reason I come and pray, that thou wouldst forgive me, not, that I can make satisfaction, or that I merit enough by my works, but because thou hast promised it, and set thy seal to it, so that it might be as certain as if I had absolution announced by thyself." For as much as baptism and the sacrament, instituted as external evidences, effect, so much can this evidence also effect in strengthening and cheering our consciences, and it is even particularly set before us, that we may use and exercise it every hour, as a thing which we continually have with us.

THE SIXTH PETITION.

And lead us not into temptation.

We have now sufficiently heard what pains and labor are required to retain all that we pray for, and to persevere in it constantly; and even then we cannot accomplish this end without error and stumbling. And besides, although we may have obtained remission of sins and a clear conscience, and be entirely absolved, yet the condition of this life is of such a nature, that one may stand to-day, and to-morrow fall. We must, therefore, even if we are pious, and stand with clear conscience before God, pray again, that he may not permit us to fall back again, and yield to difficulties or temptation. Temptation, however, or, as our Saxons formerly called it, *Bekőhrung*, allurement, is of three kinds—that of the *flesh*, that of the *world*, and that of the *devil*. For we dwell in the *flesh*, and our Adamic nature cleaves to us, which exerts its influence, and daily entices us to unchastity, indolence, excess, avarice, and deception, defrauding our neighbors; and in short, to evil lusts which cleave to us by nature, and which are also excited by others, viz: by associates, examples, by hearing and seeing, which frequently wound and inflame even an innocent heart.

And finally, the *world* adds its force, which offends us with words and actions, and provokes us to wrath and impatience. And in a word, there is nothing seen here but wrath and envy, animosity, violence and injustice, treachery, revenge, imprecation, contumely, detraction, arrogance, and pride, with superabundant ostentation, worldly honor, fame, and power; here no one is willing to be the least, but desires to be the greatest, and to attract notice in preference to all others.

And in addition to these, the *devil* comes, instigating and provoking every where. But especially is he occupied in those disturbances which pertain to the consciences and spiritual matters; that is, he endeavors to cause us to disregard and slight both the word and works of God, so that he may draw us away from faith, hope, and love, and bring us to unbelief, presumption, pride, and obduracy, or even to extreme despair, the denial and blasphemy of God, and to other innumerable, detestable crimes. These are snares and nets, yes, real fiery darts most malignantly hurled into the human heart, not by flesh and blood, but by the devil himself.

These are indeed great and grievous dangers and oppositions, which each Christian must bear, and grievous enough are they, if but one alone had to be borne. Therefore, we should be urged by these to invoke and pray God incessantly, while we are in this depraved life, in which we are assailed, pursued, and persecuted on every side, not to let us become faint and weary, and fall back again into sin, shame, and unbelief; for otherwise, it is impossible to overcome even the slightest attack.

Now, this may be termed not leading us into temptation, if God gives us power and strength to withstand it; although the temptation be not removed nor defeated. For temptation and enticement no one can avoid, while we live in the flesh, and the devil surrounds us; and there is no other alternative, we must endure temptations, yes, we must be involved in them: but here we pray, that we may not fall into them, and be overwhelmed.

To feel temptation, therefore, and to consent or agree to it, are things very different. We must all feel temptations, not however, all alike; but some more numerous and severe ones than others: for instance, youth are especially infested by the temptations of the flesh; again, the adult and the aged are tempted by the world; but others who are engaged in spiritual matters, that is, stronger Christians, are tempted by the devil. But this feeling, since it is repugnant to our will, and since we would rather be freed from it, can injure no one; for if it were not felt, it could not be called a temptation. But we give our consent to them, when we indulge in them through our loose habits, without resisting or praying against them.

Therefore, we Christians must be prepared for, and daily expect the incessant attacks of temptation, so that no one may proceed as securely and carelessly as if the devil were far from us; but we should everywhere await the stroke, and avert it. For although I may now be chaste, patient, and cheerful, and in firm faith, still the devil can in this hour hurl such a dart into my heart, that I can scarcely withstand it; for he is a foe who never ceases nor becomes weary, so that if one temptation discontinues, other and new ones continually succeed.

Under these difficulties, then, there is no other resource nor remedy remaining, but to appeal to the Lord's Prayer, and thus converse with God from the heart: "*Thou hast ordered me, beloved Father, to pray, let me not fall back through temptation.*" Thus you will perceive that the temptation will be diminished, and finally be overcome. Otherwise, if you undertake to help yourself by your own

thoughts and counsels, you will render it worse, and give the devil more room; for he has a serpent's head, which, gaining a chasm, through which it can pass, draws his whole body along unimpeded; but this prayer can check it and repel him.

THE SEVENTH AND LAST PETITION.

But deliver us from evil. Amen.

This article reads thus in the Greek: αλλα ρυσαι ημας απο του πονηρου. Deliver or preserve us from evil or the wicked one; and it appears even as if he spoke concerning the devil, and as if he wished to comprehend all in one mass, so that the whole sum of all our prayers may be directed against our chief enemy. For he it is, who impedes among us all that we pray for—the name or honor of God, the kingdom and will of God, daily bread, peaceful and joyful conscience, &c.

We shall, therefore, in conclusion, bring these things all together, and say: "Grant, beloved Father, that we may be liberated from all misfortunes." Yet whatever evil may befall us, under the kingdom of the devil, is however included—poverty, shame, death, and in a word, all the distressing calamities and afflictions, which are so innumerable on earth. For the devil, since he is not only a liar, but also a murderer, seeks continually after our lives, and wreaks his anger to bring us into misfortunes and injuries. Hence it is, that he causes many a one to break his neck, deprives many of the use of their minds, others he causes to drown themselves, and many he forces to commit suicide, and to do many other terrible crimes. Therefore, while we remain on earth, it requires all that we can do to pray continually against this chief enemy. For if God would not preserve us, we would not be secure a single hour in consequence of this foe.

Hence you perceive again how God desires us to entreat him for all things, even in reference to those which injure our bodies, so that we may neither seek nor await assistance from any other source but from him. This however he has laid down in the last place; for if we shall be preserved and delivered from all evil, the name of God must first be hallowed in us, his kingdom be among us, and his will be done; then he will finally guard us against sin and shame, moreover, from all that is grievous or pernicious to us.

Thus God has briefly enumerated all the necessities, by which we may be pressed, so that we indeed can have no excuse for neglecting prayer. But upon this the efficacy of prayer depends, that we also

learn to say, in addition, *Amen;* that is, not to doubt that it is assuredly heard, and will be granted. For it is nothing else but a word of indubitable faith, praying not with uncertainty, but knowing that God does not deny it, since he has promised to grant it. Wherever such faith does not exist, there it is also impossible for a true prayer to be. It is therefore a pernicious conceit in those, who so pray that they dare not add the word Amen to the end of their prayer and conclude with certainty that God hears it, but remain in doubt, and say: "How should I feel so daring, and presume that God hears my prayer? Am I not still a miserable sinner?" &c.

They act in this way, because they do not view the promises of God, but look upon their own works and worthiness, thus contemning God and charging him with falsehood; for this reason they also receive nothing, as St. James, 1, 6, 7, says: "But let him ask in faith, nothing wavering: for he that wavereth is like a wave of the sea, driven by the wind, and tossed. For let not that man think that he shall receive any thing of the Lord." Behold, how much God is concerned about these things, in order that we should be certain that we do not pray in vain! we should therefore by no means vilify our prayer.

PART IV.

OF BAPTISM.

We have now completed the three chief articles of the common Christian doctrine. Besides these, it remains yet for us to speak of our two sacraments, instituted by Christ, concerning which each Christian should have at least some general information, since there can be no Christian without them; although, alas! hitherto nothing has been taught concerning them. We shall, in the first place, however, take up the subject of baptism, through which we are first taken into the community of Christians. But in order that it may be clearly understood, we shall treat it in regular order, and adhere to that alone which is necessary for us to know. For the manner in which it is to be maintained and defended against heretics and factions, we shall commit to the learned.

In the first place, it is above all things necessary to be well acquainted with the words, upon which baptism is founded, and in which consists all that is to be said about it, viz: where Christ, the Lord, Matt. 28, 19, says:

Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

Again, in the last chapter of Mark:

He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned. Mark 16, 16.

You should in the first place observe, that in these words the command and institution of God are embraced, so that no one may doubt baptism to be a divine thing, not devised or invented by men. For as I can declare with certainty, that no person has produced the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer out of his own imagination, but God himself has revealed and given them; so I can likewise assert without hesitation, that baptism is not a human device, but instituted by God himself; and besides, it is earnestly and strictly commanded that we must permit ourselves to be baptized, or we shall not be saved; lest any one should think it a thing so light as the putting on of a new scarlet garment. For the efficacy of baptism depends upon the divine command, and on account of this we esteem baptism excellent and magnificent; concerning this we mostly strive and contend, since the world is now so full of sects, who exclaim, baptism is an external thing, and an external thing is useless. But let an external thing be as it may, here stand the word and command of God however, by which baptism is instituted and confirmed; but whatever God institutes and commands to be done, can certainly not be a useless, but it must be a thing exceedingly precious, even if it were in appearance less than a mite of straw. If the pope's distributing indulgences with his letters and bulls, or confirming altars or churches by them could hitherto be esteemed highly, alone for the sake of the letter and the seal: so we should esteem baptism much higher and more precious, because God has commanded it, and because it is administered in his name; for thus read the words: *Go*, and *baptize*, but not in your name, but in the name of God.

For to be baptized in the name of God, is not to be baptized by man, but by God himself. For this reason, even if it is administered through the hand of man, it is nevertheless truly God's own work; hence each one can easily conclude for himself that it is much sublimer than any work done by a saint or by any other man. For what work can be performed that is greater than the work of God? But here the devil is most carefully occupied in deceiving us with a false appear-

ance, and of leading us from the work of God to our own performance. For it seems to be much more splendid and precious if a Carthusian friar performs many great and laborious works, and all of us esteem our own works and merits much more than those of God. But the Scripture teaches thus, that even if all the works of the monks were collected in a mass, no matter how precious they might appear, it would still not be as noble and good as if God lifts up a mite of straw. Why? Because the person is nobler and better. Now, here we must estimate not the person according to the works, but the works according to the person, from whom they must receive their dignity and value. But human reason will not thus esteem baptism; and because it does not shine like the works which we perform, we imagine it must avail nothing.

Learn, then, from these remarks to form a proper view of this matter, and to reply to the question, What is baptism?—namely thus: It is not merely simple water, but it is water comprehended in the word and command of God, and through this it is sanctified, so that it is nothing other than divine water, not that the water in itself is more noble than other water, but because the word and command of God has come to it. For this reason, it is nothing but the villainy and illusion of the devil, that our new spirits at the present day, for the purpose of degrading baptism, separate from it the word and institution of God, and view but the water, which is dipped out of the fountain, and then exclaim with foaming lips: "What shall a handful of water help the soul?" Yes, beloved reader, who does not know that if it is taken separate, water is water? But how dare you thus to plunge into the order of God, and tear asunder the best treasure, with which God has bound and comprehended it, and which he will by no means have separated from it? For the word and the command and the name of God is the nucleus in the water,—a treasure which is greater and nobler than heaven and earth.

In this manner, then, learn to discern that the water of baptism is quite a different thing to all other water, not on account of the natural substance, but because here something more noble comes to it. For God himself honors it with his name, and purifies it with his holiness. For this reason, it is not only natural water, but divine, heavenly, holy, and blissful water, and in whatever way it can be extolled more still, all for the sake of the word, which is a heavenly, holy word which no one can praise sufficiently; for it has and possesses all that is God's; hence it also receives its essence, that it deserves the appellation of sacrament, as St. Augustine also has taught: *Accedat ver-*

bum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum; that is, *when the word comes to the element or the natural object, it becomes a sacrament;* that is, a holy, divine thing and evidence.

Therefore, we ever teach that the sacraments and all external things, which God orders and institutes, should be viewed, not according to the gross external forms, as we see the hull of a nut, but according to the manner in which the word of God is included in them. For thus we also speak in reference to the parental state, and civil magistrates. If we view these, as far as they have eyes, noses, skin and hair, flesh and bones, we see that they resemble Turks and heathens; and some one might come, and say: "Why shall I hold these higher in estimation than others?" Because the commandment says: *Thou shalt honor thy father and thy mother,* we thus see another person, vested and adorned with the majesty and glory of God. This commandment, I say, is the golden chain which he bears around his neck, yes, the crown upon his head, which shows me how and why I shall honor this flesh and blood.

Thus and much more should you honor and esteem baptism, for the sake of the word—an institution which God himself has honored both with words and deeds, and which he has confirmed, besides, with ostensible miracles from heaven. For, do you suppose that it was a jest, that, when Christ permitted himself to be baptized, the heavens opened, the Holy Ghost descended visibly, and there was nothing but divine glory and majesty? I therefore admonish again, in order that no one may by any means divide and separate these two, the word and the water. For if the word is separated from it, it is not other water than that used in culinary purposes, and it may well be styled a bathing baptism; but when it is connected with the word, as God has ordered it, it is a sacrament, and it is called the baptism of Christ. This is the first part, concerning the nature and value of this holy sacrament.

In the second place, inasmuch as we now know what baptism is, and how it is to be held, we must also learn the *purpose and end for which* it was instituted; that is, what it confers and effects. This we cannot better comprehend than from the words of Christ, quoted above, namely: "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved," Mark 16, 16. Therefore, comprehend it in the most simple manner, thus, that the virtue, work, use, fruit, and end of baptism, is to save. For no one is baptized in order to become a prince, but, as the words say, in order to be saved. To be saved, however, it is well known, implies nothing else, than to be liberated from sin, death, and the devil, to come into the kingdom of Christ, and to live eternally with him.

Here you perceive again how precious and valuable baptism is to be held, since in it we obtain such an inestimable treasure—a thing which goes far to prove that baptism cannot be mere, simple water. For simple water could not effect this, but the word of God does it, and because, as previously said, the name of God is in it. But wherever the name of God is, there also must be life and salvation; hence it is truly a divine, blissful, fruitful, and gracious water; for through the word it obtains the power to become a washing of regeneration, as St. Paul terms it, Tit. 3, 5.

But in reply to our sophists, the new spirits, who assert that faith alone saves, and that works and external things add nothing to salvation, we say, it is true, that nothing in us, but faith does effect it, as we shall hear further still. But the blind leaders will not observe, that faith must have something which it believes, that is, to which it adheres, and upon which it rests and depends. Thus faith adheres to the water, and believes that in baptism are comprehended life and eternal happiness, not through any virtue of the water, as has been sufficiently stated, but through its being incorporated with the word and ordinance of God, and his name being vested in it. Now, if I believe this, in what else do I believe, but in God, as in him, who has given and implanted his name in baptism, and proposed to us this external thing, in which we are able to comprehend this treasure.

Now, these new spirits are so insane as to separate faith and the object to which it adheres, although external. Yes, it should and must be external, so that it can be perceived and comprehended with the senses, and conveyed to the heart through them, as we find the whole Gospel an external and oral sermon. In a word, whatever God does and performs in us, he wishes to work through such external ordinances. Now, wherever he speaks, yes, rather whithersoever or through what he speaks, there the eyes of faith are to be directed, and there it must cleave. Now, here we have the words: "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved." In reference to what else are these words spoken, but to baptism; that is, the water comprehended in the ordinance of God? It follows, therefore, that whoever rejects baptism, rejects the word of God, faith, and Christ who refers us to it, and binds us to baptism.

In the third place, since we perceive the great benefit and virtue of baptism, let us proceed to inquire who is the person that receives what baptism confers and benefits; and this is also most beautifully and clearly expressed even in these words: "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved." That is, faith alone makes the person worthy to receive this salutary, divine water beneficially. For since

this is presented and promised here in the words by and with the water, it cannot be received otherwise than by our believing it from our hearts. Without faith baptism benefits us nothing, although in itself it is a divine, superabundant treasure. Upon these few words—*He that believeth*—therefore, depends so much, that they exclude and reject all works that we can do, with a view to merit and obtain salvation through them. For it is irrevocably decreed that whatever is not faith, profits nothing in obtaining salvation, nor can it receive any thing.

But if they exclaim, as they are accustomed to do: "Baptism itself is a work, and you say works are of no consequence in obtaining salvation, wherein then does faith consist?" Reply:—Yes, it is true, our works do nothing towards salvation, but baptism is not our work, it is the *work of God;* (for you must, as already said, draw a wide line of distinction between the baptism of Christ and that of a bath-keeper;) but the works of God are salutary and essential to salvation, not excluding but requiring faith; for without faith we could not comprehend them. For, by permitting the water to be poured over you, you have not yet received baptism in such a manner as to benefit you; but it becomes of salutary effect to you, if you permit yourself to be baptized under the persuasion that it is according to the order and command of God, and besides, in his name, so that you may receive in the water the promised salvation. Now, neither the hand nor the body can do this, but the heart must believe it. Thus you perceive clearly, that here there is no work performed by us, but a treasure received which God gives us, and which faith apprehends; even as Christ the Lord on the Cross is not a work, but a treasure comprehended in the word, and presented to us through it, and received through faith. Therefore, they do us injustice by crying out against us, that we preach in opposition to faith, when at the same time we insist upon it alone, as being so essentially necessary that without it we can neither receive nor enjoy any thing whatever.

Thus we have the three parts, which are necessary to be known concerning this sacrament, especially, that the order of God is to be held in all due honor, which alone would be sufficient to move us, even if it were wholly an external thing, like this commandment: *Thou shalt honor thy father and thy mother*—instituted concerning external flesh and blood alone; here we take into consideration not this flesh and blood but the commandment of God, in which they are included, and for the sake of which this flesh is called father and mother. Thus in like manner, even if we had nothing more than

these words: *Go and baptize*, &c.; we should even then accept, and do as the order of God directs. Now, here we have not only the command and precept of God, but also the promise; for which reason it is far more excellent than that which God has commanded and ordered at other places. In a word, it is so full of consolation and grace that heaven and earth cannot comprehend it. But it is requisite to believe this truly; for the deficiency is not in the treasure, but in comprehending and firmly maintaining it.

Each Christian, therefore, has enough to learn and to exercise in baptism while he continues in this life; for he must ever exert himself to maintain a firm faith in what it promises and brings him—triumph over the devil and death—the remission of sins, the grace of God, Christ with all his works, and the Holy Ghost with all his gifts. In short, it is so superabundant, that, if timid nature could but reflect on it, it would truly doubt its reality. For, imagine to yourself a physician, who possessed an art preventing persons from dying, or, even if they died, immediately restoring them to life so as to live eternally afterwards, how the world would rush and flock around him with money, while the poor could not approach him for the rich! Now, here in baptism is brought to the door of every one gratis, such a treasure, and such medicine as devours death, and preserves the life of all men.

Thus we should view baptism, and make it useful to ourselves, so that by it we may strengthen and console ourselves, when our sins or our consciences oppress us, and say: "I am, nevertheless, baptized, and if I am baptized, it is promised me that I shall be saved, and that I shall have eternal life, both in soul and body." For it is on this account that these two take place in baptism—that is, the body is perfused, which can perceive nothing more than the water, and besides, the words are spoken so that the soul may also comprehend. Now, since both water and word constitute one baptism, it follows that both body and soul must also be saved, and live eternally: the soul through the word, in which it believes; the body, however, because it is united with the soul, and also apprehends baptism, as it is able to apprehend it. For this reason, we have nothing more precious in our bodies and souls; for through baptism we become holy and felicitous,—a condition which otherwise no course of life, no works on earth can attain.

Let this suffice, then, with respect to the nature, benefit, and use of baptism, it being considered at sufficient length for the present occasion.

OF INFANT BAPTISM.

Here a question arises, by which the devil through his followers confuses the world, with respect to infant baptism; and it is this: "Do they also believe, and is it right to baptize them?" In reply we briefly say:—Let every man who is inexperienced, decline this question, and leave it to the learned; but if you wish to answer, answer thus:

That infant baptism is pleasing to Christ, is sufficiently proved by his own acts; namely, that God sanctified many of those, and has granted them the Holy Spirit, who were thus baptized, and at the present day there are many still, in whom it is perceived that they have the Holy Spirit, both from their doctrines and their deportment of life; as it is also given to us through the grace of God to be able to expound the Scriptures, and to acknowledge Christ,—a thing which without the Holy Spirit could not be done. But if God did not approve of infant baptism, he would not grant even a particle of grace from the Holy Spirit. In a word, hitherto, down to the present day, there could not have been a Christian on earth. Now, since God confirms baptism by the communication of his Holy Spirit, as it is truly perceived in some of the Fathers, as, St. Bernard, Gerson, John Huss, and others, who were baptized in their infancy; and as the holy Christian church does not discontinue until the end of the world, it must indeed be acknowledged that such baptism of children is pleasing to God. For he cannot be against himself, or favor falsehood and knavery, or grant his grace and Spirit to this end. This is perhaps the best and strongest evidence for the inexperienced and unlearned. For this article: *I believe in a holy Christian church, the communion of saints,* &c.—can neither be withdrawn from us, nor can it be overthrown.

Here we further assert, that the greatest virtue of baptism does not depend on the circumstance, whether the person baptized believe or disbelieve; for baptism does not become wrong from this circumstance, but it depends entirely upon the word and command of God. Now this is indeed a little harsh, but it results from having said that baptism is nothing else than water and the word of God intimately connected; that is, when the word is connected with the water, then this baptism is a right one, although there be no simultaneous feeling of faith connected with it; for my faith does not *make*, but it *receives* baptism. Now baptism does not become wrong, even if it be

received and applied in a wrong manner, since, as observed above, it does not depend on our belief, but upon the word of God.

For even if a Jew, at this day, should come with deceit and wicked design, and we should baptize him in all sincerity, we should nevertheless say that the baptism would be right. For here is the water together with the word of God, even if he does not receive it as he should: precisely as the unworthy who go to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, receive the true sacrament, even if they do not believe.

Thus you perceive that the objection of the factious spirits is vain and useless. For, as said, even if children believe not, which however is not the fact, (as now shown,) the baptism would still be right, and no one should rebaptize them; even as the Lord's Supper is not impaired, when some one approaches it with an evil design; and it would not be admissible for him in consequence of this, to receive it again, in the very same hour, as if he had not before received the true sacrament; for this is blaspheming and calumniating the sacrament in the highest degree. How do we attain the power, that the word and institution of God should be improper and vain, because we use them improperly?

For this reason we say, if you have not believed, believe yet, and thus declare: "The baptism was truly right, but I alas! have not received it rightly." For I myself, and all who permit themselves to be baptized, must thus say before God: "I come here in my faith and that of others, yet I cannot depend on my belief and the prayers of many others for me, but I rely on thy word and command, even as I go to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, not upon my faith, but upon the words of Christ, whether I be strong or weak, for this I let God provide; but I know that he orders me to go, to eat, and to drink, &c., and that he gives me his body and his blood,—which words will neither belie nor deceive me."

Now, we pursue the same course with respect to infant baptism. We bring forward the child under the impression and the hope that it believes, and we pray God to give it faith; but we do not baptize it on this account, but rather because God has commanded us to do so. Why so? Because we know that God does not lie. I and my neighbor, and in a word, all persons, may prove impotent and deceitful, but the word of God cannot fail.

Wherefore, those are presumptuous and deluded spirits, who infer, that where faith is not right, there baptism must also not be right; precisely as if I would conclude, if I do not believe, it follows that Christ is nothing; or thus, if I am not obedient, there is neither

father nor mother nor magistrate. Is this a correct and a happy conclusion, if no one does what he ought, that the thing in itself shall be nothing, or avail nothing? Beloved reader, reverse the argument, and rather conclude thus: that for the very reason that baptism has been received improperly, it is right and of importance. For if it were not right in itself, it could not be misused, and there would be no sin committed by abuse. It is thus: *Abusus non tollit, sed confirmat substantiam*, abuse does not remove the substance, but confirms it; for gold remains no less gold, even if a harlot bears it about with sin and shame.

Let it, therefore, be concluded that baptism is always right and remains in its full nature or character, even if but a single individual were baptized, and besides, if he did not truly believe. For the order and word of God are not to be changed or made mutable by men. But they, the fanatical spirits, are so blinded as not to see the word and command of God; and they do not look upon baptism otherwise than water in a brook or in a vessel, or upon a magistrate otherwise than upon any other person; and because they see neither faith nor obedience, they consider baptism and the magistracy to be of no avail in themselves. Here is a secret, seditious spirit, which would readily tear off the crown from civil authority, to have it trampled under foot, and besides, would pervert all the works and ordinances of God, and reduce them to nothing. We must, therefore, be on our guard and well prepared, and not suffer ourselves to be directed or drawn away from the word of God, so that we may not consider baptism a mere empty sign, as the fanatics dream.

In the last place, it is also necessary to know what baptism signifies, and why God instituted this external sign and formality in the celebration of this sacrament, through which we are first taken into the community of the Christian church. The work or the act consists in our being put in connexion with the water, and, after its passing over us, in being withdrawn from it again. These two, our being put in connexion with the water, and being withdrawn from it again, signify the efficacy and the work of baptism, which are nothing else but the mortification of the old Adam, and afterwards, the rearing up the new man; both of which are to be exercised in us through our whole life, so that a Christian life is nothing else but a daily baptism, once begun, and ever to be exercised. For it is necessary for our lives continually so to be led, that we ever cleanse ourselves of whatever belongs to the old man, and come forth in whatever pertains to the new. What then is our old Adamic nature? It is that which is innate in us from Adam,—urging us to hatred, envy, un-

chastity, avarice, indolence, arrogance,—yes, to unbelief with all blasphemies, and to whatever else that has nothing good in its tendency. Now when we enter into the kingdom of Christ, these vices must daily decrease, so that we may become continually milder, more patient, and meeker, and become still more free from unbelief, avarice, hatred, envy, and arrogance.

This is the proper use of baptism among Christians, indicated through the act of baptizing with water. Now, if the use of baptism does not prevail, but the old Adamic nature is left unrestrained, to increase in vigor, this cannot be called using baptism, but striving against it. For those who are out of Christ can do nothing else but daily become worse, as the proverb truly says, "Worse and worse, the longer he sins the more wicked the sinner." If, last year, one was arrogant and avaricious, he is now much more avaricious and haughty; so that vice progresses with age, and increases from early infancy. A young child has no particular vice in it, but if it grows up, it becomes immodest and unchaste, and when it attains its years of maturity, the real vice prevails continually the more.

Our old nature, therefore, acts unrestrained, if it is not checked and suppressed through the power of baptism. On the other hand, where persons have become Christians, it daily decreases, until it ceases entirely. This is properly immerging into baptism, and daily emerging from it again. Thus this external sign was instituted not only to operate efficaciously, but also to signify something. Now, wherever faith is manifested by its fruits, there baptism is not an empty signification, but this work is connected with it; but where faith does not exist, there a mere fruitless sign remains.

And here you perceive that baptism both in its virtue and in its signification, comprehends the third sacrament also, which it was customary to call repentance, which is properly nothing else but baptism, or its use. For what else is repentance but attacking the old man with earnestness, and entering into a new life? If, therefore, you live in repentance, you go on in baptism, which not only signifies this new life, but also works, begins, and exercises it. For in this baptism, the Holy Spirit, grace, and virtue, are given to suppress the old man, that the new may come forth and increase in strength.

Therefore, baptism ever continues to exist here. And even if one falls from it and sins, we nevertheless always have access to it, that we may again subject the old man to ourselves. But no one

is permitted to sprinkle us with water again; for, if a person should even permit himself to be sunk into water a hundred times, it would still be no more than one baptism; this work, however, continues and the signification is permanent. Thus repentance is nothing else than an access and a reaccess to baptism; to repeat and to practice that which we had before commenced, and which, however, we had neglected.

This I say, in order that we may not fall into the error, which we had entertained a long time, thinking baptism to be completed now,—that we could no more avail ourselves of its use, after we had fallen into sin again. And this error arises in consequence of not considering baptism otherwise than according to the external work, which was once performed. And indeed it originated from these words written by St. Jerome:—"Repentance is a secondary board, which is intended to rescue us, and upon which we must swim and pass over the sea of this world, after the vessel is broken, into which we had stept and took sail, when we entered into the community of the Christian church." But by these words, the use of baptism is destroyed, so that it can be of no more benefit to us. They are, therefore, neither correctly spoken, nor rightly conceived; for baptism does not fail, since, as already said, it is the order or institution of God, and not a thing of ours: but it is not a rare occurrence to depart from it; yet if any one departs, let him see that he return again, and hold to it, till he gets in again, and pursues his course in it, as he had commenced.

Thus we see how excellent a thing baptism is, which rescues us from the jaws of the devil, makes God our own, suppresses and removes our sins, and strengthens the new man in us daily, and ever goes on and continues its work, till we shall be removed from this state of wretchedness to that of eternal felicity. Each one ought, therefore, to consider baptism as a daily garment, with which he should always be clothed, that he may ever be found in faith and its fruits, that he may suppress the concupiscence of the old man, and increase in the new. For if we wish to be Christians, we must carry out the work of baptism, in consequence of which we deserve to be called Christians; but if any one falls from it, let him return to it. For as Christ, the mercy-seat, does not retreat or prevent us from coming to him again, although we commit sin, so all his treasures and gifts remain unshaken. Now, if in baptism the remission of sin is once obtained, it still continues daily as long as we live, that is, while we are encumbered with the old man.

PART V.

OF THE SACRAMENT OF THE ALTAR.

As we treated the subject of holy baptism, so we must likewise discourse on the other sacrament; namely, of these three parts: *What it is, what it benefits, and who should receive it.* And all these are confirmed by the words, through which it was instituted by Christ, and which each one should know, who wishes to be a Christian, and desires to approach the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. For we are not disposed to permit those to approach the sacrament, nor to administer it to them, who do not know what they seek there, or why they approach it. The words, however, are these:

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, the night in which he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying: Take, eat, this is my body, which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me."

"Likewise after the supper, he took the cup, gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying: Drink ye all of this; this cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you for the remission of sins. Do this, as often as ye drink it, in remembrance of me."

Here also we shall not enter into disputation, nor contend with those who blaspheme and violate this sacrament; but we shall *first* learn, (as we did with respect to baptism,) on what the power and virtue of this sacrament depend, namely, that the principal thing is, the word and order, or command of God; for it was neither devised nor invented by any man, but it was instituted by Christ without the counsel and deliberation of any man. Therefore, as the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed, retain their nature and dignity, even if you never keep, repeat, or believe them; so this venerable sacrament remains unshaken, and nothing is impaired or taken from it, even if we do use and treat it unworthily. Do you suppose that God pays such deference to our deeds or faith, as to permit his order and institution to change for such reasons? For we see that in all temporal affairs every thing remains as God has created and ordered it, in whatever manner we use and treat it. This should always be inculcated; for by this means the murmur of all fanatics can be confounded and silenced; for they view the sacrament as a work of our own, independent of the word of God.

What then is the sacrament of the altar? Answer:—*It is the true body and blood of Christ our Lord, in and with bread and wine, commanded through the words of Christ, for us Christians to eat and to drink.* And as we have said concerning baptism, that it is not simple water, so we also say here, this sacrament is bread and wine, but not mere bread and wine, as taken to table on other occasions, but bread and wine comprehended in the word of God and connected with it.

It is the word, I say, that makes and distinguishes this sacrament so that it is not mere bread and wine, but is, and is called the body and blood of Christ. For it is said: (*Accedat verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum,*) *when the word comes to the external element, it becomes a sacrament.* This declaration of St. Augustine is so explicit, that he has scarcely anywhere a more excellent one. The word appropriates the element to the sacrament; if this is not done, it remains a mere element. Now, it is not the word and order or institution of a prince or of an emperor, but of the Supreme Majesty; therefore all creatures should prostrate themselves, and exclaim, yes, it is as he says, and we should accept it with all honor, fear, and humility.

By this word you can strengthen your conscience, and say: "If a hundred thousand devils together with all the fanatics approach, exclaiming, how can bread and wine be the body and blood of Christ, &c., I still know that all these spirits and the learned in a mass, are not as wise as the Divine Majesty." Now, here occur the words of Christ: *Take, eat, this is my body; drink ye all of this, this is the new testament in my blood,* &c. To these words we constantly adhere, and we shall see who may presume to overcome Christ, and to make these words otherwise than he has declared them. It is true indeed, if you separate the words from it, or view it apart from the words, there is nothing remaining but mere bread and wine; but if the words remain with the bread and the wine, as they should and must, it is, agreeably to the words themselves, the true body and blood of Christ. For as the mouth of Christ speaks and declares, so it is, inasmuch as he can neither lie nor deceive.

Hence it is easy to reply to various questions, about which many are now solicitous; for instance,—whether a wicked priest may handle and administer the sacrament, and the like? For here we conclude, and assert: even if a knave receives or administers the sacrament, he receives the right sacrament, that is, the body and blood of Christ, as well as he who partakes it in the most reverential and dignified manner: for it is founded, not upon human sanctity, but upon

the word of God: and as no saint on earth, yes, no angel in heaven, can make bread and wine the body and blood of Christ; so likewise no one can alter or change it, even if the sacrament is misused. The words, through which it became a sacrament, and through which it was instituted, do not become false on account of the indignity or incredulity of the person. For he does not say, if you believe or are worthy, you have my body and blood, but, *Take, eat,* and *drink, this is my body and blood.* Again, *do this,* (namely, this which I now do, institute, give and command you to take,) which is as much as to say, thank God, whether you be worthy or unworthy, you here have Christ's body and blood through the virtue of these words which are spoken in the consecration of the bread and the wine. Mark this and retain it well; for upon these words depend our grounds, our protection, and defence against all the errors and seductions which have arisen, and which may yet arise.

Thus we have briefly considered the first part that belongs to this sacrament. We shall now consider its virtue and utility, chiefly on account of which the sacrament was instituted, and which are the most necessary qualities in it; that we may know what we should seek and obtain. Now, this is clear and easy to be understood even from the words which we have mentioned: *This is my body and blood, given and shed for you for the remission of sins.* The import of these words is briefly this: We approach the sacrament, in order to receive a treasure, through and in which we obtain the remission of sins. Why do we obtain this? Because the words are here which give it to us; for he commands me to eat and to drink in order that it may be mine and be beneficial to me, as a sure pledge and a sign: yes, to receive even this blessing which was set apart for me, against my sins, my death, and every evil.

It is, therefore, very appropriately called food for the soul, which nourishes and strengthens the new man; for through baptism we are born anew, but beside this, the old vicious nature in the flesh and blood, nevertheless adheres to man, in which there are so many impediments and obstacles, with which we are opposed as well by the devil as by the world, so that we often become weary and faint, and sometimes stumble.

This sacrament is, therefore, given as daily food and nourishment, by which faith may repair and recover its strength, so that it may not fall back in this contest, but increase in strength. For the new life must be so regulated as continually to increase and progress. On the other hand, it has much to endure; for the devil is an enemy so malignant, that if he perceives us opposing him, and attack-

ing the old man, if he cannot defeat us by force, he wearies us by lurking about on all sides, trying all his arts without ceasing, so that either permitting our faith to decline, or our physical powers to fail, we become dull and impatient. This consolation then is given for this purpose, that when the heart feels these things becoming too oppressive for it, it can here obtain new strength and refreshment.

But our wise spirits, who cry out and vociferate, "How can bread and wine forgive sins or strengthen faith?" pervert our meaning with their strange erudition and wisdom, when at the same time they hear and know that we do not say this of bread and wine,—as bread in itself is bread,—but of such bread and wine as are the body and blood of Christ,* and as are connected with the words: this and no other, I say, is the treasure indeed, through which this forgiveness of sins is obtained. Now it is indeed not otherwise applied and appropriated to us, than in these words, *given and shed for you;* for in these words it is said both that it is the body and blood of Christ, and that it is yours as a treasure and a gift. Now the body of Christ cannot be a fruitless, vain thing, effecting and benefitting nothing. As great, however, as the treasure is in itself, it must be comprehended and administered to us in the word, otherwise we can never be able either to know or to seek it.

Therefore their assertion is also frivolous, when they say, "That the body and blood of Christ are not given and shed for us in the Eucharist, and that for this reason we cannot obtain the forgiveness of sins in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper." For although this work was accomplished on the Cross, and the remission of sins obtained; yet they cannot be communicated to us otherwise than through the word; for how could we otherwise know that these things had been accomplished, or that they are presented to us, if they are not handed down to us through the word? From what source do they know it, or how can they apprehend the remission of sins, and apply it to themselves, if they do not support themselves by, and believe in the Scripture and the Gospel? Now indeed the whole Gospel and the article of the Creed:—*I believe in a holy Christian church, forgiveness of sins,*—by virtue of the word, are embraced in this sacrament, and presented to us. Why then should we permit this treasure to be torn away from this sacrament, when at the same time they must acknowledge that even these words are those which we hear everywhere in the Gospel? And in truth, they as little can affirm that these words in the sacrament are of no

*See a note on this subject, page 299.

benefit, as they dare to affirm that the whole Gospel or the word of God, apart from the sacrament, are of no benefit.

Thus, then, we have the whole doctrine of the sacrament, both what it is in itself, and what it confers and benefits. Now we must also consider *who the person is* that experiences this efficacy and benefit. To show this in the briefest manner, we say, as we did in reference to baptism, that whoever believes this receives what the words declare and offer. For they are not declared and revealed to wood and stone, but to those who hear them, and to whom he says, *Take and eat.* And since he offers and promises forgiveness of sins, it cannot be received otherwise than through faith. Such faith he himself requires in these words, when he says, *Given for you, and shed for you;* as if he should say, I give you my body and blood, and bid you eat and drink, in order that you may embrace and enjoy them. Now whoever permits this to be declared to him, and believes it to be true, has it; but whoever does not believe, has no benefit, inasmuch as he allows it to be presented to him in vain, and desires not to enjoy this salutary good. This treasure is indeed set apart and placed before the door, yes, upon the table for all; but you are required to embrace it, and firmly to believe it to be what the words declare it to be.

Now this is the whole Christian preparation for receiving this sacrament worthily. For since this treasure is wholly presented to us in the words, it cannot be apprehended and applied otherwise than by the heart; for we cannot lay hold on this gift and eternal treasure with our hands. Fasting and prayer, may indeed be an external preparation and exercise for the young, to enable them to conduct and demean themselves modestly and reverently towards the body and blood of Christ; but that which is given in and through this sacrament, the body cannot apprehend and appropriate, but the faith of the heart does it, which perceives and desires this treasure. Let this suffice, being as much as is necessary for general instruction concerning this sacrament; for whatever is necessary further to be said about it, belongs to another occasion.

Finally, inasmuch as we now have the right sense and true doctrine of this sacrament, an admonition and an exhortation are also highly necessary, lest we should neglect this great treasure which is daily administered and distributed among Christians; that is, that those who wish to be Christians, should accustom themselves to receive this highly venerable sacrament *often.* For we see that persons are careless and indolent about this matter; and the greater portion of those who hear the Gospel,—since the frivolous opinions of the pope

are removed, in consequence of which we are liberated from his constraint and authority,—pass indeed a year or two, or even longer, without the sacrament, as if they were Christians so strong as not to need it; and some allow themselves to be prevented and detered from it, because we have taught that no one should approach, unless feeling a hunger and thirst which urge him. Others maintain that it is free and unnecessary, and that it is sufficient if they believe in other respects; and thus the greater part lose all devotion and affection for the sacrament, becoming entirely rude, and finally contemn both the sacrament and God's word.

Now it is true, as we have said, that no one should by any means be forced or compelled to approach the sacrament, lest we should again establish a new torture for souls. (Yet it should, however, be known that those persons who keep away and abstain from the sacrament so long a time, are not to be held as Christians; for Christ did not institute it to be used as a mere spectacle, but he commanded his Christians to eat and to drink it, remembering him through it.)

And in truth those who are true Christians, and hold this sacrament dear and precious, should really force themselves to it; yet for the purpose of inducing the inexperienced and the weak the more, who also wish to be Christians, we shall make a few remarks on the subject, in order to consider the reasons and necessities which should urge them to receive the sacrament. For as in other matters touching faith, love, and patience, it is not enough only to teach and to instruct, but also to admonish daily: so also here it is necessary to continue preaching, so that we may not become careless and averse to this matter, since we know and feel, how the devil always strives against this and every Christian exercise, and, as far as he is able, drives and forces away from it as many as he can.

And in the first place, we have an expressive text in the words of Christ, *Do this in remembrance of me.* These are the words of an imperative command, by which it is enjoined on those who wish to be Christians to partake of this sacrament. For this reason, whoever wishes to be a disciple of Christ, to whom he here speaks, let him reflect, and adhere to the requirements of these words, not through constraint, as being forced by men, but through obedience and to the honor of Christ. But perhaps you may say, these words stand here in connection: *As oft as ye do it;* here he forces no one, but leaves it to the freedom of his choice. Reply:—This is true, but it does not say, that we should *never* do it. Yes, since he declares even these words: *As oft as ye do it,* it is implied that it is to be done often; and more than this, he wishes the sacrament to be free,—not

confined to a particular time like the Jewish passover, which they were compelled to eat but once each year, on the fourteenth day of the first full moon of the evening, invariably,—as if he would say, I institute for you a paschal festival, or a supper, which you shall enjoy, not only on this evening but once in the year, but *often*, when and where you wish, according to the opportunity and necessity of each one, confined to no particular place or fixed time. And yet the pope afterwards perverted it, and made out of it a Jewish festival.

Thus you perceive that there is not such an extent of liberty left as to allow us to contemn the sacrament. For if a person, having nothing to prevent him, still never desires and always neglects to receive the sacrament, this I regard as contemning it. If you wish to have this liberty, then assume even so much as not to be a Christian, and you need neither believe nor pray; for the one is equally as well the injunction of Christ as the other. But if you wish to be a Christian, you must occasionally act up to the requirements of this command and be obedient to it; for this command should, indeed, move you to examine yourself, and to ask: "Behold, what kind of a Christian am I? If I were a Christian, I would seek after that which my Lord has commanded me to do."

And in truth, since we conduct ourselves so strangely in reference to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, it is easy to perceive what kind of Christians we were under the papacy, as these approached it through the fear and constraint of human commands, without love and desire, having no respect for the command of Christ; but we neither force nor violently compel any one to approach, nor should any do it for our gratification. This fact itself, that Christ requires it and that it is pleasing to him, should, however, induce and urge you to it. We should not allow ourselves to be forced either to faith, or to good works of any kind by men. We do nothing more than tell you and admonish you of what you should do, not for our sake, but for that of yourselves. Christ calls you and encourages you; if you will reject this call with contempt, then answer for yourselves in reference to it.

The first thing necessary then, especially for those who are cold and negligent, is for them to reflect seriously and to awake. For this is undoubtedly true,—as I have indeed experienced in myself, and as every one will discover in himself,—that if we thus separate ourselves from the enjoyment of the sacrament, we daily become the more careless and cold, and finally neglect it entirely. But if the Eucharist is more frequently used, we may examine our hearts and our con-

sciences, and conduct ourselves as persons who sincerely desire to be in favor with God: yes, the more frequently we enjoy it, the more the heart is warmed and animated, so that it may not grow entirely cold.

But if you ask,—What then, if I feel that I am unfit to receive the sacrament? Answer:—This feeling troubles me too, resulting especially from the old impression made by the teachings of the pope, under whom we tormented ourselves to a very great degree, in order that we might become entirely pure, and that God might not discover the slightest imperfection in us; in consequence of which we felt so intimidated, that each one immediately became alarmed, and said: "O alas! I am unworthy." For human nature and reason begin to estimate our worthiness in comparison with this great and precious good: here they find themselves as an obscure lantern compared with the meridian sun, or as dust with precious stone; and because they feel this, they are unwilling to approach the sacrament, deferring it until they become fit, to such a length of time, that one week brings on another, and one half year another. But if you wish to take into consideration your piety and purity, and to strive after these, so that nothing may disturb you, you must ever abstain from the sacrament.

Therefore we should make a distinction here between persons. For those who are intractable and impertinent, we should advise to abstain from the sacrament; for they are not fit for the remission of sins, having no desire for it, and not wishing to be pious. But others who are not so rude and dissolute, and earnestly desire that they might be pious, should not be absent from the Lord's Supper, even if they are otherwise weak and defective, as St. Hilary also has said: "If a sin is not committed in such a way that the perpetrator can be justly excluded from the congregation, and regarded as a heathen, he should not stay away from the sacrament, so that he may not deprive himself of life." For no one will arrive at such a degree of perfection, as not to have daily defects in his flesh and blood.

For this reason, such persons should learn that the greatest wisdom is to know that the sacrament does not depend on our worthiness. For we do not permit ourselves to be baptized, as being meritorious and holy; nor do we confess our sins, as if we were pure and sinless; but on the contrary, we confess as poor miserable people, and even because we are undeserving; unless it be such a one as neither desires grace and absolution, nor thinks of amending his ways. But whoever desires to have grace and consolation, should urge himself, allowing no one to deter him from it; and he should say: "I would truly desire to be worthy, but I approach, not upon the merit of any worthiness, but upon the authority of thy word,—because thou hast

commanded it,—as one who desires to be thy disciple, let my worthiness remain where it can." But this is a difficult and a grave resolution; for the fact that we look more upon ourselves than upon the word and voice of Christ, continually lies in our way, and impedes us. For human nature ardently wishes so to act that it may firmly rely and depend on itself; if frustrated in this attempt, it will not approach. Let this suffice in reference to the first part.

In the second place, besides this command there is also a promise, as we have heard above, which should most powerfully entice and allure us. For here stand the gracious and lovely words: *This is my body, given for you: this is my blood, shed for you for the remission of sins.* These words, I have said, are preached, not to wood or stone, but to me and you; otherwise he might as well have remained silent, and instituted no sacrament. Reflect, then, and include yourself also in these words (*for you*), so that he may not speak unto you in vain.

For here he offers unto us all the treasure which he brought from heaven for us; and besides, he also invites us in the most friendly manner; as for instance, in Matt. 11, 28, where he says: "Come unto me, all *ye* that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." Now it is indeed a sin and a shame, since he so lovingly and fervently calls and admonishes us to our highest and best good, that we conduct ourselves so strangely towards it, and go on from time to time, until we become entirely cold and hardened, and have neither desire nor love for it. We must indeed not look upon the sacrament as an injurious thing, from the sight of which we should flee; but as a pure, wholesome, consolatory medicine, which benefits us and gives us life, both in our souls and bodies. For where the soul is renovated, the body is also benefitted.* Why then do we act in reference to the sacrament as if it were a poison, in which we eat death?

It is true indeed that those who contemn it and live inconsistent with the principles of Christianity, receive it to their injury and condemnation; for to them nothing shall be good and wholesome, even as a patient who through his wantonness eats and drinks that which is forbidden him by the physician. But those who feel their weakness, who desire to be freed from it, and wish to obtain help, should not view it and use it otherwise than as a precious antidote against the poison with which they are infected. For here in the sacrament you

* Namely, because the tranquillity and serenity of the mind exert an influence also on the body.

should receive from the mouth of Christ the remission of sins, which has and brings with itself God's grace and Spirit with all his gifts, his defence, protection, and power against death, the devil, and every calamity.

Thus, by the grace of God, you have both the command and the promise of Christ our Lord, to which your own necessity, which encumbers you, should bind you, and for the sake of which this invitation, this command and these promises are given. For he says himself: "They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick;" Matt. 9, 12. That is, those who labor and are oppressed with sin, with the fear of death, and the temptations of the flesh and of the devil. Now if you are oppressed with sin, and feel your weakness, approach the Lord's Supper with cheerfulness, and be refreshed, consoled, and strengthened. If you wish to defer it till you are freed from sin and imperfection, that you may approach the sacrament worthy and pure, you can never approach it. For here Christ passes the sentence, saying: If you are pure and pious, you have no need of me, nor do I require any thing from you. For this reason, those alone are unworthy, who neither feel their defects, nor wish to be regarded as sinners.

But if you ask, what then shall I do in this case, if I can neither feel this necessity, nor experience any hunger and thirst for the sacrament? Answer:—I know no better advice for those who are so disposed that they do not feel these, than for them to look into their own hearts, and see whether they have also flesh and blood; and if they discover this, then they will be benefitted by turning to St. Paul's epistle to the Galatians, ch. 5, vs. 19, 20, 21, and hearing what the fruits of their flesh are: "Manifest are the works of the flesh," says he, "which are *these:* adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulation, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like." If, therefore, you are not conscious of these, then believe the Scripture at least, which will not deceive you, since it is better acquainted with your flesh than you are. Yes, further St. Paul, Rom. 7, 18, concludes: "For I know that in me (that is, in my flesh) dwelleth no good thing." Now if St. Paul dares to declare this with respect to his own flesh, surely we should not presume to be better and more holy. But the very fact that we do not feel these necessities, is so much the worse; for it is an indication of a leprosy raging in and corroding the flesh, though we remain insensible to it. Nevertheless, as said, if you are so entirely destitute of feeling, believe the Scripture still, which passes the sentence against

you. And in a word, the less you feel your sins and infirmities, the more reason you have to approach, in order to seek medicine and relief.

Again, look around you, and see whether you are also in the *world*, and if you are ignorant of it, inquire of your neighbors; if you are in the world, think not that you will be free from wants and from sins. For only begin, and act as if you wished to become pious and to adhere to the Gospel, and see if no one will be at enmity with you, do you injury, injustice, and violence; and moreover, give you cause for sin and iniquity. If you have not experienced it, then let the Scripture declare it to you, which everywhere attributes this character to the world, and bears this testimony of it.

You will, in truth, be encompassed by the devil also, whom you will not be able to overcome entirely, since Christ our Lord himself could not avoid his temptations. What then is the devil? Nothing else but as the Scripture calls him, a liar and a murderer. A liar, who misleads the heart from the word of God, and blinds it, so that you cannot feel your want, nor approach Christ; a murderer, who envies every hour of your existence. If you should see how many daggers, spears, and fiery darts are aimed at you every moment, you would be glad to approach the sacrament as often as possible. But our secure and careless progress results from not considering or believing that we are in the flesh, in a wicked world, or under the kingdom of the devil.

Therefore, try and exercise this resource carefully; turn but to your own heart, examine yourself a little, and only adhere to the Scripture. If you still feel nothing, you have the more need to complain, both to God and your brother, permitting yourself to be advised, and supplications to be made in your behalf; and do not cease until the adamant is removed from your heart. Then the necessity will discover itself, and you will be assured that you are much more deeply involved in sin, than many other poor sinners, and that you have much more need of the sacrament against this wretchedness, which alas! you could not see, if God granted not his grace, that you might feel it the more sensibly, and be the more desirous of receiving the sacrament; especially, since the devil assails and incessantly pursues you, wherever he can overtake you and ruin soul and body, so that you cannot be secure a single hour on account of him. How soon might he have plunged you into misfortune and wretchedness, when you were least on your guard!

Now these remarks are made as an admonition, not only for the aged and the experienced, but also for the young, whom we should train up in the knowledge of the Christian doctrines. For by this

means, we could the more easily impress upon the minds of the young the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, so that they might receive them with earnestness and gratitude, and thus be exercised in, and accustomed to them from their infancy. For such is the condition of the old now, that these and other doctrines cannot be preserved, unless we instruct those who are to succeed us and to enter into our offices and labors, so that they may rear up their children also in a proper manner, by which the word of God and Christianity may be preserved. Let every father of a family know, then, that he is under obligation by the order and command of God, to teach, or to suffer his children to be taught, those things with which they ought to be acquainted. For since they are baptized, and taken into the Christian community, they should also enjoy this communion of the sacrament, so as to become serviceable and useful to us; for they must all tender us their aid in believing, loving, praying, and in striving against the devil.

A BRIEF ADMONITION TO CONFESSION.*

In reference to confession, we have ever taught that it should be free, and that the tyranny of the pope should be put down, so that we might be liberated from all his constraints, and relieved from the intolerable burdens imposed on the Christian community. For hitherto, as we have all experienced, nothing has been more grievous than the compulsion of every one to confession, at the hazard of incurring the highest displeasure. And this, moreover, was so very burdensome, and the consciences of men were tormented to such a degree with the enumeration of so many kinds of sins, that no one could confess fully enough; and what was the worst, no one taught or knew

* "In reference to this Appendix as an admonition to confession,—it is wanting in the oldest Wittemburg edition of the Larger Catechism, as well as in the *corpp. doctrinæ* of Thuringia, Julia, and Brunswick, and also in the edition of the writings of Luther vol. 4, published at Jena; the reason of which seems to have been, because Luther himself did not subjoin it in the first edition, but added it at a later date. This appears to be very probable from the fact that in the commencement he appeals to his general doctrine concerning liberty of confession; and by this, very probably, he has reference to various passages in both Catechisms and to his other writings, and particularly to the Articles of Smalcald composed by him, in which most of it occurs. Hence this addition may, at first indeed, have been attached to the Catechism about the time of the entire collection of the Book of Concord, since it is also found added to the Larger Catechism in the edition of his works, vol. 6, published at Wittemburg in 1570. From these facts as well as from the general character of this addition, it is evident that it was not at all de-

what confession was, or the benefit and consolation resulting from it, but made of it nothing but anguish and fiendish torture, we being compelled to submit to it, when at the same time there was nothing to which we were more averse. We are now favored by proper instruction on these three points: that we are permitted to make our confession through no constraint or fear, and we are relieved of the torments resulting from so close an enumeration of all sins; and besides, we have the advantage to know how we may happily use it to the consolation and strengthening of our conscience.

But all men are inclined to this, and have, indeed, too readily learned to do that in which they delight, and thus assume to themselves the liberty as if they never ought or need confess. For that which meets our approbation we soon embrace, and it is easily imbibed, where the Gospel operates gently and mildly. But such swine, I have said, ought not to be under the Gospel, nor to enjoy any of its blessings; but they should remain under the pope, and suffer themselves to be coerced and tormented, so as to be compelled to confess, fast, &c., more than before. For whoever will neither believe the Gospel nor live according to it, and do that which it is the duty of a Christian to perform, should likewise not enjoy its blessings. What would it be, if you only wished to have enjoyment, and would neither add nor contribute any thing to it? For this reason we would have nothing preached to such persons; and by our consent, we would permit none of our liberty to be shared or enjoyed by them, but suffer the pope or his representative to reign over them again, who would constrain them like a real tyrant; for nothing else belongs to that order of men who will not be obedient to the Gospel, but a task-master who is God's avenger and executioner. But to others who freely permit themselves to be informed, we must ever preach, encouraging, inducing, and entreating them not to suffer that precious and consolatory treasure to pass in vain which is

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signed as a component part or a necessary appendage to the Symbolical Books; but merely as a closer and clearer exposition of the article concerning confession, and as a common warning against the abuse of this doctrine. So that, even for this reason indeed, the continuation of this piece may be allowed among the Symbolical Books; but in this respect it is left entirely arbitrary, since it cannot be a particular part of the Symbolical Books. Hence it is not found in the Dresden, Tibbing, Frankford, Stutgard, Heidelburg, Leipsic, and other editions, nor in the Latin Concordia: and under the view mentioned above, it was received into the quarto edition of the Book of Concord published at Magdeburg in 1580, and in several editions of the Catechism, and among these in the new Arnold edition." See Dr. Baumgarten's Christian Book of Concord published by Gebauer, at Halle, in 1747, page 799.

presented through the Gospel. We shall, therefore, say something also in reference to *confession*, for the purpose of instructing and admonishing the inexperienced.

In the first place, I have said that besides this confession, concerning which we here speak, there are two kinds of confession, which might rather be called a common confession for all Christians; namely, that in which we confess to God alone, or to our neighbor alone, and ask for remission,—acknowledgments which are also implied in the Lord's Prayer, where we say: *Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us.* Yes, the whole of this Prayer is nothing else than such a confession; for what is our prayer, but that we confess our wants and the neglect of that which it is our duty to perform, desiring grace and a peaceful conscience? Such confession shall and must be made without omission, while we live; for in this especially consists the character of a Christian, that we acknowledge ourselves to be sinners, and pray for grace.

In like manner the other confession, in which each one acknowledges before his neighbor, is also included in the Lord's Prayer, namely, where we confess and forgive trespasses among each other, before we approach God, and ask for remission. Now, all of us are guilty; hence we should and may with propriety confess publicly without fearing one another; for no one is pious, and no one performs his duty towards God or his neighbor; yet besides this general, there is also a particular guilt,—where one has provoked another to anger, on account of which he should ask his pardon. Consequently, in the Lord's Prayer, we have two absolutions, namely,—that which we have committed, both against God and our neighbor, is forgiven unto us, if we forgive our neighbor and reconcile ourselves with him.

Besides this useful, daily, and open confession, there is also a confession which may take place privately between two brothers. And if, from some special cause, we become disturbed with restless anxiety, and find our faith insufficient, we can make our complaint to a brother in this private confession, and obtain his advice, comfort, and support whenever we desire. For this confession is not embraced in a command, like the other two, but it is left optional with every one who needs it, to use it to his necessity. And it derives its origin and authority from the fact that Christ himself has placed and committed the absolution into the mouth of his Christian community, to release us from sins. Now wherever there is a heart which feels its sins and desires consolation, it has here an indubitable resource

in the word of God, that God through a human being releases and acquits it of sins.

Thus observe then, as I have frequently said, that confession comprises two parts. The first is *our* work and act, to lament on account of sins, and desire consolation and renovation of soul. The other is a work which *God* does, who through the word (placed in the mouth of man) absolves me from my sins, which is the chief and the noblest thing, rendering it lovely and consolatory. Now hitherto *our* work alone was insisted upon, and no further thought was indulged than that we might confess fully indeed, but the other most essential part was neither regarded nor preached; precisely as if it were only a good work, with which we might compensate God; and as if the confession were not made perfectly and in the most accurate manner, our absolution should avail nothing, and our sins should not be forgiven. By this means the people were driven to such excess that every one had to despair of confessing so fully, (which was impossible,) and no conscience was able to be at peace, or to depend on this absolution. Thus they have rendered this beloved confession not only useless to us, but severe and grievous, to the evident injury and ruin of souls.

For this reason we should so view confession as to distinguish and separate these two parts far from each other, and esteem our work as insignificant; but the word of God we should esteem great and exalted; and we should not enter upon our confession as if we wished to perform a precious work, and make a contribution to God,—but to obtain and receive from him. You need not come and declare how pious or wicked you are; if you are a Christian, I know it well enough otherwise; if you are none, I know it still more readily. But it is to be done, in order that you may lament your necessity, and obtain help, a joyful heart, and a peaceful conscience.

No one is allowed to force you to confession by commands; but we say, whoever is a Christian, or freely wishes to be one, has a confident advice here, to enter upon his confession, and obtain the precious treasure. If you are no Christian, or do not desire this consolation, we shall let some one else compel you. By this means we abolish altogether the pope's tyrannical authority, which is nowhere to be tolerated; for (as said) we teach that whoever does not go to confession willingly and for the sake of absolution, should omit it. Yes, whoever presumes, on account of the purity of his confession, to rely on his own work, no matter how pure and excellent he may have made his confession, let him abstain from it. But we admonish you to confess and make known your need, not in order that

you may do it as a work, but that you may hear what God permits to be declared to you; the word, I say, or the absolution, you should consider, and esteem great and precious, receiving it with all due honor and gratitude, as an excellent and noble treasure.

Should we illustrate this, and in connection with it exhibit the necessity which should urge and impel us to the confession of our sins, we would need but little compulsion or constraint; our own conscience would truly urge each one, and so alarm him, that he would be glad of the opportunity to confess his sins, and he would embrace it like a poor indigent beggar, when he hears that at a certain place a rich distribution of money and clothing is made; here there is no need for a beadle to urge and to force him; he would indeed run of himself with whatever speed his physical powers would allow, lest he should fail in securing these benefits. Now if we were to enjoin a command respecting it, that all beggars must run thither, insisting on this alone, and keeping silent in reference to what should be sought and obtained there, how could it be otherwise than that they would approach with reluctance, not expecting to obtain any thing there, but to be exposed in their poverty and indigence. From this there would be but little enjoyment and consolation derived, but they would become only the more hostile to this injunction, as if it were imposed upon them for reproach and derision, compelling them to let their poverty and wretchedness be seen.

Even so the legates of the pope have hitherto remained silent with respect to this rich and excellent privilege and inexpressible treasure, forcing multitudes to confession for no other purpose than to expose our impurity and pollution. Who, under these circumstances, could go to confession with willingness? We do not say, however, that people must see how full of filth you are, and thus contrast themselves with you; but that they should advise you, and say: "If you are poor and wretched, come, and use this wholesome medicine." Now whoever feels his want and wretchedness, will indeed experience such a desire for confession, that he will attend to it with pleasure; but those who do not regard it or come of themselves, we suffer to take their own course: but this they must know, that we do not regard them as Christians.

Thus then we teach how excellent, how precious, and consolatory confession is, we admonish, moreover, that this precious good should not be contemned, seeing our great necessity. Now if you are a Christian, you need neither my constraint nor the pope's command at all, but you will indeed importune, and entreat me, that you may become a participant in it. But if you despise it, and go

on so haughtily without confessing, we conclude that you are no Christian, and that you should also not enjoy the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; for you despise that which no Christian should despise, and by this means render it impossible for you to have remission of sins. It is a sure sign too that you contemn the Gospel.

In a word, we would know of no constraint; but we have nothing to do with those who neither hear nor obey our preaching and admonition; nor shall they enjoy any of the privileges of the Gospel. If you were a Christian, you should be glad to embrace the opportunity of going even a hundred miles or more to make confession, and not permit yourself to be compelled, but come and urge us. For here the constraint must be reversed, so that we are subjected to the command, and you be vested with the liberty; we force no one, but permit ourselves to be urged, even as we are constrained to preach, and to administer the sacraments.

When we admonish to confession, therefore, we do nothing else but admonish every one to become a Christian; if I succeed in bringing you to this, I have also brought you to confession. For those who long to be pious Christians, to be free from their sins, and to have joyful consciences, have the right hunger and thirst already, eagerly to grasp this bread, even as the hart when pursued, and wearied with heat and thirst, as the 42d Psalm, verse 1 says: "As the hart panteth after the water-brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God." That is, as aching and anxious as the hart is after the fresh brooks, so anxious and concerned am I about God's word or absolution and sacrament. Behold, this would be correct teaching concerning confession; thus we could create a love and desire for it, so that people would come to it, and solicit us more than we might wish or desire. We shall let the papists plague and torment themselves and other people who do not esteem this treasure, and debar themselves from it; but let us lift up our hands, and praise and thank God, that we have arrived at this knowledge and grace. Amen.

FORM OF CONCORD.

PART I.

EPITOME;

OR

SUMMARY OF THE ARTICLES, CONCERNING WHICH CONTROVERSIES HAVE ARISEN BETWEEN THE THEOLOGIANS OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION, AND WHICH ARE IN THE FOLLOWING REPETITION EXPLAINED AND COMPARED IN A CHRISTIAN MANNER, ACCORDING TO THE AUTHORITY OF THE WORD OF GOD.

OF THE SUMMARY, RULE, AND STANDARD, ACCORDING TO WHICH ALL DOCTRINES ARE TO BE JUDGED, AND THE ERRORS WHICH HAVE ARISEN, ARE TO BE DETERMINED AND EXPLAINED IN A PIOUS MANNER.

1. We believe, confess, and teach, that the *only* rule and standard, according to which all doctrines and teachers alike ought to be tried and judged, are the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures *alone* of the Old and New Testaments, as it is written, Psalm 119, 105: "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path." And St. Paul, Gal. 1, 8, says: "Though an angel from heaven preach any other Gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed."

Other writings, however, of ancient and modern teachers, whatever their reputation may be, shall not be held of equal authority with the holy Scripture, but shall all be subordinate to it, and not received otherwise or further than as testimonies respecting the manner in which, after the Apostolic age, and the places in which, such doctrine of the Prophets and Apostles, was held.

2. And as, immediately after the time of the Apostles, and even while they were yet living, false teachers and heretics insinuated themselves, against whom Symbols, that is, short, plain confessions, were drawn up in the first churches, and these were unanimously held as the universal Christian faith and confession of the orthodox and true churches, namely, the Apostolic Symbol, the Nicene Sym-

bol, and the Athanasian Symbol; we acknowledge these, and hereby reject all heresies and doctrines, which, contrary to these, have been introduced into the church of God.

3. But so far as it pertains to the division in matters of faith, which has arisen in our day, we hold as the unanimous conception and explanation of our Christian faith and confession,—particularly in opposition to the papacy and its false methods of worship, to idolatry, and superstition, and other sects,—the symbol of our time, the original, unaltered Augsburg Confession, delivered to the Emperor Charles V. at Augsburg, anno 1530, in the great Diet; together with the Apology of the same, and the Articles drawn up at Smalcald, anno 1537, and subscribed by the most eminent theologians at that time.

And inasmuch as these matters also touch the common laity, and the salvation of their souls, we also acknowledge the Smaller and Larger Catechisms of doctor Luther, as both these Catechisms are comprised in the writing of Luther, as a bible of the laity, in which are comprised all that is treated copiously in holy writ, and all that is necessary for a Christian to know for his salvation.

To this authority, mentioned above, all doctrines must be conformed, and what is contrary to it, must be rejected and condemned, as being repugnant to the unanimous declaration of our faith.

In this manner the difference between the holy Scripture of the Old and New Testaments and all other writings, will be preserved, and the holy Scripture *alone* will remain the *only* authority, rule, and standard, according to which, as the *only* touchstone, all doctrines shall and must be understood and judged whether they be good or bad, right or wrong.

But the other symbols and writings mentioned, are not authorities like the holy Scripture; they are only *testimonies* and declarations of faith, how at any time the holy Scriptures were understood and interpreted and the doctrines contrary thereto rejected and condemned in controverted articles in the church of God, by those who then lived.

I. OF ORIGINAL SIN.

The chief question in this controversy.

Whether original sin is properly, and without any discrimination, the nature, substance, and essence of corrupted man, or indeed the principal and noblest part of his essence,—as the rational soul itself in its highest faculties and powers? Or, whether there is a differ-

ence between the substance, nature, essence, body, and soul of man, and original sin, even after the fall, so that the one is the nature and the other original sin, which clings to this corrupted nature, and contaminates it?

AFFIRMATIVE.

Pure doctrine, faith, and confession, by virtue of the prescribed standard, and Summary Declaration.

1. We believe, teach, and confess, that there is a difference between the nature of man, not only as it was created of God in the beginning, pure and holy, without sin, but also as we now find it since the fall, that is, between the nature, which even since the fall is and remains a creature of God, and original sin; and that this difference is as great as the difference between the work of God, and that of Satan.

2. We also believe, teach, and confess, that this difference must be observed with the greatest diligence, since this doctrine, that there can be no difference between our corrupted nature, and original sin, militates against the chief articles of our Christian faith, concerning creation, redemption, sanctification, and the resurrection of the body, and is incompatible with them.

For God created not only the bodies and souls of Adam and Eve before the fall, but also our bodies and souls since the fall, though they are now corrupted; and he acknowledges them still as his work, as it is written, Job 10, 8: "Thine hands have made me, and fashioned me together round about." (Deut. 32; Isa. 45, 54, 64; Acts 17; Job 10; Psalms 100, 139; Eccl. 12.)

Likewise has the Son of God in the unity of his person, assumed this human nature, yet without sin, and not a superhuman flesh, but our own, and according to the same flesh, he became our true brother, Heb. 2, 14: "Forasmuch then as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same." Again, verses 16 and 17: "For verily he took not on *him the nature* of angels: but he took on *him* the seed of Abraham. Wherefore in all things," sin excepted, "it behooved him to be made like unto his brethren." Thus also has Christ redeemed it as his work, he sanctifies it as his work, renovates it from the dead, and adorns it gloriously as his work: but he did not create original sin, nor assume it, nor redeem it, nor sanctify it, nor will he renovate it, nor adorn it, nor save it in the elect, but in the resurrection it will be entirely eradicated.

From this it is easy to perceive the difference between the corrupted nature, and the corruption which clings to that nature, and through which the nature became corrupted.

3. We believe, teach, and confess, however, on the other hand, that original sin is not a superficial, but so deep a corruption of human nature that nothing sound or uncorrupted remains in the body and soul of man, his internal and external powers, but as the church declares—

> This human frame, this soul, this all,
> Is all corrupt through Adam's fall;

which unspeakable injury can be known, not by our reason, but from the word of God alone; and that the nature and such corruption of the nature, cannot be separated from each other by any one but God alone,—a thing which comes to pass through death, and is completed in the resurrection, when our nature, which we now bear, shall rise and live eternally, severed and separate from original sin; as it is written, Job 19, 26, 27: "And though, after my skin, worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God: whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another."

NEGATIVE.

Rejection of the false doctrine.

1. Accordingly we reject and condemn the doctrine in which it is asserted that original sin is only a debt and a responsibility, entailed upon us, from the offence of another, without any corruption of our own nature.

2. Likewise that the evil lusts are not sin, but certain original conditions and essential properties of nature; or that those infirmities, and that malignant evil mentioned above, are not a sin on account of which, man, having no interest in Christ, becomes a child of wrath.

3. In like manner do we reject also the Pelagian error, in which it is intimated that the nature of man even after the fall, remained untainted and entirely pure in its *naturalibus*, that is, in its natural powers, especially as to spiritual things.

4. Likewise that original sin is but a slight, exterior, unimportant blemish, a mere taint diffused over nature, under which, however, she may still retain, even in spiritual matters, her virtuous energies.

5. Likewise, that original sin is only an outward *impediment*, and not an *extermination* of the moral powers; as when a magnet is overspread with garlic-juice, through which its natural power is not taken

away, but only obstructed; or that this blemish, like a stain in the face, or paint on the wall, can be easily washed off.

6. Likewise, that in man, the human nature and essence are not *entirely* corrupted, but man has still *something* good in him, even in spiritual things, as for instance, qualification, aptness, capability or virtues to begin something, to perform, or to co-operate, in spiritual things.

7. We reject, on the contrary, also the false doctrine of the Manicheans, where it is taught, that original sin, as something essential and self-existent, is, by Satan, infused into our nature, and intermingled *with it*, as poison and wine are mingled together.

8. Again, that not the natural man, but some other and extraneous thing in man, sins; therefore, not natural man, but only the original sin in the nature, is accused.

9. We reject and condemn also, as a Manichean error, when it is taught that original sin is properly, and without any discrimination, the substance, nature, and essence itself of corrupted man, so that there can be no difference between the corrupted nature in itself since the fall, and original sin, neither can the one be conceived of, nor be distinguished by thought, separate from the other.

10. This original sin, however, is called by Luther, natural, personal, essential depravity,—not that the nature, person, or essence itself of man, without any discrimination, is original sin, but that the difference between original sin, which adheres to human nature, and other sins which are called actual, may be distinguished by these words.

11. For original sin is not a sin which we commit, but it adheres to the nature, substance, and essence of man; consequently, if even no evil thought should ever arise in the heart of corrupted man, no idle word be spoken, nor evil deed done, yet the nature is corrupted through original sin, which is congenial with us, and is a fountain-head of all actual sins,—as evil thoughts, words, and deeds; as it is written, Matt. 15, 19: "Out of the heart proceed evil thoughts;" again, Gen. 6, 5: "Every imagination of the thoughts of" man's "heart is only evil continually."

12. Thus it is also well to observe the various significations of the word *nature*, by which the Manicheans conceal their delusion, and cause many illiterate persons to err. For sometimes it signifies the essence of man, as when it is said, God created human nature; at other times, however, it signifies the quality or evil disposition of a thing which inheres in the nature or essence, as when it is said, "It is the nature of the serpent to bite," and, "Man's nature and quality

are sinful, and prone to sin; here the word nature signifies, not the substance of man, but some quality of the nature or substance.

13. But what pertains to the Latin words *substantia* and *accidentis*, since they are not words of the holy Scriptures, and besides are not understood by common persons, they must not be employed in sermons before the unintelligent; let the inexperienced be exempt from hearing them.

But in the schools among the learned, since they are well understood, and employed without any misunderstanding, and by which the essence of each *thing*, and its accidental properties, are accurately distinguished, these words also are justly retained in the disputation about original sin.

For the difference between the work of God and that of the devil, is thus most distinctly shown; since the devil can create no substance, but only in a partial manner, by the permission of God, can corrupt the substance created of God.

II. OF FREEWILL.

The chief question in this controversy.

Inasmuch as the will of man is found in four dissimilar states, namely:—1. Before the fall; 2. After the fall; 3. After regeneration; 4. After the resurrection of the body: the chief question is only concerning the will and powers of man in the second state, what power he has of himself in spiritual things, since the fall of our first parents, before his regeneration, and whether he is able by his own powers, before he is regenerated through the Spirit of God, to fit and prepare himself for the grace of God, and to accept the grace offered through the Holy Spirit in the word and holy sacraments, or not?

AFFIRMATIVE.

Pure doctrine, by virtue of God's word, concerning this article.

1. Our doctrine, faith, and confession concerning this is, that man's understanding and reason are blind in spiritual matters, since he can understand nothing by his own powers; as it is written, 1 Cor. 2, 14: "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know *them*, because they are spiritually discerned."

2. Likewise do we believe, teach, and confess, that the unregenerate will of man has not only become alienated from God, but also

an enemy to God, so that he has desire and inclination only to evil, and to that which is contrary to God; as it is written, Gen. 8, 21: "The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth;" again, Rom. 8, 7: "The carnal mind is enmity against God: for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be." Yea, as little as a dead body can make itself alive to a temporal life, so little may man, who is spiritually dead through sin, raise himself to spiritual life; as it is written, Eph. 2, 5: "Even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ:" 2 Cor. 3, 5: "Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think any thing, as of ourselves, but our sufficiency *is* of God."

3. But God the Holy Spirit works conversion, not without means, but employs for this purpose, the preaching and hearing of God's word; as it is written, Rom. 1, 16: "The Gospel is the power of God unto salvation;" again, Rom. 10, 17: "Faith *cometh* by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." *And it is the will of God, that men should hear his word, and not stop their ears*, Psalm 95, 7, 8. With this word the Holy Spirit is present *and opens* the hearts, that they, as Lydia in the Acts of the Apostles, 16, 14, may attend to it, and thus become converted, alone through the grace and power of the Holy Spirit, to whom alone belongs the work of the conversion of man; for without his grace, our willing and running, Rom. 9, 16, our planting, sowing, and watering, 1 Cor. 3, 7, are all nothing, if he give not the increase; as Christ, John 15, 5, says: "Without me ye can do nothing." By these brief words he denies the power of freewill, and ascribes all to the grace of God, so that no one might boast before God, 1 Cor. 9, 16; 1 Cor. 1, 29; Jer. 9, 23.

NEGATIVE.

Contrary, false doctrine.

Accordingly, we reject and condemn all the following errors, as contrary to the standard in the word of God:

1. The sect of philosophers called Stoics, as also the Manicheans, who taught that all that happens, *must* so happen, and cannot otherwise happen; and that man does all through constraint, even what he transacts in external things, and is constrained to evil works and deeds,—as lasciviousness, rapine, murder, theft, and the like.

2. We reject also the gross error of the Pelagians, who taught that man is able by his own powers, without the grace of the Holy

Spirit, to convert himself to God, to believe the Gospel, to obey the law of God with his heart, and thus to merit forgiveness of sins and eternal life.

3. We reject also the error of the Semi-pelagians, who teach that man is able by his own powers to make the beginning of his conversion, but not to consummate it without the grace of the Holy Spirit.

4. Likewise, the doctrine, that, although with his freewill before his regeneration man is too impotent to make the beginning, and by his own powers to convert himself to God, and to be obedient to the law of God from his heart; yet, when the Holy Spirit by the preaching of the word, has made the beginning, and offered his grace in the word, then the will of man by its own natural powers, is able, to some limited extent, to do something towards it, to help and co-operate in fitting and preparing itself for grace, to apprehend and embrace the same, and to believe the Gospel.

5. Likewise, that man, after he has been regenerated, can *keep* the law of God *perfectly*, and fulfil it entirely: and that such fulfilment is our righteousness before God, for which we merit eternal life.

6. Likewise, we reject and condemn also the error of the enthusiasts, who imagine that God draws men to himself, enlightens, justifies, and saves them, without means, without the hearing of the word of God, and without the use of the holy sacraments.

7. Likewise, that in conversion and regeneration God entirely removes the substance and essence of the old Adam, and especially the rational soul; and in conversion and regeneration creates a new rational principle out of nothing.

8. Likewise, when these expressions are used without explanation, namely, that the will of man strives against the Holy Spirit before, in, and after conversion; and that the Holy Spirit is given to those who resist him designedly and perseveringly; "for in conversion God makes out of the unwilling, willing ones, and dwells in the willing ones," as Augustine says.

But what pertains to the expressions of the ancient and modern teachers of the church, as here mentioned:—*Deus trahit, sed volentem trahit;* that is, God draws, but draws the willing; again: *Hominis voluntas in conversione non est otiosa, sed agit aliquid;* that is, the will of man is not inactive in conversion, but does something. Since such expressions are introduced contrary to the doctrine of the grace of God, for the confirmation of the natural freewill in the conversion of man, we hold that they are not agreeable to the form of sound doctrine; and accordingly, when conversion to God is spoken of, they ought to be avoided.

It is rightly said however, on the contrary, that in conversion, God, through the drawing of the Holy Spirit, makes willing men out of the obstinate and unwilling; and that after such conversion, the regenerated will of man does not remain inactive in the daily exercise of repentance, but it co-operates in all the works of the Holy Spirit, which he performs through us.

9. Also, that doctor Luther has written that the will of man in his conversion, remains purely passive, that is, that it does nothing at all, is to be understood *respectu divinæ gratiæ in accendendis novis motibus;* that is, when the Spirit of God through the heard word, or through the use of the holy sacraments, lays hold on the will of man, and effects the new birth and conversion. For when the Holy Spirit has effected and accomplished this, and *through his divine power and operation alone,* has changed and renewed the will of man, then the new will of man is an instrument and organ of God, the Holy Spirit, so that it not only accepts the grace, but also co-operates in subsequent works of the Holy Spirit.

Consequently, that before the conversion of man, there are but two efficient causes found, namely, the Holy Spirit, and the word of God as the instrument of the Holy Spirit, through which he effects the conversion, and which man is to hear; he cannot, however, give credence to it and accept it through his own powers, but exclusively through the grace and operation of God, the Holy Spirit.

III. OF JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH.

Chief question in this controversy.

While it is unanimously confessed in our churches, by the authority of the word of God, and according to the contents of the Augsburg Confession, that we poor sinners become righteous before God and saved, alone through faith in Christ, and that consequently, Christ alone is our righteousness, who is true God and man, since in him the divine and human natures are personally united, Jer. 23, 6; 1 Cor. 1, 30; 2 Cor. 5, 20. A question has arisen,—according to which nature Christ is our righteousness. And thus two adverse errors have taken rise in several churches.

For, the one party has maintained that Christ becomes our righteousness according to his divinity alone, when he dwells in us through faith; in comparison with this indwelling divinity through faith, the

sins of all men are regarded as a drop of water in the great sea. On the contrary, others have maintained that Christ is our righteousness before God according to the human nature alone.

AFFIRMATIVE.

Pure doctrine of the Christian church against both the errors now stated.

1. In opposition to both the errors now specified, we believe, teach, and confess unanimously, that Christ is our righteousness, neither according to the divine nature alone, nor yet according to the human nature alone, but the *whole Christ* according to both natures, exclusively in that obedience, which he, as God and man, rendered to the Father even in death, and by this has merited for us forgiveness of sins and eternal life; as it is written, Rom. 5, 19: "For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners; so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous."

2. Accordingly, we believe, teach, and confess, that our righteousness before God is this—that God forgives us our sins out of pure grace, without any regard to our antecedent, present, or subsequent works, merit, or worthiness: granting and imputing to us the righteousness of the obedience of Christ; on account of which righteousness we are received into favor with God and reputed as just.

3. We believe, teach, and confess, that faith alone is the medium and instrument, by which we apprehend Christ; and, thus in Christ, we also apprehend this righteousness, which avails before God, for the sake of which, this faith is imputed to us for righteousness, Rom. 4, 5.

4. We believe, teach, and confess, that this faith is not a mere perception of the history concerning Christ, but a gift of God, through which we rightly perceive Christ our Redeemer in the word of the Gospel, and rely upon him that we have forgiveness of sins by grace for the sake of his obedience alone, and are accounted pious and righteous of God the Father, and eternally saved.

5. We believe, teach, and confess, that according to the phraseology of holy writ, the word *to justify*, in this article, signifies to absolve, that is, to declare acquittal from sin. "He that justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the just, even they both are abomination to the Lord," Prov. 17, 15; again, "Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? *It is* God that justifieth," Rom. 8, 33.

And whenever, instead of the word *justification*, the words *regeneration* and *renewal* of life are employed, as is done in the Apology to the Augsburg Confession, these words must be understood in the above sense. For these expressions, when used in reference to the renovation of man, must be understood differently from what is rightly discriminated by the *justification* by faith.

6. We believe, teach, and confess, that notwithstanding much weakness and imperfection still adhere to the true believer and truly regenerated even to their graves, yet they should not for that reason doubt, either of righteousness which is imputed to them through faith, or of the salvation of their souls; but hold as certain, that for Christ's sake, by virtue of the promise and word of the holy Gospel, they have a merciful God.

7. We believe, teach, and confess, that for the preservation of the pure doctrine concerning the justification by faith before God, the *particulæ exclusivæ*, that is, the following words of the holy apostle Paul, by which the merit of Christ is wholly separated from our works, and the honor attributed to Christ alone, are to be maintained with special diligence, where the holy apostle Paul writes, "by grace," Eph. 2, 5, 8; "freely," Rom. 3, 24; "not by the law," Gal. 3, 11; "without works," Rom. 4, 6; "without the deeds of the law," Rom. 3, 28; all of which words signify as much as that we are righteous and saved *alone through* faith in Christ.

8. We believe, teach, and confess, that although an antecedent contrition and subsequent good works, do not pertain to this article of justification before God, yet there must not be feigned such a faith as can consist with an evil intention to sin and to act contrary to conscience; but, after man is justified through faith, then there is a true and living *faith working by love*, Gal. 5, 6. So that good works always follow the justifying faith, and are certainly found with it, when it is true and living; as it is never alone, but always accompanied by love and hope.

ANTITHESIS OR NEGATIVE.

Rejection of the contrary doctrine.

Accordingly we reject and condemn all the following errors:

1. That Christ is our righteousness according to the divine nature alone.

2. That Christ is our righteousness according to the human nature alone.

3. That in the declarations of the Prophets and Apostles, in which the justification by faith is spoken of, the words *to justify* and *to be justified*, should not signify, to declare or to be declared free from sin, and to obtain forgiveness of sins; but, in reality to be made righteous before God, in consequence of the love and virtue infused by the Holy Spirit, and the works following from these.

4. That faith views not only the obedience of Christ, but his divine nature, so far as the same dwells and works in us, that through such indwelling our sins may be covered.

5. That faith is such a reliance on the obedience of Christ as can exist and remain in a person, who even has no genuine repentance, and where no love follows, but who, contrary to his conscience, persists in sins.

6. That not God himself, but only the gifts of God dwell in the believing.

7. That faith saves, because the renovation, which consists in love towards God and our neighbor, is begun in us by faith.

8. That faith has the pre-eminence in justification; nevertheless love and a reformation of life pertain also to our justification before God, not being indeed the principal cause of our righteousness; but our righteousness before God, without this love and reformation, would not be complete or perfect.

9. That believers are justified before God and saved, at the same time, by the imputed righteousness of Christ, and by the incipient new obedience, or partly by the imputation of the righteousness of Christ, and partly by the incipient new obedience.

10. That the promise of grace is appropriated to us by faith in the heart, by the confession which is made with the lips, and by other virtues.

11. That faith does not justify without good works; so that good works are required as necessary to righteousness, and without their influence no man can be justified.

IV. OF GOOD WORKS.

The chief question in controversy concerning good works.

With respect to the doctrine concerning good works, two different sources of dissension have arisen in several churches.

First, several theologians separated themselves in consequence of the following declarations, which the one party wrote:

1. Good works are necessary to salvation: it is impossible to be saved without good works. Again, no one has ever been saved without good works.

The other party, however, maintained—

That good works are pernicious to salvation.

2. Afterwards a schism took place also between several theologians concerning the two words, *necessity* and *freewill;* the one party contended that the word *necessity* ought not to be used concerning the new obedience, which does not flow from necessity and constraint, but from a spontaneous will. The other party maintained the word *necessity*, since this obedience does not consist in our free choice, but the regenerated are constrained to render such obedience.

From which disputation concerning these words, a controversy afterwards arose concerning the matter in itself; the one party contended that the law should not at all be urged among Christians, but the people should be admonished to good works out of the holy Gospel alone. This the other party opposed.

AFFIRMATIVE.

Pure doctrine of the Christian church in relation to this controversy.

For a fundamental explanation and decision of this controversy, our doctrine, faith, and confession, are:

1. That good works certainly and undoubtedly *follow*, as fruits of a good tree, true faith, if it be not a dead but a living faith.

2. We also believe, teach, and confess, that good works should be entirely excluded as well when the question is concerning *salvation*, as in the article of *justification before God*, as the Apostle testifies in distinct terms, where he writes thus: "Even as David also describeth the blessedness of the man unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works, saying, Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered," Rom. 4, 6, 7; again, "For by grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God: not of works, lest any man should boast," Eph. 2, 8, 9.

3. We also believe, teach, and confess, that all men, but especially those who are regenerated and renewed through the Holy Spirit, are under obligation to do good works.

4. And in this sense, the words, *necessity*, *shall*, and *must*, are used in a correct and Christian manner, even in regard to the regen-

erated; and they are in no way contrary to the form of sound terms and expressions.

5. Yet by the words, *necessity* and *necessary*, when speaking of the regenerated, we should understand, not a constraint, but only the due obedience which true believers render, so far as they are regenerated,—not from compulsion of the law, but from a free spontaneous spirit,—since they are no more under the law, but under grace, Rom. 6, 14, 15.

6. Accordingly we also believe, teach, and confess, that when it is said, "The regenerated perform good works out of a free spirit," it should not be understood as if it lay in the will or choice of the regenerated person to do good or to omit it, when he pleases, and nevertheless be able to retain faith, although he persevere in sin designedly.

7. Yet this is to be understood not otherwise than Christ the Lord and his apostles themselves have declared, namely, concerning the freed spirit, that it performs these services, not through fear of punishment, like a servant, but through love of righteousness, like a child, Rom. 8, 15.

8. This voluntariness, however, in the elect children of God, is not perfect, but it is encumbered with great weakness, as St. Paul, Rom. 7, 14, 24, Gal. 5, 17, complains concerning himself.

9. Which weakness the Lord does not, however, impute to his elect, for the sake of Christ the Lord; as it is written, Rom. 8, 1: "There is, therefore, now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus."

10. We believe, teach, and confess, moreover, that works do not preserve or retain faith and salvation in us, but the Spirit of God alone preserves salvation through faith; of whose presence and indwelling good works are testimonies.

NEGATIVE.

False doctrine of the opponents.

1. We accordingly reject and condemn this manner of expression, when it is taught and written,—that good works are necessary to salvation; again, that no one has ever been saved without good works; again, that it is impossible to be saved without good works.

2. We reject and condemn this bare expression as offensive and disadvantageous to Christian discipline, when it is said, good works are pernicious to salvation.

For especially in these latter times, is it no less necessary to encourage the people to Christian discipline and good works, as to admonish them to exercise themselves in good works for the manifestation of their faith and their gratitude to God, than that works should not be intermingled in the article concerning justification; since men can incur condemnation, as well through an indolent confidence in faith, as through the papistical and pharisaical trust in one's own works and merits.

3. We also reject and condemn the doctrine, that faith and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit are not lost through wilful sin, but that the saints and the elect retain the Holy Spirit, even if they fall into adultery and other sins, and persevere in them.

V. OF THE LAW AND THE GOSPEL.

The chief question in this controversy.

Whether the preaching of the holy Gospel be *properly*, not only a preaching of grace, which announces the forgiveness of sins to us, but also a preaching of repentance, reproving the sin of unbelief, which is not reproved in the law, but through the Gospel alone.

AFFIRMATIVE.

Pure doctrine of the word of God.

1. We believe, teach, and confess, that the distinction between the Law and the Gospel which is a peculiar, a glorious light, is to be retained in the church with the greatest fidelity, so that the word of God may be rightly divided, according to the admonition of St. Paul, 2 Tim. 2, 15.

2. We believe, teach, and confess, that the *law* is properly a divine doctrine, which teaches what is right and pleasing to God, and censures all that is sin and contrary to the will of God.

3. Therefore all that reproves sin, has immediate reference to the preaching of the law.

4. But *the Gospel* is properly a revelation which teaches what man, who has not kept the law and is condemned by it, should believe; namely, that Christ has atoned for and expiated all sins, and obtained and procured for him, without any of his merit, remission of sins, righteousness which prevails before God, and eternal life.

5. Inasmuch, however, as the word *Gospel* is not always used in one and the same sense in Holy Writ, from which circumstance too, this controversy originally sprang,—we believe, teach, and confess, when by the word *Gospel*, the whole doctrine of Christ which he held forth in his ministerial office, as also his apostles did, is understood, (in which sense it is used in Mark 1, 14, 15; Acts 20, 21,) that it is rightly said and written, that the Gospel is a declaration concerning repentance and remission of sins.

6. But when the *Law* and the Gospel, as also *Moses* as a teacher of the Law, and *Christ* as a preacher of the Gospel, are compared together, we believe, teach, and confess, that the Gospel is not a declaration of repentance, reproving sin, but properly nothing else than an instrument of consolation and of joyful news, neither reproving nor terrifying, but consoling the conscience against the terror of the law, pointing to the merits of Christ alone, and by the cheering promises of grace and favor from God, obtained through the merits of Christ, raises us up again.

7. With respect to what belongs to the revelation of sins, since the veil of Moses hangs before the eyes of all persons, as long as they hear the mere preaching of the law, and nothing concerning Christ, and thus do not learn from the law to perceive their sins rightly, but either become presumptuous hypocrites like the Pharisees, or despair like Judas: *Christ*, Matt. 5, 17, sqq. Rom. 7, 14, *takes the law in his hands*, and explains it spiritually, and thus *the wrath of God*, however great it be, *is revealed from heaven against all sinners*, Rom. 1, 18, by which they are pointed to the law, and then first learn from it to perceive their sins rightly, which perception Moses never could have effected in them.

Although, therefore, discourses about the passion and death of Christ, the Son of God, are full of terror and intensity, pointing out the wrath of God, by which the people are first rightly led into the law after the veil of Moses is removed, to let them clearly perceive what great things God requires of them in the law, none of which they are able to observe, and accordingly they must seek all their righteousness in Christ.

8. Yet as long as the suffering and death of Christ, place the wrath of God before our eyes and terrify mankind, so long is this, not a declaration of the Gospel, but an exhibition of the law and of Moses; it is a different operation of Christ's by which he advances to his peculiar office,—to preach the grace of God, to console, and to renovate;—this is the appropriate declaration of the Gospel.

NEGATIVE.

The contrary doctrine, which is rejected.

Accordingly we reject and hold as wrong and pernicious, the doctrine, that the Gospel is *properly* defined a preaching of repentance, reproving, accusing, and condemning sins, and not a preaching of grace alone; by which doctrine, the Gospel is again transformed into a teaching of the law, the merits of Christ and the holy Scripture are obscured, the Christians deprived of the true consolation, and the door opened again to the papistical errors and superstitions.

VI. OF THE THIRD USE OF THE LAW.

The chief question in this controversy.

Inasmuch as the law was given to man for three different purposes:—First, that through it external discipline might be preserved against the vile and disobedient; second, that through it men might be led to a knowledge of their sins; third, after they, to whom however the flesh still adheres, are regenerated, that on account of this they might have a certain rule, according to which they should direct and regulate their whole lives: a controversy has arisen between some few theologians concerning the third use of the law; namely, whether it is to be urged among the regenerated Christians too, or not. The one party contended that it should, the other, that it should not.

AFFIRMATIVE.

The right Christian doctrine concerning this controversy.

1. We believe, teach, and confess, that, although those who sincerely believe in Christ and are truly converted to God, are liberated and acquitted from the curse and constraint of the law, through Christ; yet they are not, for this reason, without law, but they are redeemed by the Son of God, in order that they should exercise themselves in it day and night, Psalm 1, 2; 119, 1. For our first parents did also not live without law before the fall, in whose hearts the law of God was written, when they were created in the image of God, Gen. 2, 16; 3, 3.

2. We believe, teach, and confess, that the preaching of the law is to be urged with diligence, not only among those who have no faith in Christ, and are impenitent, but also among those who sincerely believe in Christ, who are truly converted to God, who are regenerated, and who are justified through faith.

3. For even if they are regenerated, and in the operations of their minds, renovated, yet this regeneration and renovation is not perfect in this world, but only commenced. And believers are, with the operations of their minds, in a continual struggle against the flesh, against the corrupted nature and quality, which adhere to us till death, Gal. 5, 17; Rom. 7, 23. And on account of this Adamic nature, which still inheres in the intellect, will, and all the powers of man, it is necessary that the law of God shine before him continually, in order that he may not through human devotion assume self-chosen and selected services to God, Rom. 12, 1; again, in order that the old Adam may not use his own will, but be constrained, not only by admonitions and menaces of the law, but also by chastisements and plagues, against his will, to follow, and yield himself captive to the Spirit. (1 Cor. 9, 27; Rom. 6, 12; Gal. 6, 14; Psalms 119, 1; Heb. 13, 21.)

4. Touching the difference between the works of the law, and the fruits of the Spirit, we believe, teach, and confess, that the works which are done according to the law, are called works of the law, as long as they are forced from man by the dread of punishment and by the threatening of the wrath of God.

5. But the fruits of the Spirit are those works which the Spirit of God, dwelling in believers, performs through the regenerated, and which are done by the believers, so far as they are regenerated, as if they had received no command, heard no threat, and expected no remuneration. In this manner then the children of God live in the law, and conduct themselves according to the law of God; which manner of living St. Paul in his Epistles, calls the law of Christ, and the law of the mind, Rom. 7, 25; 8, 7; Gal. 6, 2.

6. Thus the law remains, both with the penitent and the impenitent, with regenerated and unregenerated men, one only law, namely, the immutable will of God. And the difference, so far as it pertains to the obedience, is in the persons alone, where one who is not yet regenerated, renders to the law, through constraint and unwillingness, that which is required of him, (as also the regenerated do according to the flesh,) but the believer, without constraint, with a free spontaneous spirit, so far as he is regenerated, renders such obedience as no threat of the law could ever force from him.

NEGATIVE.

False doctrine of the opposite party.

Accordingly we reject as pernicious and false, as adverse to Christian discipline and true piety, the doctrine, in which it is asserted that the law should not be enforced in the way and manner mentioned above, among Christians and true believers, but only among unbelievers, infidels, and the impenitent.

VII. OF THE HOLY SUPPER OF CHRIST.

Although the Zwinglian teachers are not to be reckoned among the number of theologians connected with the Augsburg Confession, from whom they separated themselves immediately when this Confession was delivered; yet, since they undertake to obtrude themselves among that number, and to circulate their error under the name of this Christian Confession, we shall give the necessary information also concerning this dissension.

The chief controversy between our doctrine and that of the sacramentarians, in this article.

Whether or not, the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, are truly and essentially present in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, administered with bread and wine, and received with the lips, by all those who use this sacrament, be they worthy or unworthy, pious or impious, believing or unbelieving—believers to comfort and life—unbelievers to judgment. The sacramentarians maintain the negative, we the affirmative.

To explain this controversy, it is in the first place to be observed, that there are two different kinds of sacramentarians. Some are gross sacramentarians, who, as they believe in their hearts, allege with precise, explicit words, that in the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, there is nothing more than bread and wine present, administered, and received with the lips. But others are artful and the most pernicious of all sacramentarians; these in part use our words most speciously, and pretend that they also believe a real presence of the true, essential, body and blood of Christ in the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper; yet they maintain, that this comes to pass spiritually, through faith. And nevertheless, even under these ostensible

words, they retain the former gross opinion, namely, that in the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, there is nothing present, and received with the lips, but bread and wine. For with them *spiritually* signifies nothing else than the spirit of Christ, or the virtue of the absent body of Christ, and his merits which are present; but they assert that the body of Christ is in no way or manner present, but remains only in the highest heaven above, to whom we must elevate ourselves with the thoughts of our faith into heaven, and there, but by no means with the bread and wine of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, must we seek his body and blood.

AFFIRMATIVE.

Confession of the pure doctrine concerning the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in opposition to the sacramentarians.

1. We believe, teach, and confess, that in the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the body and blood of Christ are really and essentially present, and with bread and wine really administered and received.

2. We believe, teach, and confess, that the words of the testament of Christ, are not to be understood otherwise than literally, so that the bread does not signify the absent body of Christ, and the wine, the absent blood of Christ, but, through the agency of sacramental union, they are truly the body and blood of Christ.

3. With respect to what belongs to the *consecration*, we teach and believe, that the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, is not effected by the work of any man, or by the declaration of the minister, but that it is to be ascribed wholly and alone to the omnipotent power of our Lord Jesus Christ.

4. But we, moreover, believe, teach, and hold unanimously, that in the use of this holy sacrament, the words of the institution of Christ, are in no wise to be omitted, but are to be spoken openly, as they are written, "The cup of blessing, which we bless," &c., 1 Cor. 10, 16. And this blessing comes to pass through the recitation of the words of Christ.

5. But the *grounds* upon which we base ourselves in this controversy against the sacramentarians, are such as doctor Luther has laid down in his Larger Confession concerning the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

The first is this article of our Christian faith:—Jesus Christ is truly, essentially, naturally, perfectly God and man, in one person, unseparated and undivided.

The second:—That the right hand of God is everywhere, at which Christ, according to his human nature, is seated, in deed and in truth, and reigns present, and has in his hands and under his feet, all that is in heaven and on earth; where no man nor angel, but the Son of Mary alone, is seated; hence he is also able to perform that which we assert.

The third:—That the word of God is neither false, nor fallacious.

The fourth:—That God knows and has within his power various ways, in which he can at any time be present in a place, and not in one only, which philosophers call local or circumscribed.

6. We believe, teach, and confess, that the body and blood of Christ are received with bread and wine, not only spiritually through faith, but also orally with the lips; yet not in an ordinary, but in a supernatural, heavenly manner, on account of the sacramental union. As this is clearly shown by the words of Christ, where he commands, "Take, eat, and drink," which was done by the Apostles; for it is written: "And they all drank of it," Mark 14, 23. And likewise St. Paul says: "The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" 1 Cor. 10, 16. That is, whoever eats this bread, eats the body of Christ. This the most eminent ancient teachers of the church, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Leo I., Gregory, Ambrose, Augustine, also unanimously testify.

7. We believe, teach, and confess, that not only the truly believing and the worthy, but also the unworthy and the unbelieving, receive the true body and blood of Christ, 1 Cor. 11, 29. Yet the latter receive them, not to life and comfort, but to judgment and condemnation, if they do not change their ways and repent.

For, even if they reject Christ as a Savior from themselves, they must still, however, even against their will, admit him as a severe judge, who as present exercises and manifests judgment in the impenitent guests, even as he by his presence works life and consolation in the hearts of the truly believing and worthy guests.

8. We also believe, teach, and confess, that there is but one kind of unworthy guests: namely, those who do not believe. Concerning whom it is written, John 3, 18: "He that believeth not is condemned already." Which condemnation is incurred and consummated through an unworthy use of this holy sacrament, 1 Cor. 11, 27, 29.

9. We believe, teach, and confess, that no true believer, as long as he retains the living faith, however weak it may be, receives to judgment this holy sacrament, which was instituted especially on account of Christians who are infirm in faith, yet penitent, for the consolation and confirmation of their weak faith.

10. We believe, teach, and confess, that all the worthiness of the guests of this heavenly feast, consists in the most holy obedience and perfect merits of Christ alone,—which we appropriate to ourselves through genuine faith, and of which we are assured through this sacrament,—and by no means in our virtues or interior and exterior preparations.

NEGATIVE.

Contrary and condemned doctrine of the sacramentarians.

On the other hand, we unanimously reject and condemn all the following erroneous articles, which are repugnant to the pious doctrine, the simple faith, and the sincere confession concerning the Supper of Christ, which we have now recited:

1. The papistical *transubstantiation*, where it is taught by the papists, that bread and wine in the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, lose their substance and natural essence, and thus become annihilated; that it is transmuted into the body of Christ, and that the external form alone remains.

2. The papistical sacrifice of the mass, offered up for the sins of the living and the dead.

3. That only one part of the sacrament is given to the laity, and contrary to the express words of the testament of Christ, the cup is withheld from them, and they are robbed of the blood of Christ.

4. The doctrine, that the words of the testament of Christ are not to be understood or believed simply as they read, but that they are obscure expressions, the meaning of which must first be sought in other portions of Scripture.

5. That in the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the body of Christ is not received orally with the bread, but that bread and wine alone are received with the lips; the body of Christ, however, is received only spiritually through faith.

6. That bread and wine in this holy sacrament, are nothing more than signs, by which Christians know each other.

7. That bread and wine are only significations, similitudes, and emblems of the far-absent body and blood of Christ.

8. That bread and wine are nothing more than memorials, seals, and pledges, by which we are assured, that when faith soars upwards into heaven, it there becomes a participant of the body and blood of Christ as really as we eat and drink bread and wine in the Lord's Supper.

9. That the assurance and confirmation of our faith in the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, come to pass through the external signs of bread and wine alone, and not through the true, present body and blood of Christ.

10. That in the holy Supper, only the virtue, operation, and merit of the absent body and blood of Christ, are dispensed.

11. That the body of Christ is so locked up in heaven, that he can, in no manner especially, and at the same time, be present in many, or all places on earth where his holy Supper is celebrated.

12. That Christ could neither promise nor effect the essential presence of his body and blood in the holy Supper, since the nature and the properties of his assumed human nature, can neither bear nor admit of it.

13. That God with all his omnipotence is not able (which is horrible to hear) to provide that the body of Christ be essentially present at one time, in more than one place.

14. That the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the holy Supper, is caused and effected, not by the almighty words of the testament of Christ, but by faith.

15. That believers should not seek the body of Christ in the bread and wine of the holy Supper, but that they should lift their eyes from the bread into heaven, and there seek the body of Christ.

16. That the unbelieving, impenitent Christians receive not the true body and blood of Christ in the holy Supper, but bread and wine alone.

17. That the worthiness of the guests at this heavenly feast, depends not upon true faith alone in Christ, but also upon external human preparation.

18. That true believers also, who have and retain a genuine, pure, and living faith in Christ, can receive this sacrament to judgment, on account of the imperfection in their external deportment.

19. That bread and wine, the external visible elements, in the holy sacrament, shall be adored.

20. Likewise we commit to the just judgment of God, all the curious, derisive, blasphemous questions (which modesty forbids us to recite) and expressions, which are most blasphemously and offensively employed after a gross, carnal, abominable manner, by the sacramentarians, concerning the supernatural, heavenly mysteries of this sacrament.

21. We therefore, hereby entirely deny the gross physical eating of the body of Christ, which the sacramentarians, against the testimony of their own conscience, against all our manifold protestations, maliciously impose on us, and in this way bring our doctrine into odium among their hearers, as if we taught that his flesh is torn in pieces with the teeth, and digested like other food. And on the other hand, we hold and believe, by virtue of the express words of the testament of Christ, a *true, yet supernatural* eating of the body of Christ, as also a drinking of his blood. But, this eating and drinking, the senses or reason of man cannot comprehend; but our understanding, in this matter, as in all other articles of faith, is taken captive in the obedience of Christ, and this mystery is comprehended not otherwise than by faith alone, and revealed in the word of God.

VIII. OF THE PERSON OF CHRIST.

Out of the controversy concerning the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, a dissension has arisen between the sincere theologians of the Augsburg Confession, and the Calvinists, (who have disturbed some other theologians also,) concerning the person of Christ, concerning the two natures in Christ, and their properties.

The chief question in this controversy.

The principal question, however, was:—Whether the divine and human natures, as also their properties, on account of the personal union, have communion with each other *realiter*, that is, in deed and in truth, in the person of Christ, and how far this communion extends.

The sacramentarians affirmed, that the divine and human natures in Christ are personally united in such a manner that neither the one nor the other has in common with the other *realiter*, that is, in deed and in truth, what belongs to the other, but the name alone, and nothing more. For, *unio*, say they plainly, *facit communia nomina*, that is, the personal union makes common not more than the names, to wit, that God is called man, and man God; yet in such a manner, that *realiter*, that is, in deed and in truth, God has nothing common with the humanity, and the humanity nothing with the divinity, with its majesty and its properties. But the contrary opinion was maintained against the sacramentarians, by doctor Luther and those who coincided with him.

AFFIRMATIVE.

Pure doctrine of the Christian church, concerning the person of Christ.

To explain this controversy and to decide it according to the analogy of our Christian faith, our doctrine, faith, and confession, are as follow:

1. That the divine and human natures in Christ are personally united, so that there are not two Christs, one the Son of God, the other the Son of man; but the one and the same Christ is the Son of God and the Son of man, Luke 1, 35; Rom. 9, 5.

2. We believe, teach, and confess, that the divine and the human natures are not commingled in one essence, or the one changed into the other; but each one retains its essential properties, which never become the properties of the other nature.

3. The attributes of the divine nature are these: to be omnipotent, eternal, infinite, according to the property of that nature and its essential character: to be independently omnipresent, and to know all things. All these never are, and never can become the attributes of the human nature.

4. But the attributes of the human nature are these: to be a corporeal creature; to consist of flesh and blood; to be finite and circumscribed; to suffer, to die, to ascend, to descend, to move from place to place; to be pained with hunger, thirst, cold, heat, and all similar evils. These never are, and never can become the attributes of the divine nature.

5. Since indeed the divine and human natures are personally united, that is, constituting a personal union, we believe, teach, and confess, that this personal union is not such a connection or combination that neither nature can personally, that is, according to the personal union, possess any property in common with the other, like the combination which takes place when two boards are glued together, a case in which neither board imparts any property to the other, nor receives any from it. But this is rather that exalted communion which God really maintains in assuming human nature: and from this personal union and the high and indescribable communion necessarily resulting, originates all that is said and believed concerning God as man, and concerning the man Christ as God. This union and communion of natures, the ancient doctors of the church endeavor to explain by the similitude of melted iron, and also by the union of body and soul in man.

6. Hence we believe, teach, and confess, that God is man, and man God; which could not be, if the divine and the human natures had no communion at all with each other.

For how could the man, the Son of Mary, be called, or be God, or the Son of God the most High with truth, if his humanity were not personally united with the Son of God, and thus *realiter*, that is, in deed and in truth, had nothing, but the name of God alone, common with him?

7. Hence we believe, teach, and confess, that the Virgin Mary did not conceive and bring forth only a mere man, but the true Son of God; for which reason she is also rightly called and she is truly the mother of God.

8. Wherefore we also believe, teach, and confess, that for us not a mere man suffered, died, was buried, descended into hell, rose from the dead, ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of the Majesty and almighty Power of God; but a man whose human nature has a union and a communion with the Son of God so deep and inexpressible that it is one person with him.

9. Therefore the Son of God has really suffered for us, yet according to the property of his human nature, which he assumed in union with his divine nature and made it his own, so that he could suffer, and yet be our high-priest, for our reconciliation with God, as it is written: "They have crucified the Lord of glory, and God hath purchased his church with his own blood," 1 Cor. 2, 8; Acts 20, 28.

10. Hence we believe, teach, and confess, that the Son of man is *realiter*, that is, in deed and in truth, exalted according to the human nature to the right hand of the omnipotent Majesty and Power of God, since he is taken up in God, as he was conceived in the womb by the Holy Ghost, and his human nature is personally united with the Son of the Most High.

11. Which majesty he has always had according to the personal union; and yet he divested himself of it in the state of his humiliation, Phil. 2, 7; and for this reason he really increased in all wisdom and favor with God and man, Luke 2, 52; and therefore he did not always manifest this majesty, but only when it pleased him to do so, until he wholly and entirely resigned the form of a servant but not the nature, after his resurrection, and was placed in the plenary use, revelation, and manifestation of the divine majesty, and thus had entered in his glory; so that now, not only as God, but also as man, he knows all things, is able to do all things, is present to all creatures, and has under his feet and in his hands, John 13, 3, all that is in heaven and on earth, and under the earth, as he himself testifies. All

power is given unto me in heaven and in earth," Matt. 28, 18. And St. Paul, Eph. 4, 10, says: "He ascended up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things;" which power of his he can exercise, being omnipresent, and all things are possible with him and known to him.

12. Hence he is also able, and it is altogether easy for him, in the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, to impart his true body and blood, in a present manner; *not according to the mode or property of the human nature, but according to the mode and property of the divine prerogative,* as doctor Luther says in our Christian Catechism; which presence is not earthly nor physical, yet real and essential, as the words of his testament declare, Matt. 26, 26: *This is my body,* &c.

By this doctrine, faith, and confession of ours, the person of Christ is not divided, as Nestorius maintained, who denied the *communicationem idiomatam,* that is, the real communion of the properties of both natures in Christ, and thus divided the person, as referred to by Luther in his book concerning the Councils; nor are the natures together with their properties, mingled with each other in one essence, as Eutyches erroneously asserted; nor is the human nature in the person of Christ denied or abolished; nor is the one nature changed into the other: but Christ is and remains to all eternity God and man in one undivided person. And this, next to the holy Trinity, is the highest mystery, as the Apostle testifies, 1 Tim. 3, 16, in which our only consolation, life, and salvation consist.

NEGATIVE.

Contrary and false doctrine concerning the person of Christ.

Accordingly we reject and condemn as repugnant to the word of God and to our sincere Christian faith, all the following erroneous articles, in which it is asserted:

1. That God and man in Christ are not one person, but that the Son of God, is one person, and the Son of man another, as Nestorius foolishly maintained.

2. That the divine and the human natures are commingled in one essence, and that the human nature is changed into the divine, as Eutyches asserted.

3. That Christ is not true, natural, eternal God, as Arius maintained.

4. That Christ has not a real human nature consisting of body and soul, as Marcion imagined.

5. That the personal union unites only the titles and names.

6. To say, that God is man, or that man is God, is a mere phrase or mode of speaking; for the divinity has *realiter*, that is, in deed, nothing in common with the humanity, nor has the humanity any thing in common with the divinity.

7. That it is a mere verbal expression to say, the Son of God died for the sins of the world, the Son of man is become Almighty.

8. That the human nature in Christ has become an infinite essence equal to the divinity, and through this essential, communicated power and property effused into the human nature and separate from God, it is everywhere present, like the divine nature.

9. That the human nature has become equal with the divine nature in its substance and essence, or in its essential properties.

10. That the human nature of Christ is locally expanded in all places in heaven and on earth,—a thing which is not to be attributed even to the divine nature.

11. That it is impossible for Christ, on account of the properties of the human nature, to be especially at more than one place with his body, much less everywhere.

12. That the mere humanity alone suffered for us, and redeemed us, and that the Son of God indeed had no communion with it in suffering,—as if it concerned him nothing.

13. That Christ is present with us on earth, in the word, in the sacraments, and in all our distresses, according to his divinity alone, and that this presence does not at all concern the human nature;—according to which, since he has redeemed us through his sufferings and death, he has nothing more to do with us upon earth.

14. That the Son of God, who assumed the human nature, does not, since he has laid down the form of a servant, perform all the works of his omnipotence, in, through, and with his human nature, but only a few, and in such place alone where the human nature is local.

15. That according to the human nature he is by no means susceptible of the omnipotence and other properties of the divine nature,—which is against the express declaration of Christ, Matt. 28, 18: "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth." And St. Paul, Col. 2, 9, says: "In him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily."

16. That there is given to him greater power in heaven and on earth, namely, greater and more than to all angels and other creatures; but that he has no communion with the omnipotence of God,

nor is it given to him. Hence they devise a *mediam potentiam*, that is, a power between the almighty power of God and the power of creatures, as being given to Christ according to his humanity through the exaltation, and as being less than the almighty power of God, and greater than the power of creatures.

17. That Christ according to his human spirit has a certain limit, how much he shall know, and that he knows no more than is due to him and necessary for the execution of his office as judge, to know.

18. That Christ has not a perfect knowledge yet of God and of all his works;—although it is written concerning Christ: "In whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge," Col. 2, 3.

19. That according to his human spirit, it is impossible for Christ to know what was from eternity, what now happens everywhere, and what is yet to occur in eternity.

20. We also reject and condemn the horrible explanation and blasphemous perversion of this passage, Matt. 28, 18: "All power is given unto me," &c.,—and the doctrine, that all power in heaven and on earth was restored to Christ according to his divine nature, in his resurrection and in his ascension to heaven; as if also according to his divinity he had laid it aside and abandoned it in the state of his humiliation. Through which doctrine, are not only perverted the words of the testament of Christ, but the door is also opened for the condemnable heresy of the Arians; so that ultimately the eternal divinity of Christ will be denied, and thus Christ together with our salvation, will be wholly and entirely lost, if this false doctrine is not contradicted from the invariable declarations of the divine word and of our universal Christian faith.

IX. OF CHRIST'S DESCENT INTO HELL.

Chief controversy concerning this article.

In reference to this article a dispute arose among several theologians professing the Augsburg Confession, and it was asked, when, and in what way, agreeably to our universal Christian faith, Christ the Lord descended to hell, whether it occurred before or after his death. Moreover, whether it took place according to the soul alone, or according to the divinity alone, or with body and soul, spiritually or corporeally. It was also disputed, whether this article should be referred to the passion, or to the glorious victory and triumph of Christ.

But since this, as well as the foregoing article, cannot be comprehended by the senses or by our reason, but must be received by faith alone: our unanimous opinion is, that there should be no disputation about this matter, but that it should be believed and taught in the most simple manner. And in reference to it, we follow the pious doctrine of doctor Luther, who explained this article in a manner altogether Christian, in a sermon at Torgau, A. D. 1533, &c., rejecting all useless and unnecessary questions, and admonishing all pious Christians to the pure simplicity of faith.

For it ought to be sufficient for us to know, that Christ descended into hell, and delivered all believers from the power of death and the devil, from eternal damnation, and from the jaws of hell; but how this was effected we should not curiously scrutinize, but we should reserve it for the world to come, where not only this point, but also others besides will be revealed to us, which we here simply believe, and cannot comprehend with our blind reason.

X. OF CHURCH USAGES.

Between the theologians of the Augsburg Confession, a controversy has also arisen concerning ceremonies or church usages which are neither commanded nor prohibited in the word of God, but are introduced into the church for the sake of good order and decorum.

The chief controversy concerning this article.

The main question however was, whether in time of persecution, and in case of confession, even if the enemy of the Gospel do not agree with us in doctrine, we might with clear conscience, upon the requirement and urgency of our adversary, re-establish certain abrogated ceremonies, which are in themselves things indifferent, and neither commanded nor prohibited of God, and thus conform with them in such ceremonies and indifferent things. The one party affirmed it, but the other denied it.

AFFIRMATIVE.

The right and the true doctrine and confession concerning this article.

1. For a determination of this controversy also, we believe, teach, and confess unanimously, that the ceremonies or church usages which are neither commanded nor prohibited in the word of God, but are instituted alone for the sake of decorum and good order, are

in and of themselves no divine service, nor any part of it, Matt. 15, 9: "But in vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."

2. We believe, teach, and confess, that the church of God, in all places and at all times, has power to alter such ceremonies according to their convenience, as it may be most useful and edifying to the church of God.

3. Yet that in this matter, all levity and offence be avoided, and that especially the weak in faith be spared with all diligence, 1 Cor. 8, 9; Rom. 14, 3.

4. We believe, teach, and confess, that in time of persecution, if a firm and clear confession of faith is required from us, we are not to yield to our enemies in these indifferent things, as the Apostle writes: "Stand fast, therefore, in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage," Gal. 5, 1. Again, "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers; for what communion hath light with darkness?" 2 Cor. 6, 14. Again, "To whom we gave place by subjection, no not for an hour, that the truth of the Gospel might continue with you," Gal. 2, 5. For in such case, it is no longer concerning indifferent things, but concerning the truth of the Gospel and Christian liberty, lest manifest idolatry be confirmed and the weak in faith be offended. In these things we have nothing to conceal, but we must roundly confess them, and suffer in consequence of it, whatever God sends upon us, and whatever he may allow the enemies of his word to inflict on us.

5. We believe, teach, and confess also, that no church should condemn another because one observes more or less outward ceremonies which God has not commanded, than the other, if in other respects unity be preserved with each other in doctrine and in all its articles, as also in a right use of the holy sacraments, according to the well-known saying: *Dissonantia jejunii, non dissolvit consonantiam fidei;* dissimilarity in fasts, should not dissolve the unity in faith.

NEGATIVE.

False doctrine concerning this article.

Accordingly we reject and condemn as wrong and contrary to the word of God, the doctrine in which it is taught:

1. That the commandments and ordinances of men should in themselves be held as a service to God, or as a part of divine service, in the churches.

2. When such ceremonies, commandments, and ordinances are forced upon the church of God as necessary, contrary to her Christian liberty which she has in external things.

3. Again, that in time of persecution and public confession, we might comply with the enemies of the Gospel, in these indifferent things and ceremonies, or conform with them,—a thing which would be highly detrimental to truth.

4. Again, if such external ceremonies and indifferent things should be so abolished as to deprive the church of God of the privilege to use one or more of them in her Christian liberty, according to her own convenience, as it might be most useful to the church at any time.

XI. OF GOD'S FOREKNOWLEDGE AND ELECTION.

Concerning this article no public controversy has arisen among the theologians of the Augsburg Confession. But since it is a consolatory article, if rightly handled, and in order that no offensive disputation may arise in the progress of time, it is also explained in this work.

AFFIRMATIVE.

Pure and true doctrine concerning this article.

1. In the first place, the difference between the *prescientia* and *predestinatio*, or foreknowledge and eternal election of God, ought to be accurately observed.

2. For the foreknowledge of God is nothing else than that God knows all things before they come to pass, as it is written: "But there is a God in heaven that revealeth, and maketh known to the king Nebuchadnezzar what shall be in the latter days," Daniel 2, 28.

3. This foreknowledge pertains alike to the good and to the bad, but not as a cause of evil nor of sin, impelling men to wickedness. For sin originates from the devil and from the wicked, perverted will of man. Nor is this foreknowledge the cause of the destruction of men; for this they ought to impute to themselves: but it only *regulates* the evil, and *sets a limit to it*, how long it shall endure, and that, all, notwithstanding it is evil in itself, shall contribute to the welfare of God's elect.

4. But the predestination, or eternal election of God, pertains alone to the good and beloved children of God; and it is a cause of their salvation, which he also procures, and orders that which be-

longs to it. Upon this their salvation is so firmly founded, that the gates of hell cannot prevail against them, John 10, 28; Matt. 16, 18.

5. This predestination of God is not to be sought in God's secret counsel, but in the word of God, in which it is revealed.

6. But the word of God leads us to Christ, the book of life, in which are written and elected all that shall be eternally saved, as it is written: "According as he hath chosen us in Christ before the foundation of the world," Eph. 1, 4.

7. Christ calls to himself all sinners, and promises them alleviation; and it is his earnest desire that all men should come to him, and permit themselves to be assisted. To these he offers himself in the word, wishes them to hear it, and not to close their ears, or despise the word. And to this end he promises the aid, power, and operation of the Holy Spirit, that we may be permanent in faith and obtain eternal salvation.

8. We should, therefore, not judge concerning this our election to eternal life, either from our reason, or from the law of God, lest we should be led into a dissolute and licentious life, or fall into despair. For to judge according to our reason in this matter, excites pernicious thoughts in the hearts of men,—nor can they successfully resist these thoughts, while they follow their reason:—"If God has elected me to salvation, I cannot be condemned, let me do what I please." And on the other hand: "If I am not elected to eternal life, nothing good that I may do, can avail; it is all in vain."

9. But the true sentiment concerning predestination must be derived from the holy Gospel of Christ alone, in which it is clearly testified how "God hath concluded them all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all;" and "he is not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance, and believe in Christ the Lord." Ezek. 33, 11, and 18, 23; Rom. 11, 32; 2 Pet. 3, 9; 1 John 2, 2.

10. Now this doctrine is useful and consolatory to him that regards the revealed will of God, and pursues the order which St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans observed, who referred men to repentance, to an acknowledgment of sin, to faith in Christ, to divine obedience, before he spoke concerning the mystery of the eternal election of God.

11. But the text, Matt. 20, 16: "Many be called, but few chosen"—does not imply that God does not desire to save all men; but the reason is, because they either do not hear the word of God at all, but obstinately contemn it, closing their ears and hardening their hearts, and thus obstruct the ordinary means of the

Holy Spirit, so that he cannot perform his work in them; or, if they have heard it, they again neglect and disregard it; neither God nor his election being in fault of this, but their own wickedness.

12. And a Christian should embrace this article concerning the eternal election of God, so far as it is revealed in the word of God. For the word of God presents unto us Christ as the book of life, which he opens and reveals to us through the preaching of the Gospel, as it is written: "Whom he did predestinate, them he also called," Rom. 8, 30. Therefore, in Christ we should seek the eternal election of the Father, who decreed in his eternal divine counsel, that besides those who acknowledge Christ to be his Son and truly believe in him, he will save no one. We must banish from our minds other thoughts which flow not from God, but from the insinuations of the malevolent Enemy, through which he hopes to diminish, or to take away entirely from us, the glorious consolation which we have in this salutary doctrine, that we know how we are elected to eternal life in Christ, through pure grace, without any of our merit, and that no one is able to tear us out of his hands. For he has not only in simple words promised this gracious election, but he has confirmed it with an oath, and sealed it with the holy sacraments, by which we can remind and console ourselves in our greatest trials, and with which we can avert the fiery darts of the devil.

13. In the mean while we should use our utmost endeavors to live according to the will of God, and to make our calling sure, as St. Peter admonishes, 2 Pet. 1, 10, and especially adhere to the revealed word of God, which cannot and will not disappoint us.

14. By this brief explanation of the eternal election of God, the honor is fully and entirely attributed to God, that he saves us through pure mercy alone, according to the purpose of his will, without any of our merit: and besides, no reason is given to any one for faintheartedness, or for a dissolute life.

NEGATIVE.

False doctrine concerning this article.

We therefore believe and hold, that when the doctrine concerning the gracious election of God to eternal life, is so set forth that depressed Christians cannot console themselves, but rather through it are brought into a state of dejection or despair, or the impenitent are confirmed in their licentiousness, this doctrine is inculcated, not according to the word and will of God, but according to human reason and the instigation of Satan: since all that is written, as the

Apostle, Rom. 15, 4, testifies, is written for our instruction, in order that through the patience and consolation derived from the Scripture, we might have hope. Accordingly we reject the following errors:

1. When it is taught, that God is not willing that all persons should come to repentance, and believe the Gospel.

2. Again, when God calls us, that it is not his earnest desire that *all* persons should come to him.

3. Again, that God is not willing that *all persons* should be saved, but *regardless* of their sins, solely through the bare counsel, purpose, and will of God, he has destined some to condemnation, so that they cannot be saved.

4. Again, that the mercy of God, and the most holy obedience of Christ, are not the only causes of the election of God, but that *in us* also there is a cause, on account of which God has elected us to eternal life.

All these doctrines are false, horrible, and blasphemous, by which all the consolation, which Christians have in the holy Gospel and in the use of the holy sacraments, is taken away from them; and for this reason these doctrines should not be tolerated in the church of God.

This is a brief and plain exposition of the controverted articles, which have been controverted and taught by the theologians of the Augsburg Confession for some time, with a difference of sentiment among themselves. From this declaration every Christian, however inexperienced he may be, can perceive, according to the analogy of the word of God and to the simple doctrine of the Catechism, what is right or wrong; since not only the pure doctrine is recited, but also the contrary and false doctrines are repudiated and rejected, and thus the offensive controversies, which have arisen, are completely decided.

May the omnipotent God and Father of our Lord Jesus, grant the grace of his Holy Spirit, that we all may be united in him, and remain constantly in this Christian *union* which is well-pleasing to him. Amen.

XII. OF SEVERAL FACTIONS AND SECTS,

WHO HAVE NEVER EMBRACED THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

Lest by our silence, the opinions of these factions and sects, might be attributed to us also, since we have not made express mention of them in the preceding exposition; we have desired, in conclusion, only to recite the articles in which they err, and which they teach contrary to our oft-mentioned Christian faith and confession.

ERRONEOUS ARTICLES OF THE ANABAPTISTS.

The Anabaptists are divided into many sects among themselves, some of which defend more errors, and some less: but in general they profess a doctrine which cannot be tolerated either in the church, or in polity and civil government, or in domestic economy.

Articles which cannot be tolerated in the church.

1. That Christ did not derive his body and blood from the Virgin Mary, but brought it from heaven with him.

2. That Christ is not true God, but has only more gifts of the Holy Ghost, than another holy man has.

3. That our righteousness before God consists, not in the merits of Christ alone, but in our renovation and the piety in which we walk. But this righteousness of the Anabaptists is, for the most part, based on their own, particular, self-chosen sanctimoniousness; and in reality it is nothing else than a new species of monkery.

4. That infants, who are not baptized, are not sinners in the sight of God, but are righteous and innocent; who in their innocence, since they have not as yet the use of their reason, are saved without baptism,—of which they have no need, according to the pretence of the Anabaptists. Thus they reject the whole doctrine concerning original sin, and whatever attaches to it.

5. That infants are not to be baptized, until they attain the use of their reason, and are able to confess their faith themselves.

6. That the children of Christians, since they are born of Christian and believing parents, are holy and the children of God, even without and prior to baptism. For this reason they do not highly esteem infant baptism, nor promote it,—contrary to the express words of the promise of God, which extends to those alone *who keep his covenant and do not despise it*, Gen. 17, 7.

7. That a church in which sinners are yet found, is not a genuine Christian church.

8. That no one should frequent a temple, or hear a sermon in it, in which the papistical mass had previously been read and celebrated.

9. That no one should have any intercourse with the ministers of the church, who teach according to the Augsburg Confession and censure the sermons and errors of the Anabaptists; neither should he serve them nor labor for them, but flee from them and shun them as perverters of the word of God.

Articles intolerable in civil government.

1. That the magistracy is not an office pleasing to God, under the New Testament dispensation.

2. That a Christian can neither bear nor administer the office of magistrate with good and inviolate conscience.

3. That a Christian may not, with inviolate conscience, use the office of magistrate in occasional cases, against the wicked, nor may subjects invoke that power which magistrates have and receive from God, for their defence and protection.

4. That a Christian cannot, with good conscience, swear an oath, nor take the oath of fealty to his prince or sovereign.

5. That the magistracy cannot, with inviolate conscience, under the New Testament, punish malefactors with capital punishment.

Articles intolerable in domestic life.

1. That a Christian can neither hold nor occupy any possessions as his own, with clear conscience, but is under obligation to give it unto the church.

2. That a Christian cannot, with good conscience, be a landlord, nor a merchant, nor a cutler.

3. That married people may, on account of a difference in their faith, separate from each other, and contract marriage with another who is of congenial faith.

ERRONEOUS ARTICLES OF THE SCHWENKFELDIANS.

1. That all those, who hold Christ as a creature according to the flesh, have not a right knowledge of Christ the reigning King of heaven.

2. That the flesh of Christ, through his exaltation, has so assumed all the divine properties, that he—Christ—as man, in might, power, majesty, and glory, is equal with the Father and the Word everywhere in degree and condition of essence; that now both natures in Christ are one and the same essence, property, will, and glory, and that the flesh of Christ belongs to the essence of the holy Trinity.

3. That the ministry of the word, the preached and heard word, is not a medium, through which God the Holy Spirit teaches men, and works in them the saving knowledge of Christ, conversion, repentance, faith, and new obedience.

4. That the water in baptism is not a medium, through which God the Lord seals adoption in children, and works regeneration.

5. That bread and wine in the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, are not means, through and by which Christ distributes his body and blood.

6. That a Christian who is truly regenerated through the Spirit of God, can keep and fulfil the law of God perfectly in this life.

7. That there is no genuine Christian church, where there is no public excommunication, or where there is no regular process of excommunication maintained.

8. That the minister of the church, who is not truly renewed, regenerated, righteous, and pious in his own person, cannot teach other persons profitably, nor administer true and genuine sacraments to them.

ERROR OF THE NEW ARIANS.

That Christ is not true, essential, natural God, of one eternal, divine essence with God the Father and the Holy Spirit, but is only adorned with divine majesty, subordinate and next to God the Father.

ERROR OF THE ANTITRINITARIANS.

This is altogether a new sect, unheard of before in the Christian church; who believe, teach, and confess, that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, are not one, eternal, divine essence: but as the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, are three distinct persons; so also each person has his distinct and separate essence from the other persons in the Trinity. And yet all these three,—like three different men, are separated from each other in their essence,—are either equal in power, wisdom, majesty, and glory, or unequal in essence and properties to each other, so that the Father alone is right and true God.

These, and all similar articles, and whatever errors besides attach to these and result from these, we condemn and reject as wrong, false, and heretical, and as repugnant to the word of God, to the three Symbols, to the Augsburg Confession and Apology, to the Articles of Smalcald, and to the Catechisms of Luther: against which errors all pious Christians either of high or low station, should guard themselves, as they hold dear the bliss and salvation of their souls.

In confirmation that this is the doctrine, faith, and confession of us all, for which we shall answer on the last day before the just Judge, our Lord Jesus Christ, and against which we shall neither speak nor write any thing either secretly or publicly, but hope, by means of the grace of God, to adhere to them, we have with due meditation in the true fear and invocation of God, subscribed this Epitome with our own hands.

FORM OF CONCORD.

PART II.

A FULL DECLARATION;

OR

A RADICAL, CLEAR, CORRECT, AND FINAL REPETITION AND EXPOSITION OF SOME ARTICLES OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION, CONCERNING WHICH, FOR SOME TIME, A DISPUTE HAS EXISTED AMONG SOME THEOLOGIANS ATTACHED TO THIS CONFESSION; IN WHICH THESE DISPUTES ARE DETERMINED AND RECONCILED ACCORDING TO THE AUTHORITY OF THE WORD OF GOD, AND TO THE SUMMARY CONTENTS OF OUR CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

With the gracious permission of the Elector of Saxony.—*Dresden* 1582.

PREFACE.

By the inestimable goodness and mercy of God, the doctrine concerning the principal articles of our Christian religion, which had been deeply obscured during the papacy by the opinions and traditions of men, has now again been clearly unfolded and purified, according to the instruction and analogy of the word of God, by the labors of the illustrious doctor Luther, while the errors, the abuses, and the idolatry of the priesthood have been abundantly exposed. By this pious reformation our adversaries suppose that new opinions have been introduced into the church; and as if this exposition were repugnant to the word of God, and entirely subversive of all pious institutions, they have attacked it with violence and falsehood, and opposed it with endless reproaches, without the least color of probability. Our excellent electors, princes, and estates, illustrious for their piety and virtue, who had embraced the pure doctrine of the Gospel, and had reformed their own churches according to the rule of the word of God, being influenced by this consideration at the celebrated Diet of Augsburg, A. D. 1530, carefully provided that a pious Confession, collected from the Holy Scriptures, should be drawn up in writing; and they exhibited that confession to the Emperor Charles V. In this they distinctly and unreservedly confessed what

was believed and publicly taught in the evangelical and reformed churches concerning the principal articles; especially concerning those articles which had become subjects of dispute between themselves and the pope's adherents. Our adversaries beheld this Confession with great concern, indeed, but to this day they have been utterly unable to refute or to overthrow it.

Embracing with our whole heart this pious Augsburg Confession, constructed from the fundamental truths of the word of God, we publicly and solemnly profess it; and we shall retain that simple, pure, and perspicuous sense which its own expressions exhibit. We conceive it to be the pious symbol of our day, which devout minds ought to adopt next to the invincible authority of the word of God. In the same manner violent controversies formerly arose in the church of God, and confessions and pious symbols were written, which sincere teachers and hearers embraced with their whole soul, and publicly professed. And indeed, assisted by the grace of Almighty God, we shall persevere to the latest breath in the doctrine of this pious Confession, as it was exhibited to the Emperor Charles V., A. D. 1530. Nor have we the least idea, of departing the breadth of a finger-nail, as they say, from this Confession, or of framing a different or a new Confession.

And though the pious doctrine of this Confession has met no opposition, except those parts which came in conflict with the pope's adherents, it must be confessed that some theologians, in several articles of great importance, have departed from it, and either have not followed its true sense, or have certainly failed to adhere to it uniformly; while some also have endeavored to frame a different sense, pretending however that they have embraced the Augsburg Confession, and seeking a subterfuge under it, as if they gloried in its profession. But from this circumstance violent and pernicious controversies have arisen in the reformed churches: as formerly in the times of the Apostles, dreadful errors prevailed among those who desired to be esteemed Christians and who gloried in the doctrine of Christ. For they sought justification and salvation from the works of the law, Acts 15, 1–29; some denied the resurrection from the dead, others did not believe that Christ is the true and eternal God. These men the Apostles zealously opposed by their reasonings and their writings: for they were not ignorant that errors on subjects of so much importance, controversies so bitter, caused great offence among infidels as well as among those who were weak in the faith; just as our adversaries now exult on account of the dissensions which have arisen among us, cherishing a hope by no means

pious, indeed a false hope, that the utter ruin and extinction of our doctrine must follow from our mutual controversies. In the mean time the weak are exceedingly offended and alarmed; some doubt whether, in the midst of dissensions so numerous and violent, the true doctrine can be found among us; some cannot see to which party they ought to subscribe in these controverted articles. For these controversies are not verbal broils, or empty and unnecessary disquisitions about words, as often do arise, when one party has not satisfactorily adopted the opinion of another, as perhaps on the subject of religion, the present difficulty may seem to some, who imagine that this dispute is only about certain little words which are certainly of no great importance. But these are subjects of the gravest importance, so very serious indeed, that the opinion of that party which departs from the truth, can by no means be tolerated in the church of God—nor even excused or defended.

Wherefore necessity requires that these controverted articles be explained distinctly from the word of God, and from approved writings, by which all the pious and intelligent may determine whose opinion, in these controversies is conformable with the word of God, and the orthodox Augsburg Confession; and what opinion is opposed to these standard writings; that good and pious minds, to whom truth is dear, may avoid and escape the corruptions and errors which have arisen.

OF THE COMPENDIOUS FORM, THE BASIS, LAW, AND RULE OF DOCTRINE, BY WHICH ALL OPINIONS MUST BE DECIDED ACCORDING TO THE ANALOGY OF GOD'S WORD, AND ALL RISING CONTROVERSIES DEFINED AND DETERMINED.

To establish permanent and indissoluble harmony in the church of God, it is first of all necessary that a compendious formula and type, as it were, stand approved by unanimous consent, in which has been collected from the word of God, the general doctrine which the churches of the pure and reformed religion profess. In this matter indeed we follow the example of the primitive church, which always possessed certain fundamental symbols for this purpose. And since these compendious forms of doctrine ought to rely, not upon private, but upon public writings, which have been drawn up, approved, and adopted in the name of those churches which unanimously profess the pure doctrines of religion, so on our part we have declared, and do now declare, that we have no intention to write or to receive any new or peculiar confession of faith; but rather do we embrace those public and general writings, which always had been regarded as symbols

and general confessions in all the churches of the Augsburg Confession, before dissensions arose among some professing those articles. And these writings have secured the public authority, whenever, with great uniformity, the pure doctrine of the word of God has been preserved and retained in all the articles, as doctor Luther exhibited them.

1. We receive and embrace, with the whole heart, the prophetic and apostolic books of the Old and New Testaments, as the pure, the transparent fountains of Israel; and we believe those Sacred Writings alone to be the sole and infallible rule to which all opinions ought to conform, and according to which we ought to judge all doctrines as well as their teachers.

2. And because the pure doctrine of Christ, in its genuine and original sense, was collected long ago from the Sacred Books, and digested into articles or very brief chapters, opposed to the corruptions of heretics, we embrace also those three catholic and general symbols of high authority, namely, the Apostolic, the Nicene, and the Athanasian symbols. We know these to be brief indeed, but pious and most excellent confessions of faith, impregnably founded upon the word of God, by which all heresies, that distract the churches of Christ in these days, may be clearly and successfully refuted.

3. Again; since, in these latter days, Almighty God, in great mercy, by the faithful agency of that most pious and excellent man, doctor Luther, has again restored to light the purity of his word, from the dreadful and more than Cimmerian gloom in which it had been involved under the papacy; and since that pure doctrine, opposed not only to the papists, but also to the corruptions of other sects, has been digested from the word of God into the articles of the Augsburg Confession, we embrace also that original and unaltered Confession. And we do this, not because it was written by our theologians, but because it is drawn from the word of God, and entirely composed from the fundamental principles of the Sacred Volume, similarly to that comprised in the manuscript of 1530, and exhibited at Augsburg to the Emperor Charles V. by certain electors, princes, and estates, of the Roman empire, as a general confession of the reformed churches. For we regard this as the symbol of our day, by which our reformed churches are discriminated from the Roman and other condemned sects and rejected heresies. And indeed this was the practice formerly in the primitive church. Subsequent synods, pious bishops and learned teachers, always appealed to the Nicene Symbol, and publicly professed themselves subservient to it.

4. Afterwards it was also necessary to provide that a proper and an adequate opinion of the Augsburg Confession might be preserved, sustained, and fortified against the abuses of the pope's adherents; lest under the garb and patronage of the Augsburg Confession, condemned errors might gradually insinuate themselves into the church of God; and hence, after this Confession was exhibited, an Apology of great elegance was written and printed in 1531. That also, with unanimous consent, we approve and embrace, because in that work not only the Augsburg Confession is clearly elucidated, and vindicated from the aspersions of our adversaries, but it is also fortified by the clearest and most infallible evidences of Holy Writ.

5. Besides these, we embrace with the whole heart those Articles also, which were written, approved, and adopted at Smalcald, A. D. 1537, in a numerous assembly of theologians. And we know that these Articles, in their original form, were afterwards published in print, with the design that they might be publicly submitted, in a council held at Mantua, or somewhere else, in the name of the most illustrious electors, princes, and estates, of the Empire, as a fuller exhibition of the Augsburg Confession, in which by the grace of God, these men had determined to persevere with constancy. For in these articles, the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession is recapitulated, and in some places more fully sustained from the word of God; and besides, the causes are shown and serious reasons assigned, why we have seceded from priestly errors and idolatries, why in these matters, there can be no unanimity between the Roman pontiff and ourselves, and why we cannot, on these subjects, be reconciled to him.

6. Finally, as the subject of religion relates to the salvation of the people, to those who are called the laity, and as it is necessary to their salvation for them to have the power of distinguishing the pure doctrine from the false, we embrace also the Smaller and Larger Catechisms of doctor Luther:—we say we embrace them as they were written by him and inserted in his works. For all the churches of the Augsburg Confession, approve and adopt these Catechisms; and hence they have been diffused extensively in churches and schools, and also in private families. In these Catechisms the pious doctrine, derived from the word of God, has been comprised, and plainly delineated for the use of the laity, with great clearness and simplicity.

These public writings have always been viewed by all pious men in the purer churches and schools, as a compendious outline or form of salutary doctrine, which doctor Luther has drawn from the Sacred Volume, against the papists and other sectarians, and which he has there declared and supported by invincible arguments. And we ap-

peal to the excellent explanations of doctor Luther, comprehended in his polemic as well as in his didactic writings, in the very manner indeed that doctor Luther himself recommended to us, by way of pious and necessary advice, in his Latin preface concerning his writings, prefixed to his works. For there, with great perspicuity, he draws this distinction between divine and human writings,—namely, that the Sacred Volume alone must be recognized as the sole rule and determination of all opinions, and that the writings of no man whatever must be compared with them, but rather held in subserviency.

But these remarks must not be understood as if we wish to reject, and strike from the hands of men, other useful and excellent writings,—such as the commentaries on the Sacred Volume; the refutations of errors; the explanations of important articles. For these writings, so far as outline commentaries and compendiums are conformable to salutary doctrine, can be retained and read with advantage, as explanations and useful declarations. For whatever we have said hitherto concerning compendious outlines of salutary doctrine, must be referred to the wish, that we may have a sure form of doctrine approved by universal consent, which all our evangelical churches at once may recognize and embrace, with which all other writings, so far as these are approved and adopted, ought to coincide and conform, since the former is derived from the word of God.

The reason that we have desired to embrace the Confession of Augsburg, the Apology, the Articles of Smalcald, the Smaller and Larger Catechisms of Luther, as the chief authorities of our Christian doctrine, is, because it always has been manifest that the pious and unanimous views of our church are contained in them, since these writings have been confirmed by the most pious and excellent theologians of our times, and received in the evangelical churches and schools. These were all written and published, as we have already intimated, before the dissensions arose among the theologians of the Augsburg Confession; consequently there can be nothing in them devoted to party or sectarian feelings; wherefore they cannot, by any color of justice, be reproached by those who have disagreed among themselves. Nor indeed can any one, sincerely and free from deceit, embrace the Augsburg Confession, and yet strive to weaken or despise its authority, but he will receive it as the evidence of truth. Hence no one can ascribe it as a fault to us, that we have appealed to the authority and determination of these writings, in the midst of rising contentions. As we, therefore, lay down the word of God as a *foundation* of immutable truth, so we may properly bring upon it those

writings as the *evidences* of truth,—evidences which embrace the pious, pure, unanimous opinions of our ancestors, who persisted with constancy in the purer doctrine.

OF THE NEGATIVE PROPOSITIONS, OR REJECTION OF THE FALSE DOCTRINE CONTAINED IN THE CONTROVERTED ARTICLES.

To preserve a pure doctrine in the churches, and a harmony perfect, secure, approved, and pleasing to God, it is necessary, not only that the true doctrine be distinctly expressed, but also that those contradicting our views, and those teaching the opposite, be refuted. Each of these, indeed, is the duty of faithful pastors, as doctor Luther used to say, "To feed the sheep, and to drive away the wolf," that Christians may learn to avoid strange voices, and be able to distinguish the precious from the worthless, 1 Tim. 3; 2 Tim. 3, 16; Tit. 1, 9; John 10, 12; Jer. 15, 19.

Consequently on this point also we have declared, and now we declare our decided opinion, that a distinction ought to be made between necessary controversies, and those useless dissensions, which pull down more than they build up. But, lest the church may be thrown into confusion, some controversies may be necessary,—as when an argument arises concerning the articles of faith, or important portions of the Christian doctrine; for then a contrary and false doctrine must be refuted of necessity, in defence of the truth.

And though the writings already referred to, with elegance and perspicuity, exhibit to the pious reader who glows with the love of celestial truth, in every article of our Christian religion, whatever, by the authority of the word of God, and of the writings of the Prophets and Apostles, is true and ought to be embraced, and whatever is false and ought to be rejected and avoided; yet we desired to show our opinion, distinctly and free from all ambiguity, concerning the several important and leading articles, which in these days have met opposition. And we did this with the hope that the truth might shine more brightly, be recognized with greater certainty, and distinguished more easily from erroneous opinions, so that nothing injurious to truth, might lie concealed under phrases and expressions too indefinite and general; and likewise, in order that a public and substantial testimony might exist, not only for those who are now living, but for all posterity, showing what the opinion, what the determination of our churches, has been, and perpetually ought to be concerning those controverted articles,—namely:

1. We reject and condemn all heresies and errors, which in the primitive church of true believers were rejected and condemned, according to the infallible authority of God's word.

2. We reprove and condemn all sects and heresies, which are reproved in the writings above mentioned.

3. Moreover, since within the last thirty years,* dissensions have arisen among some theologians of the Augsburg Confession, partly from a system of doctrine called the *Interim*, and partly from other circumstances, it was our desire to declare and submit our faith and confession in reference to all these particulars, not only in affirmative, but also in negative propositions; namely, the true and the false doctrine contrasted. And our design has been, that the infallible principles of this heavenly doctrine, might be more distinctly perceived in every article, and that all false, ambiguous, dubious, and condemned opinions, in whatever books contained, and by whomsoever written or defended, might be successfully repudiated, so that all might be faithfully warned and encouraged, to guard against those errors lurking in the books of certain theologians, and never to suffer themselves to be betrayed in matters of such importance, by the authority of any man. If the pious reader will consider with attention this explanation of our controversies, and compare it with the writings in question, he will clearly perceive that those principles, which our ancestors at first believed and publicly professed in reference to every article in that compendious system of our religion and faith, those declarations which followed each other by intervals, at different periods, and that doctrine which we now recapitulate in this publication, by no means disagree with each other, but that they are simple, immutable, and most assuredly true. And the candid reader will acknowledge, that we do not vacillate from one opinion to another, with the levity of which our adversaries accuse us; but he will confess rather that we are laboring with all assiduity, to retain that confession exhibited at Augsburg, as well as the true, the unanimous, the pious sense in which it was understood. And in that doctrine, by the grace of God, against all corruptions which may ensue, we shall persevere with unwavering constancy.

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* Some editions say twenty-five years: but when thirty years are mentioned, the time between the first projection and the full publication of the Form of Concord, is included.

I. OF ORIGINAL SIN.

A controversy has arisen among some theologians of the Augsburg Confession, concerning original sin, with respect to what it really and properly is. The one party contended, that inasmuch as the human nature and essence are totally corrupted through the fall of Adam, now since the fall, the corrupted nature, substance, and essence of man, or indeed the principal and noblest part of his essence,—as the rational soul itself, in its highest faculties and powers,—is original sin itself; which is called natural or personal sin, because it is not a thought, word, or deed, but the nature itself, from which, as from a root, all other sins spring. And on this account, they affirm that now since the fall, inasmuch as the nature is corrupted by sin, there is no difference at all between the nature or essence of man and original sin.

In opposition to this, however, the other party taught that original sin is not properly the nature, substance, or essence of man, that is, the body or soul of man, which even now since the fall remains the work and creature of God in us; but that it is something in the nature, body, soul, and all the faculties of man: namely, a dreadful, deep, and inexpressible corruption of human nature; so that man is destitute of that righteousness, in which he was created in the beginning, and dead in spiritual matters to every thing good, and inclined to all evil; and that, in consequence of this corruption and innate sin which inhere in the nature, all actual sins flow from the heart. And thus they affirm, that there must be a distinction retained between the corrupted nature and essence of man, or his body and soul,—which even since the fall are the work and creature of God in us,—and original sin which is a work of the devil, through which the nature is depraved.

Now this dispute concerning original sin, is not a useless contention, but it is one of great moment. For if this doctrine is correctly laid down according to the word of God, and separated from all Pelagian and Manichean errors, the benefits of Christ the Lord, (as the Apology says,) his precious merits, and also the work of grace of the Holy Spirit, will be the better perceived and the more commended. And the due honor will also be attributed unto God, if his work and creation in man are rightly distinguished from the work of the devil, through which our nature is corrupted. Therefore, for the purpose of explaining this controversy in a Christian manner, and according to the word of God, and for the purpose of preserving the right and the pure doctrine concerning original sin, we shall sum up

from the aforenamed writings, the *thesis* and the *antithesis*, that is, the right doctrine and the contrary doctrine, in chief articles.

1. And in the first place, it is true, that Christians should regard and acknowledge as sins, not only the actual transgressions of the commandments of God, but that they ought, above all things, to regard and acknowledge really as sin, that dreadful, that deplorable hereditary disease also, by which the whole nature is corrupted; yea, as the principal sin, which is the root and fountain of all actual sins. And this evil is called by doctor Luther, *eine Natur oder Person Sünde*, sin of nature or sin of person, in order to indicate, that, even if man thought, spoke, or did no evil,—which however, since the fall of our first parents, is impossible to human nature in this life,—his nature and person would nevertheless sin; that is, through original sin, as by a spiritual leprosy, he is wholly and entirely poisoned and corrupted in the sight of God. And on account of this corruption, in consequence of the fall of our first parents, the nature or person of man is accused and condemned by the law of God, so that we are by nature the children of wrath, condemnation, and death, Eph. 2, 3, if we are not redeemed from these evils by the merits of Christ.

2. In the second place, it is also clear and true, as the nineteenth article of the Augsburg Confession teaches, that God is not the cause, creator, or author of sin; but through the instigation of Satan, sin (which is a work of the devil) entered into the world, by one man, Rom. 5, 12; 1 John 3, 8. And even at the present time, in this corruption of nature, God does not create and cause sin in us; but in connexion with the nature, which God creates in persons at the present time, still original sin is propagated through natural conception and birth, by father and mother, from sinful seed.

3. In the third place, human reason is unable to know or to understand what this hereditary defect is, but it must, as the Articles of Smalcald declare, be learned and believed from the revelation in the Scriptures.

And in the Apology, the same is briefly comprehended in these chief articles:

1. That this hereditary defect is the cause of all of us being, in consequence of the disobedience of Adam and Eve, subject to the displeasure of God, and the children of wrath by nature, as the Apostle, Rom. 5, 19, and Eph. 2, 3, testifies.

2. In the second place, that it is also a total defect or privation of the innate hereditary righteousness in Paradise, or of the image of God, after which man was at first created in truth, holiness, and righteousness; and at the same time it is an impotence and an ineptitude

to all divine things; or as it is expressed in Latin: *Descriptio peccati originalis detrahit naturæ, non renovatæ, et dona et vim seu facultatem et actus inchoandi et efficiendi spiritualia.* That is, the influence of original sin detracts from the unregenerate nature, the gift, the power, and every faculty to begin and accomplish any thing in spiritual matters.

3. That original sin in human nature is not only this entire want of all good in spiritual and divine things; but that it is also, instead of the lost image of God in man, a deep, noxious, dreadful, inscrutable, and ineffable corruption of the whole nature and of all the powers of man, especially of the principal and most exalted faculties of the soul, as the understanding, the heart, and the will; so that now since the fall, man inherits an *innate evil propensity, an inward impurity of heart, evil desires and inclinations:* so that by nature we all inherit a heart, mind, and thoughts, from Adam, which, despite of their high powers and the light of reason, are diametrically inclined by nature against God and inimically opposed to his principal command; yes, they are at enmity with God, especially with respect to that which pertains to divine and spiritual things. For otherwise in natural and external matters which are subject to reason, man still possesses, to some extent, powers and faculties, very much debilitated however, although these all are likewise infected and polluted by original sin, so that they avail nothing before God.

4. The penalty and punishment which God has imposed on the children of Adam on account of original sin, are death, everlasting damnation, and other corporeal and spiritual, temporal and eternal miseries, the tyranny and dominion of Satan; so that human nature is subject to the kingdom of the devil, surrendered to his power, and held captive under his dominion; he has fascinated and misled many great and wise men in the world into horrible errors, heresies, and other blindness, and otherwise plunged men into all kinds of vice.

5. In the fifth place, this hereditary evil is so great and dreadful that it can be covered and pardoned before God in those who are baptized and believe, for the sake of Christ the Lord alone. And the human nature, which is perverted and corrupted by this evil, can be healed alone through the regeneration and renewal of the Holy Spirit. This work, however, of the Holy Spirit, is only commenced in this life, but in the life to come it will be perfected.

These points, which we have cited here only in a summary manner, are copiously explained in the aforenamed writings of the general confession of our Christian doctrine.

This doctrine, however, must be so preserved and secured that it incline neither to the Pelagian nor to the Manichean errors. We shall therefore briefly recite also the doctrines contrary to this article, which are disallowed and rejected by our churches.

1. We reject and condemn, in opposition to the ancient and modern Pelagians, the following false opinions and doctrines:—That original sin is only a debt, a responsibility entailed upon us from the offence of another, without any corruption of our own nature.

2. That sinful evil lusts are not sin, but certain original conditions and essential properties of human nature.

3. Or that those infirmities, and that malignant evil mentioned above, are not properly and truly a sin before God, on account of which, man, having no interest in Christ, becomes a child of wrath and of condemnation, and must also be in the kingdom and under the power of Satan.

4. These, and the like Pelagian errors, are also condemned and rejected; namely, that the nature of man, even since the fall, is untainted, and perfectly good and pure in its *naturalibus*, that is, in its natural powers, especially as to spiritual things.

5. Or, that original sin is but a slight, exterior, superficial blemish, a mere taint diffused over nature; *vel corruptio tantum accidentium aut qualitatum*, that is, a corruption only of certain attributes and properties in the nature of man, with and under which however, she may still retain, even in spiritual matters, her virtuous energies.

6. Or, that original sin is not an extermination, but only an outward impediment of the moral powers; as when a magnet is overspread with garlic-juice, by which its natural power is not taken away, but only obstructed; or that this blemish, like a stain in the face or paint on the wall, can be easily washed off.

7. We in like manner repudiate and reject those who teach, that the nature of man indeed was very much debilitated and corrupted through the fall, but that it has, nevertheless, not entirely lost all the good qualities which belong to divine and spiritual things, and also that it is not true, as we sing in our churches:

> This human frame, this soul, this all,
> Is all corrupt through Adam's fall;

but that through and by the natural birth it still has some good qualities, however few and insignificant they may be; for instance, qualification, aptness, ability, or power to begin something, to act, or to co-operate, in spiritual things. For in reference to what

relates to external, temporal, and secular business or affairs, which are subject to reason, we shall give an explanation in the succeeding article.

This doctrine and others alike erroneous, are reprehended and rejected, because the word of God teaches, that the corrupted nature of itself and by its own powers, is unable to accomplish any good, not even the least, in spiritual and divine things; as, to think a good thought; and not only so, but that of itself and by its own powers, it can do nothing in the sight of God but sin, Gen. 6, 5; 8, 21.

1. Thus, on the other hand, our doctrine must be secured also against the error of the Manicheans. Therefore, this doctrine also and others alike erroneous are rejected, namely:—That even now since the fall, human nature is created pure and good at first, but that afterwards original sin is extrinsically (as something material) infused into our nature by Satan, and intermingled with it, as poison is mingled with wine.

For although the nature in Adam and Eve was originally created pure, and good, and holy, yet through the fall, sin did not enter into their nature in the manner in which the Manicheans have imagined; as if Satan had created or made some substantial evil, and mingled it with their nature. But when, by the instigation of Satan, by the fall, according to the judgment and sentence of God for the punishment of man, he had lost the original or concreated righteousness, the human nature, as stated above, has thus been perverted and corrupted by this privation or want, and by the corruption and injury effected by Satan; so that now this nature, with the same defect and corruption, is propagated by heritage to all men who are conceived and born of parents in the natural manner. For since the fall, the human nature is not at first created pure and holy, and then afterwards corrupted by original sin; but in the first moment of our conception, the seed out of which man is formed, is contaminated and corrupted with sin. So original sin is not something of itself, self-subsisting in or apart from the corrupted nature of man; nor is it the essence, the body or soul of corrupted man, nor man himself. Neither can nor should original sin and the human nature which is corrupted by it, be so distinguished, as if this nature were pure, and good, and holy, and uncorrupt before God, and original sin alone which dwells in nature, were evil.

2. Nor can the dogma, which Augustine attributes to the Manicheans, be approved; namely, that corrupted man himself does not sin, in consequence of the innate original sin, but some other extraneous thing in man; and that consequently God does not, by the law,

accuse and condemn man's nature, as corrupted by this sin, but only the original sin, which exists in his nature. For, as we have stated above in the *thesis* or expression of the pure doctrine concerning original sin, the whole nature of man, which is generated in the natural manner by parents, is totally corrupted and perverted by original sin, to the utmost extreme, in body and soul, with all their powers, (as to that which pertains and relates to the goodness, truth, holiness, and righteousness of God created in the nature of man in Paradise.) *Non tamen in aliam substantiam genere aut specie diversam, priori abolita, transmutata est.* That is:—This nature is not wholly and entirely extirpated, or changed into another substance, which according to its essence is not similar to our nature, and consequently not one essence with us.

And in consequence of this corruption too, the entire corrupt nature of man is accused and condemned by the law, unless sin is remitted on account of Christ.

The law, however, accuses and condemns our nature, not because we are persons created of God, but because we are sinful and malicious. Neither does it accuse and condemn the nature or essence, even since the fall, so far as it is a work and creature of God in us, but because, and so far as, it is infected and corrupted with sin.

But, although original sin (as Luther says) has infected and corrupted the whole nature of man, like a spiritual poison and leprosy, so that now in our corrupted nature, these two, the nature itself and original sin itself, cannot be distinctly demonstrated and shown to the eye, separate from each other; yet the corrupted nature, or the essence of corrupted man, body and soul, or man himself who is created of God, (and in whom original sin dwells, by which the nature, essence, or the whole man, is corrupted,) and original sin itself which dwells in the nature or essence of man, and corrupts the same, are not, however, one and the same thing; even as in external leprosy, the body which is leprous, and the leprosy which is in or on the body, are not, properly speaking, the same thing. But a distinction must be observed between our nature, as it is created and preserved of God, in which sin dwells, and original sin which dwells in the nature. For these two must and can, according to the holy Scripture, be distinctly considered, maintained, and believed.

The principal articles of our Christian faith, urge and enforce the retention of this distinction. *In the first place*, in the article concerning creation, the Scripture testifies that God created human nature not only before the fall, but that it is a creature and a work of

God even since the fall. (Deut. 32, 6; Isa. 45, 11; 54, 5; 64, 8; Acts 17, 25; Rev. 4, 11.)

"Thine hands," says Job, "have made me, and fashioned me together round about; yet thou dost destroy me. Remember, I beseech thee, that thou hast made me as the clay; and wilt thou bring me into dust again? Hast thou not poured me out as milk, and curdled me like cheese? Thou hast clothed me with skin and flesh, and hast fenced me with bones and sinews. Thou hast granted me life and favor, and thy visitation hath preserved my spirit;" Job 10, 8–12.

"I will praise thee;" says David, "for I am fearfully and wonderfully made: marvellous *are* thy works; and *that* my soul knoweth right well. My substance was not hid from thee, when I was made in secret, *and* curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth. Thine eyes did see my substance, yet being unperfect; and in thy book all *my members* were written, *which* in continuance were fashioned, when *as yet there was* none of them;" Psalm 139, 14–16.

"Then shall the dust," says Solomon the preacher, "return to the earth as it was; and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it;" Ecc. 12, 7.

These declarations testify clearly, that God is the creator of man even since the fall, and that he creates his body and soul. Therefore corrupted man cannot, without due restriction, be sin itself, else God would be a creator of sin. Thus also our Smaller Catechism, in the explanation of the first article, testifies, where it is thus written: "I believe that God created me, together with every other creature, with a body and soul, eyes and ears, and all the other members, that he has given me reason and all the senses, that he also preserves the same." And words of similar import we find in the Larger Catechism: "I mean and believe, that I am a creature of God; that is, that he has given me, and continually preserves, my body, soul, and life, and all my members, my senses, reason, and understanding," &c. Yet this creature and work of God is miserably corrupted by sin; for the *massa*, the substance out of which God now forms and makes human beings, was corrupted and perverted in Adam, and sin is thus entailed upon us.

And here pious Christians should justly meditate on the ineffable goodness of God, that he does not immediately cast away from him this corrupted, perverted, sinful mass into hell, but that he still forms and makes out of it the present human nature, which is so dreadfully corrupted by sin; in order that he may purify, sanctify, and save it from sin through his beloved Son.

From this article, that distinction appears clearly and incontrover-

tibly; for original sin does not originate from God; God is not the creator or author of sin; neither is original sin a creature or a work of God, but it is the work of the devil.

If between the nature and essence of our body and soul, which are corrupted by original sin, and original sin itself, *through which* the nature is corrupted, there were no difference at all, it would then follow, that either God, since he is the creator of this nature of ours, has also created and made original sin, and this too would thus become his work and creature; or, since sin is a work of the devil, that Satan would be the creator of this our nature, body and soul, which must also be a work or a creature of Satan, if without any distinction our corrupt nature were sin itself. Both of these positions, however, are repugnant to this article of our Christian faith. For this reason then, and in order that the creation and work of God in man, may be distinguished from the work of the devil, we say, that the body and soul of man are the work of God, and that the ability in man to think, to speak, to act, and to operate, is the work of God. "For in him we live, and move, and have our being," Acts 17, 28. But that his nature is corrupted, and that his thoughts, words, and works are evil, is originally the work of Satan, who has thus corrupted the work of God in Adam through sin, which is thence entailed upon us.

In the second place, in the article concerning redemption, the Scripture testifies forcibly, that the Son of God assumed our human nature, without sin however, so that in *all things*, sin excepted, *he was made like unto us, his brethren*, Heb. 2, 17. *Unde veteres dixerunt: Christum nobis fratribus suis consubstantialem esse secundum assumtam naturam, quia naturam, quæ, excepto peccato, ejusdem generis, speciei et substantiæ cum nostra est, assumsit, et contrariam sententiam manifeste hæreseas damnarunt.* That is:—Hence all the ancient orthodox teachers held, that Christ according to the assumed humanity, is one essence with us, his brethren; for he assumed a human nature, which is entirely like our human nature in its essence, and in all its essential properties, (sin alone excepted); and they condemned as manifest heresy the contrary doctrine.

Now, if there were no difference between the nature or essence of corrupted man and original sin, it would necessarily follow, that Christ either did not assume our nature, since he did not assume sin; or, since he assumed our nature, that he also assumed sin: both of these are repugnant to the Scripture. But since the Son of God assumed our human nature, and not original sin, it is clear that the human nature even since the fall, and original sin, are not one and the same thing, but that they must be distinguished.

In the third place, on the subject of sanctification, the holy Scriptures teach, that God washes, purifies, and sanctifies men from their sins, and that Christ saves his people from their sins; hence, indeed, sin cannot be man himself; for God receives men in mercy for Christ's sake, but he will forever remain an enemy to sin. Therefore, this expression and others similar to it, which we find in the writings of the modern Manicheans—that original sin, in the name of the holy Trinity, is baptized, sanctified, and saved—are impious and painful to hear. These, however, we do not wish to recite, lest we should give offence to the people.

In the fourth place, in the article concerning the resurrection, the Scripture testifies, that the substance even of this flesh of ours, shall rise,—but cleansed from sin; and that in everlasting life, we shall have and retain even this soul,—but not contaminated with sin.

Now if there were no difference at all between our corrupted body and soul, and original sin, it would follow, in opposition to our article of the Christian faith, either that this body of ours will not rise on the morning of the resurrection, and that in eternal life we shall possess, not this essence of our bodies and souls, but a different substance and another soul, since there we shall be without sin; or, that sin will also rise, and exist, and remain in the elect, through eternal life.

Hence it is clear, that this doctrine, with all the opinions which are dependent and consequent upon it, must be rejected,—which opinions assert and teach, that original sin is the nature, substance, essence, body, and soul of corrupted man; so that there would be no difference at all between original sin, and our corrupted nature, substance, and essence. For the principal articles of our Christian faith indicate forcibly and powerfully why a difference between the nature and substance of man, corrupted through sin, and sin itself with which and through which man is corrupted, shall and must be retained. Let this suffice as a simple declaration of the true doctrine and the contrary doctrine, (in affirmative and negative propositions,) concerning this controversy, so far as it concerns the principal matter itself, as it is not here designed to enter into tedious arguments, but only to treat the principal subjects, article by article.

But in relation to words and phrases, it is best and safest to use and retain the forms of expression employed in the holy Scripture, and in the writings mentioned above, concerning this article.

For the purpose of avoiding verbal disputes,—words and phrases which are understood and used in various senses, must be diligently and rationally explained. As, when it is said, "God creates the

nature of man;" here by the word *nature* is understood, the essence, the body and soul of man. But frequently the quality or evil disposition of a thing is called its nature, as when it is said, "It is the nature of the serpent to bite and to poison." Thus Luther says, sin and to sin are the quality and nature of corrupted man.

Original sin is, therefore, properly defined a deep corruption of our nature, as it is described in the Articles of Smalcald. Sometimes, however, nature, as a *concrete* term, that is, man himself with his body and soul, in whom sin exists and inheres, is intended, because man is corrupted, infected, and contaminated with sin; as, when Luther says: "Thy birth, thy nature, and thy whole essence, is sin; that is, sinful and impure."

And when Luther uses these words: "Natural, personal, essential sin," it is evident that he wishes to imply, that not only the words, thoughts, and deeds are sinful, but, that the whole nature, person, and essence of man, are totally and thoroughly depraved and corrupted by original sin.

But relative to the Latin words *substantia* and *accidens*, since they are not understood by persons generally, these expressions should not be used before illiterate congregations in public sermons. But when the learned use them among themselves, or among others who understand them,—as Eusebius, Ambrose, and especially Augustine, as well as other eminent teachers of the church, have done through necessity, for the purpose of explaining this doctrine against the heretics,—they employ them in the sense of *immediatam divisionam*, that is, as a division of contiguity; so that all that exists here, must either be *substantia*, that is, a real essence, or *accidens*, that is, an attribute which does not exist essentially in itself, but in another real essence, yet can be distinguished from it. This division is used also by Cyril and Basil.

And inasmuch as this among others is an axiom indubitable and incontestible, in theology, that every substance, or essence subsisting by itself, so far as it is a substance, is either God himself, or a work and creature of God; in a number of publications against the Manicheans, Augustine with all true teachers, has considerately and earnestly condemned and rejected this expression: *Peccatum originale est substantia vel natura;* that is, original sin is the nature or essence of man. And with him all the learned and the intelligent have ever held; that whatever does not subsist by itself, or is not a part of another essence subsisting by itself, but is convertible into another thing, is not a *substantia*, that is, something subsisting by itself, but an *accidens*, that is, an attribute or something contingent. Thus

Augustine was accustomed constantly to express himself in this manner: "Original sin is not the nature itself, but it is an *accidens vitium in natura*, that is, an accidental pollution in the nature." For this manner of expression was used freely, and without any suspicion of heresy, in our schools and churches, according to the rule of dialectics, before this controversy was excited; nor was it ever reprehended either by doctor Luther or by any true teacher in our pure evangelical churches.

Since, then, it is an incontestible truth, that all that exists is either a substance, or an *accidens*, attribute; that is, either an essence subsisting by itself, or an attribute of the same, as was shown and proved a little above by the testimonies of the Fathers of the church, and no one of sane mind ever doubted it; necessity forces us, and no one can evade it—if it be asked, whether original sin is a substance, that is, a thing which exists by itself, and not in another; or an attribute, that is, a quality which does not subsist by itself, but inheres in another object, and cannot subsist by itself—to confess frankly and openly, that original sin is not a substance, but an attribute or accident.

Therefore the church of God can never be restored to permanent peace in reference to this controversy, but disunion will be much more confirmed and perpetuated, if her ministers remain in doubt whether original sin is a substance or an attribute, and whether it should correctly and properly be called a substance, or an attribute or accident.

Accordingly, if the churches and schools are to be radically freed from this offensive and most pernicious controversy, it is necessary for every one to be properly informed concerning this matter.

But if it be further asked—what kind of attribute or accident original sin is? this would be a different question; to which no philosopher, no papist, no sophist, yea, no human reason, however acute, can furnish a correct explanation; but all our conception and explanation of it must be derived from the holy Scripture alone; which testifies, that original sin is an inexpressible evil, and such a pollution of human nature that nothing pure nor good remains, not even in any of its interior or exterior faculties, but that it is altogether polluted; so that through original sin man is really spiritually dead in the sight of God, and with all his powers has become dead to every thing good.

By the use of the word *accidens*, original sin is not diminished, if it be thus explained according to the word of God, as doctor Luther in his Latin commentary on the third chapter of Genesis, has written with great zeal against such doctrines as detract from original sin. But this word contributes alone to show the difference between the work of God, or our own nature notwithstanding it is

polluted, and the work of the devil, which is sin inhering in the work of God,—a most deep and inexpressible pollution.

Thus Luther also used the word *accidens* as well as *qualitas* on this subject, and did not reject them. But at the same time, with special assiduity and great zeal, did he declare and inculcate universally how dreadful a pollution it is, through which human nature is tainted not slightly, but so deeply infected, that nothing pure nor good remains in it; as his words on the ninetieth Psalm declare: *Sive igitur peccatum originale qualitatem, sive morbum vocaverimus, profecto extremum malum est, non solum pati æternam iram et mortem, sed ne agnoscere quidem quæ pateris.* That is, we call original sin a condition or a disease; for it is indeed an extreme evil, in which we must not only suffer the eternal wrath of God and everlasting death, but not even understand what we suffer. And again, on the third chapter of Genesis: *Qui isto veneno peccati originalis, a planta pedis usque ad verticem infecti sumus, siquidem in natura adhuc integra accidere.* That is, by the poison of original sin, we are infected from the soles of our feet to the crowns of our heads; because this pollution infected the entire nature.

II. OF FREEWILL, OR THE POWERS OF MAN.

Inasmuch as a controversy, not only between us and the papists, but also between some theologians of the Augsburg Confession itself, has arisen concerning freewill; we shall, therefore, first of all, point out wherein it consists.

For since, with his freewill, man is found and may be considered in four different and dissimilar states, the inquiry now is not, how the condition of his will was *before the fall*, or what he is able to accomplish *since the fall*, prior to his conversion, in *external* matters pertaining to this temporal life; nor is it about what kind of a freewill he has in spiritual matters, after he is regenerated through the Spirit of God and ruled by him, or will have when he shall have been raised from the dead; but the chief question is solely and alone:—What the intellect and will of unregenerate man can accomplish in his conversion and regeneration, by his own powers remaining since the fall, when the word of God is preached, and the grace of God is offered to us; whether he can prepare himself for the apprehension of this grace, embrace it, and give assent to the word of God. This is the controversy which was agitated for many years in the churches of the Augsburg Confession among some theologians.

For the one party held and taught, that although man is unable

by his own powers to fulfil the commandments of God, and to confide in him, and to fear him, and to love him truly, without the grace of the Holy Spirit; yet that he still has remaining so much of natural power, prior to his regeneration, that he can in some measure prepare himself for grace and assent to it,—yet feebly: but if he is not assisted by the grace of the Holy Spirit, he can accomplish nothing by that power, but must fall in the struggle.

Thus the ancient and modern enthusiasts have also taught, that through his Spirit, God converts sinners, and draws them to the saving knowledge of Christ, without any instrumentality of the creature,—that is, without the external preaching and hearing of the word of God.

In opposition to both these parties, the pure teachers of the Augsburg Confession have taught and contended, that through the fall of our first parents, man was so polluted, that he is blind by nature in divine things pertaining to our conversion and the salvation of our souls, neither understanding nor being able to understand the word of God when it is preached, but holding it as foolishness; nor does he approach God of himself, but remains an enemy to him until converted, made a believer, regenerated, and renewed by the power of the Holy Spirit, through the preaching and hearing of the word, out of pure grace, without any of his own co-operation.

To explain this controversy in a Christian manner, according to the analogy of the word of God, and by his grace to decide it, our doctrine, faith, and confession, are as follows:

That in spiritual and divine things, the intellect, the heart, and the will of unregenerate man, are unable, by their own natural powers, to understand, to believe, to accept, to think, to will, to begin, to accomplish, to do, to perform, or to co-operate in, any thing at all: but are wholly and entirely corrupted, entirely dead to every thing good; so that in the nature of man, since the fall, prior to his regeneration, there is not a spark of spiritual power existing, by which he can, through his own energy, prepare himself for the grace of God, or accept the offered grace, or be susceptible of it, or apply himself, or accommodate himself to it, of and by himself. Nor is he able by his own powers to help, to do, to perform, or to co-operate in, any thing towards his conversion, either in all or in part, even in the least or most insignificant portion, but he is the servant of sin, John 8, 34, and the captive of Satan, by whom he is lead, Eph. 2, 2; 2 Tim. 2, 26. Hence the natural freewill according to its perverted nature and character, is efficient and active in that alone which is displeasing and adverse to God.

This explanatory and general reply to the chief question and point of controversy laid down in the introduction of this article, is established and confirmed by the following arguments, which we shall transcribe from the word of God. And although they be opposed to the proud reason and the philosophy of man, yet we know that the wisdom of this perverted world is but foolishness in the sight of God, and that concerning articles of faith we must judge from the word of God alone.

For, *in the first place*, human reason, or the natural understanding of man, though he still may have an obscure spark of the knowledge of the existence of God, and also of the doctrine of the law, Rom. 1, 19, is still so ignorant, blind, and perverted, that, even when the most ingenious and learned persons on earth, read or hear the Gospel concerning the Son of God, and the promise of everlasting salvation, they are nevertheless unable by their own powers either to perceive it, or to comprehend it, or to understand it, or to believe it, and to hold it as truth. But the greater diligence and assiduity they apply in this respect to comprehend these spiritual things with their reason, the less they understand or believe; and they hold them all as mere foolishness or fables, before they are illuminated and taught by the Holy Spirit. 1 Cor. 2, 14: "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." 1 Cor. 1, 21: "For after that, in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe." Eph. 4, 17, 18: Those who are not regenerated through the Holy Spirit, "walk in the vanity of their minds; having the understanding darkened, being alienated from the life of God, through the ignorance that is in them, because of the blindness of their heart." Matt. 13, 11, 13: "They seeing, see not; and hearing, they hear not; neither do they understand." But "it is given unto you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven." Rom. 3, 11, 12: "There is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God. They are all gone out of the way, they are together become unprofitable; there is none that doeth good, no, not one." Thus the Scripture calls the natural man, a darkness in spiritual and divine things, Eph. 5, 8; Acts 26, 18; John 1, 5: "And the light shineth in darkness," (that is, in this dark, blind world which neither knows nor regards God,) "and the darkness comprehended it not." Again, the Scripture teaches, that man is not only weak and sick, but entirely inanimate and dead in sin, Eph. 2, 5; Col. 2, 13.

Now, as a man, who is physically dead, cannot by his own powers fit and prepare himself so as to be able to obtain temporal life again;

so man, who is spiritually dead in sin, cannot by his own powers, prepare or apply himself for the attainment of spiritual and heavenly righteousness and life, if he be not liberated and vivified from the death of sin, by the Son of God.

Therefore the Scripture, in spiritual matters, excludes from the understanding, from the heart and will of the natural man, every aptitude, capacity, faculty, and power, to think, understand, know, begin, will, propose, do, operate, or co-operate in, any thing good and right, as of himself. 2 Cor. 3, 5: "Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think any thing as of ourselves; but our sufficiency is of God." Rom. 3, 12: "They are together become unprofitable." John 8, 37: "My word hath no place in you." John 1, 5: The "darkness comprehended it not," or received it not. 1 Cor. 2, 14: "The natural man receiveth not," or as the Greek word properly expresses it, lays hold on or apprehends, accepts not, "the things of the Spirit of God;" or he is not susceptible of spiritual matters; "for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them." Much less is he able to believe the Gospel truly, or to give assent to it, and to hold it as truth. Rom. 8, 7: "The carnal," or the natural man's, "mind is enmity against God: for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be." And in a word, it will ever remain true, as the Son of God declares, John 15, 5: "Without me ye can do nothing." And Paul, Phil. 2, 13: "It is God which worketh in you, both to will and to do of *his* good pleasure." This delightful declaration is very consolatory to all pious Christians who feel and discover in their hearts a little spark, a desire for the grace of God and eternal salvation, to know that God has kindled this feeling of true piety in their hearts, and that he will still further strengthen them in their great weakness, and aid them in persevering in the true faith to the end.

To this end may be referred all the prayers of the saints, in which they entreat God to teach, to illumine, and to sanctify them. And even by these prayers they intimate, that by their own natural powers, they cannot have that which they entreat of God. As David, in the 119th Psalm, entreats God more than ten times, to impart unto him understanding, so that he may comprehend and learn his divine doctrine rightly; see verses 18, 27, 33, 34, 36, 43, 66, 73, 144, 169. And similar prayers there are in the writings of Paul, Eph. 1, 17, 18; Col. 1, 9; Phil. 1, 9. These prayers and declarations concerning our ignorance and impotence were not written that we should become indolent and remiss in reading, hearing, and meditating on the word of God; but that we should first thank God from our hearts, because he has liberated us from the darkness of ignorance

and the captivity of sin and death, through his Son, and regenerated and illumined us through baptism and the Holy Spirit.

And after God has made the beginning through his Holy Spirit in baptism, and kindled and wrought true knowledge of God and faith in our hearts, we should entreat him incessantly, to cherish in us faith and his heavenly gifts through this same Spirit and through his grace, by daily exercise in reading and meditating on the word of God, and to strengthen us daily, and to preserve us to the end. For unless God himself discharges the office of teacher and preacher, we can study and learn nothing that is acceptable to him and salutary to ourselves and others.

In the second place, the word of God testifies, that in divine things, the understanding, heart, and will of natural, unregenerate man, are not only wholly and entirely alienated from God, but adverse to him, and inclined to all evil. Again, man is not only weak, impotent, and dead to good, but so dreadfully perverted, poisoned, and polluted through original sin, that by nature and character he is altogether evil, and hostile, and inimical to God, actively and energetically engaged in doing every thing that is displeasing and opposed to God. Gen. 8, 21: "The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth." Jer. 17, 9: "The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked;" or perverted and full of wretchedness which cannot be fathomed. St. Paul, Rom. 8, 7, explains this passage: "The carnal mind is enmity against God." Gal. 5, 17: "The flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and these are contrary the one to the other." Rom. 7, 14; ch. 18, 23: "We know that the law is spiritual: but I am carnal, sold under sin." And immediately afterwards: "I know that in me (that is, in my flesh) dwelleth no good thing. For I delight in the law of God, after the inward man," who is regenerated through the Holy Spirit: "but I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin."

If then in saint Paul and other regenerate persons, the natural or carnal freewill, even after regeneration, strives against the law of God, much more will it, previous to regeneration, be rebellious and inimical to the law and will of God. Hence it is evident,—as we have more fully shown in the article concerning original sin, to which, for the sake of brevity, we will refer,—that freewill by its own natural powers cannot effect, or co-operate in effecting, any thing towards its own conversion, righteousness, and salvation, or obey, or believe, or give assent to, the Holy Spirit who offers to it the grace of God and salvation through the Gospel; but in consequence of its

innate, evil, perverse nature, it is obstinately opposed to God and his will, unless it is enlightened and governed by the Spirit of God.

Wherefore, the holy Scripture compares the heart of unregenerate man to a hard stone, which yields not to the touch, but resists, and to an unpolished block, and to a wild, obstinate beast; not, that man since the fall is no longer a rational creature, or converted to God without hearing, and meditating on the divine word; or unable to understand, or voluntarily to do or to omit any thing good or evil in external and civil matters.*

For as doctor Luther in his comment on the ninetieth Psalm,† asserts, that in civil and external things which pertain to nourishment and physical wants, man is ingenious, rational, and very active; but in spiritual and divine matters relative to the salvation of the soul, he is like a pillar of salt; like Lot's wife; yes, like wood and stone; like a dead image, which uses neither eyes nor mouth, neither mind nor heart; since man neither sees nor perceives the horrid and severe wrath of God in consequence of sin and death: but he ever perseveres in his security even knowingly and willingly; and thus he falls into thousands of dangers, and finally into eternal death and condemnation. And here no prayer, no supplication, no admonition, yea, no menace, no rebuke, avails any thing; nay, teaching and preaching are all lost on him, before he is illuminated, converted, and regenerated through the Holy Spirit. And for this renovation of the Spirit, man alone was created, not a stone or a block. And although, according to his severe and righteous judgment, God has cast away into perdition the fallen spirits; yet out of his pure mercy he has desired the miserable, fallen, human nature again to *become and to be susceptible, to be a participant* of conversion, of the grace of God, and of *eternal* life, not through any of its own, natural and active, or efficient fitness, aptitude, or capacity—for the nature of man is in open hostility to God—but out of pure grace, through the merciful and efficacious operation of the Holy Spirit. And this doctor Luther calls *capacity*, (not active, but passive,) which he thus explains: *Quando Patres liberum arbitrium defendunt, capacitatem libertatis ejus prædicant, quad scilicet verti potest ad bonum per gratiam Dei, et fieri revera liberum, ad quod creatum est.* That is: "When the Fathers defend freewill, they speak of it, as being capable of liberty, in such a manner, that through the grace of God, it can be converted

* See doctor Luther on the sixth chapter of Hosea.

† Again, in the Church Postil on the Epistle on Christmas, Tit. 3. Again, on the Gospel *Dominica III. post Epiphaniæ.*

to good, and be truly free, for which purpose it was created in the beginning;" vol. 1, page 236. And similarly to this Augustine also, book 2, wrote against Julian.

But before man is enlightened, converted, regenerated, renewed, and drawn by the Holy Spirit, he can of himself and by his own natural powers, as little, begin, effect or co-operate in effecting any thing in spiritual matters and to his own conversion or regeneration, as a stone, a block, or a clod. For, although he can control his physical members, and hear the Gospel, and meditate on it in some measure, and speak of it too,—as among the Pharisees and hypocrites,—yet he still regards it as foolishness, and cannot believe it; and in this case he is worse than a block, because he is perverse and hostile to the will of God, if the Holy Ghost is not efficacious in him, and does not enkindle and work in him faith, obedience, and other virtues which are pleasing in the sight of God.

For, *in the third place*, the holy Scriptures ascribe conversion, faith in Christ, regeneration, renovation, and all that pertains to their real beginning and accomplishment, not to the human powers of the natural freewill, either as to the whole, or half, or any, the least or most insignificant part; but *in solidum*, that is, wholly and entirely to divine operation and the Holy Spirit alone, as also the Apology testifies:

"We attribute to the faculties of the mind and the freedom of will an ability, to some extent, to live outwardly honest, and to the operation of the Holy Spirit alone the act of being born anew, and the formation of another heart, mind, and disposition within," page 202. Which Holy Spirit opens the understanding and the heart, to understand the Scriptures and to attend to the word, as it is written, Luke 24, 45: "Then opened he their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures." Again, Acts 16, 14: "A certain woman, named Lydia, heard us: whose heart the Lord opened, that she attended unto the things which were spoken of Paul." "It is God which worketh in you, both to will and to do," Phil. 2, 13. "Gives repentance," Acts 5, 31; 2 Tim. 2, 25. "Unto you it is given to believe on him," Phil. 1, 29. "*It is* the gift of God," Eph. 2, 8. "This is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent," John 6, 29. *The Lord gives a heart to perceive, and eyes to see, and ears to hear*, Deut. 29, 4; Matt. 13, 16. *He is a Spirit of regeneration and renewal*, Tit. 3, 5, 6. "I will take the stony heart out of their flesh, and will give them a heart of flesh; that they may walk in my statutes," Ezek. 11, 19; ch. 36, 26; Deut. 30, 6; Psalm 51, 10. "We are created in Christ Jesus unto good works," Eph.

2, 10. "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature," 2 Cor. 5, 17; Gal. 6, 15. And in a word, "Every good gift, and every perfect gift, is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights," James 1, 17. "No man can come to me, except the Father draw him," John 6, 44. "No man knoweth the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him," Matt. 11, 27. "No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost," 1 Cor. 12, 3. "Without me," says Christ, "ye can do nothing," John 15, 5. "Our sufficiency is of God," 2 Cor. 3, 5. "What hast thou that thou didst not receive? Now, if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory as if thou hadst not received it?" 1 Cor. 4, 7. Concerning this passage of Scripture particularly St. Augustine writes, that by it he was induced to renounce his former erroneous opinion, in which he held, concerning predestination, *cap.* 3: *Gratiam Dei in eo tantum consistere, quod in præconio veritatis, Dei voluntas nobis revelaretur; ut autem prædicato nobis Evangelio consentiremus, nostrum esse proprium, et ex nobis esse. Item, Erravi, inquit, cum dicerem, nostrum esse credere et velle, Dei autem dare credentibus et volentibus facultatem operandi.* That is:—"I have erred, having maintained that the grace of God consists alone in God's revealing his will in the declaration of truth: but that to give assent to the preached Gospel, is our own work, and that this lies in our power."

Again, he says, "I have erred in asserting that it lies within our power to believe the Gospel, and to will: but that it is the work of God to give those who believe, and those who will, the power of operating."

The doctrine opposed to freewill is founded in the word of God; and it is in conformity with the Augsburg Confession, and other writings too, which we mentioned above, as the following testimonies show.

In the twentieth article, the Confession thus declares: "Because the Holy Spirit is given through faith, the heart becomes qualified to perform good works. For before this, while it is without the Holy Spirit, it is too weak; besides it is in the power of Satan, who urges frail human nature to many sins." And immediately afterwards: "For without faith and out of Christ, human nature and human ability are much too weak to do good works," page 28.

From these words it is manifest, that the Augsburg Confession by no means acknowledges the human will as free in spiritual matters; but it affirms that man is the captive of Satan. How then should he, by his own powers, be able to turn to the Gospel or to Christ?

The Apology teaches thus concerning freewill: "And we also affirm that the understanding does possess some portion of freewill; for in determining a matter which is presented and rendered apparent to

the power of reason, we possess a freewill." And a little afterwards: "The hearts which are without the Holy Ghost, are without the fear of God, without faith, without confidence, they do not believe that God hears them, that he forgives them their sins, that he assists them in time of need: for this reason they are ungodly. Now, 'a corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit,' Matt. 7, 18; and 'without faith it is impossible to please God,' Heb. 11, 6; wherefore, even admitting that there may be some ability within us to perform these external duties, we still affirm that the liberty of the will, and the powers of the mind, *accomplish nothing in spiritual matters*," page 200 and 201. Hence it is easy to perceive that the Apology ascribes no powers to the human will, either to begin any thing good, or to cooperate of itself.

From the Articles of Smalcald the following errors concerning freewill are also rejected:—"That man has freedom of will to do good, and to omit evil." And immediately afterwards the following error is rejected,—"It is not founded in the Scripture, that the Holy Ghost with his grace, is necessarily requisite to a good work," page 291.

It is further stated in the Articles of Smalcald, thus: "And this repentance continues with Christians till death; for it strives against sins remaining in the flesh during the whole course of life, as Paul, Rom. 7, 23, testifies, that he struggles against the law of his members, and this he does not by his own strength, but through the gifts of the Holy Spirit, which follow after the remission of sins. These gifts purify the heart and expel the remaining sins daily, and make the individual upright, pure, and holy," page 298. These words say nothing in reference to our will; nor do they assert that it effects any thing of itself, even in regenerated persons; but they ascribe it all to the gift of the Holy Spirit, which purifies man, and daily renders him more pious and holy; and from this operation our own powers are entirely excluded.

In the Larger Catechism of doctor Luther it is written: "I am a part and a member of this," (the Christian church,) "and a copartner of all the blessings which it has,—brought in and incorporated with it, by the Holy Ghost, through my having heard, and still continuing to hear the word of God; which is the first step towards entering into this community. For before we had come to this," (to the Christian church,) "we were entirely the subjects of Satan, as those who knew nothing of God and Christ. Thus until the last day, the Holy Ghost will remain with the holy Christian church, through which he persuades us, and which he uses for the purpose of promul-

gating and exercising the word; by which he effects and extends sanctification, which daily increases and becomes stronger in faith and the fruits that he produces," page 413. In this passage the Catechism does not mention our freewill or co-operation in a single instance; but it attributes all to the Holy Spirit; that he brings us into the community of the Christian church, through the ministry of the word; that he sanctifies us, and causes us to increase daily in faith and good works.

And although the regenerate arrive at a degree of improvement which makes them desire what is good, makes them increase and delight in it; yet this, as we have stated above, does not proceed from our will and our ability, but the Holy Spirit, as Paul himself speaks concerning it, works this *willing* and *doing*, Phil. 2, 13. So also in Eph. 2, 10, he ascribes this work to God alone, where he says: "We are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them."

In the Smaller Catechism of doctor Luther it is thus written: "I believe that I cannot by my own reason or strength believe in, or come to Jesus Christ my Lord; but that the Holy Ghost has called me by the Gospel, enlightened me with his gifts, sanctified and preserved me in the true faith, even as he calls, assembles, and sanctifies the whole Christian church on earth, and preserves the same in Christ in the only right faith," &c., page 334.

In the explanation of the Lord's Prayer, in the second petition, we find these words: "*How does this come to pass*, namely, that the kingdom of God comes to us? Ans.—When our heavenly Father grants us his Holy Spirit, so that we through his grace believe his blessed word, and live godly," page 335.

These testimonies affirm, that by our own strength we are unable to come to Christ, but that God must grant us his Holy Spirit, by whom we are enlightened and sanctified, and thus through faith we are brought to Christ, and preserved with him. And here neither our will nor our co-operation is mentioned.

And besides these, we shall transcribe a declaration in which doctor Luther afterwards declares with a protest, in his Larger Confession on the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, that he intends to persevere in this doctrine to the end of his life, in these words: "Hereby I reject and condemn as erroneous, all the dogmas which extol our freewill; as they militate directly against the aid and grace of our Savior Jesus Christ. For since, out of Christ, death and sin are our lords, and the devil is our Prince and our God, here there can be no power nor strength, no wisdom nor understanding, by

which we can prepare ourselves for righteousness and life, or search after them; but we are blind and captive, the slaves of sin and Satan, doing and thinking that which pleases him, and which is adverse to God and his commandments."

In these words doctor Luther, of pious and sacred memory, attributes no ability of its own to our freewill, to prepare itself for righteousness or to search after it. But he asserts that man is darkened and fettered, doing the will of Satan alone, and that which is displeasing to the Lord God. Wherefore, here there can be no co-operation of our will in the conversion of man; and man must be *drawn*, and born anew of God: otherwise there is no thought in our hearts, which might of itself turn unto the holy Gospel to embrace it. Thus too has doctor Luther written against Erasmus, concerning this matter in his work *de Servo Arbitrio*, that is, concerning the servile will of man, and explained and supported this point with strength and elegance. And afterwards in his excellent commentary on the book of Genesis, and especially on the twenty-sixth chapter, he repeats and enforces it. And in this place he also secured in the best and most careful manner, several other particular disputations collaterally introduced by Erasmus; for instance concerning *absolute necessity*, against all misapprehension and perversion, as to what he meant by them, and how he wished them to be understood. To this for the present we will only refer.

Wherefore the doctrine is erroneous, in which it is intimated, that even unregenerate man has so much ability as to desire to embrace the Gospel, and comfort himself by it; and that thus the natural will of man co-operates in effecting something in his conversion. For this false opinion is repugnant to the holy Scriptures, to the Christian Augsburg Confession, to the Apology, the Articles of Smalcald, the Larger and Smaller Catechisms of Luther, and to other writings of this most excellent and enlightened theologian.

The doctrine, however, concerning the impotence and depravity of our natural freewill, and the doctrine that our conversion and regeneration are the work of God alone, and not of our own powers, are abused in an unchristian manner, both by the enthusiast and the libertine; and, in consequence of their expressions, many persons become dissolute and vile, indolent and remiss in all Christian exercises, in prayer, reading, and pious meditation—presuming to say: "Since, by our own natural powers, we are unable to convert ourselves to God, we will ever strive against him entirely, or wait till he converts us, by his power, against our will; or, because we can do nothing in these spiritual matters, but all is the operation of the Holy Spirit, we will

neither regard the word nor the sacraments, nor hear, nor read, but wait till God from heaven infuses into us his gifts without means, so that we can really feel and clearly perceive in ourselves that God has converted us."

And others dejected in spirit, not rightly understanding that pious doctrine concerning freewill, might perhaps fall into these perplexing thoughts and perilous doubts: whether God has chosen them, and whether he will work in them also his gifts through the Holy Spirit; especially when they find no firm and ardent faith, no prompt obedience in their hearts, but mere infirmity, misery, and anguish.

For these reasons, we shall now show further from the word of God, how man is converted to God, how and through what means, (namely, through the oral word and the holy sacraments,) the Holy Spirit is efficacious in us, and will work and create in our hearts true repentance, faith, and new spiritual powers and faculties unto good, and how we should conduct ourselves with regard to these means, and how we should use them.

It is not the will of God that any one should be damned, but that all persons should turn unto him, and be saved eternally. "As I live, sayeth the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live," Ezek. 33, 11. "For God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life," John 3, 16.

For this reason, God through his ineffable goodness and mercy, causes his divine and immutable law, and his marvellous counsel concerning our redemption, namely, the holy, the only saving Gospel concerning his eternal Son, our only Savior and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, to be publicly preached. Through this preaching he convenes for himself an eternal church from the human race, and works in the minds of men true repentance, a knowledge of sin, and genuine faith in Jesus Christ, the Son of God. And it is the will of God through these means and no others, namely, through his holy word, when it is either preached, heard, or read, and through the use of the sacraments according to his word, to call men unto everlasting salvation, to draw them unto himself, to convert them, regenerate them, and sanctify them. Since "the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe," 1 Cor. 1, 21. "Peter shall tell thee what thou" and thy whole house "ought to do" to be saved, Acts 10, 6. "Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God," Rom. 10, 17. "Sanctify them," Father, "through thy truth; thy word is truth. Neither pray I for

these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word," John 17, 17, 20. Wherefore, the eternal Father proclaims from heaven concerning his beloved Son, and all who preach repentance and the remission of sin in his name:—"Hear ye him," Matt. 17, 5.

Now, this preaching all those ought to hear, who wish to be saved. For the preaching of God's word and the hearing of it, are the instruments of the Holy Spirit, by, with, and through which he wishes to operate efficaciously, and to convert men unto God, and to work in them both to will and to do.

This word, even a man who is not converted to God, and is not regenerated, can hear and read externally. For in these outward things, as we stated above, man, even since the fall, has a freewill to some extent, so that he can go to church and hear or not hear the preaching.

Through this means or instrument, namely, the preaching and the hearing of his word, God works in us, and softens our hearts, and draws man, so that through the preaching of the law, he perceives his sins and the wrath of God, and feels true terror, contrition, and sorrow in his heart. And through the preaching and meditation of the holy Gospel, offering the most gracious remission of sins in Christ, a spark of faith is enkindled in him; he embraces the forgiveness of sins for Christ's sake, and consoles himself with the promises of the Gospel; and thus the Holy Spirit (who works all this) operates in the heart.

Now, although both the planting and the watering by the preacher, and the running and willing by the hearer, would be in vain, and conversion would not follow, were not the power and operation of the Holy Spirit superadded, who through the word preached and heard, enlightens and converts the heart, so that individuals believe such word, and give their assent to it.

Yet neither the preacher nor the hearer should doubt of this grace and operation of the Holy Spirit; but he should feel assured, when the word of God is preached purely and sincerely according to the command and will of God, and people listen to it with diligence and earnestness, and meditate upon the same, that God is certainly present with his grace, and gives, as stated above, that which man cannot otherwise receive or give by his own strength. For with respect to the presence, the operations, and the gifts of the Holy Ghost, no one ought, and no one can always judge *ex sensu*, how and when man perceives these in his heart; but since these frequently occur and are concealed under our great imperfections, we should be certain from, and

agreeably to, the promise, that the preached and the heard word of God is an office and a work of the Holy Spirit, through which he is certainly efficacious and works in our hearts, 2 Cor. 2, 14, ch. 3, 5.

If, however, a person refuse to hear preaching and to read the word of God, if he scorn the word and the church of God, and thus perish in his sins, he can neither console himself with the eternal election of God, nor obtain his mercy; for Christ, in whom we are chosen, offers unto all persons his grace in the word and in the holy sacraments, and earnestly desires us to hear it; and he has promised, that where two or three are gathered together in his name, and are occupied with his holy word, there he will be in their midst, Matt. 18, 20.

But if a person contemns the instrument or medium of the Holy Spirit, and will not hear, it is not using him with injustice, if the Holy Spirit does not enlighten him, but permits him to remain and perish in the darkness of his unbelief; concerning which, Matt. 23, 37, it is written: "How often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!"

And in this case, it may be said with truth, that man is not a stone or a block. For a stone or a block does not actively oppose him who moves it,—nor does it understand and perceive what is done to it,—as man strives with his will against God, the Lord, until he is converted: and although it is true, that man prior to his conversion is nevertheless a rational creature, who has an understanding and a will, but not an understanding in divine things, or a will to will something good and salutary: yet (as stated above) he can do nothing at all towards his conversion, and in this respect he is much worse than a stone or a block; for he strives against the word and the will of God, until God awakens, enlightens, and renews him from the death of sin. And although God does not force man, so that he *must* be pious; (for those who continually *resist the Holy Ghost*, and persevere in opposing the acknowledged truth,—as Stephen speaks concerning the hardened Jews, Acts 7, 51,—do not become converted;) yet the Lord God draws those whom he converts, and so draws them, that out of a darkened understanding, is created an enlightened understanding, and out of a rebellious will, an obedient will. And this the Scripture calls *creating a new heart*, Psalm 51, 10. Wherefore it cannot be said with correctness, that man, prior to his conversion, has a *modum agendi*, mode of doing something good and salutary in divine matters. For since previous to his conversion, man *is dead in sin*, Eph. 2, 5, there can be no power in him to effect any thing good in spiritual matters, and consequently he has no *modum agendi*, no mode

of action, in divine things. If, however, we speak of this point, *how God operates in man;* the Lord God has nevertheless a *modum agendi*, in a rational creature, and another mode in an irrational creature, as in a stone or a block; yet there cannot, however, be any *modus agendi*, mode of effecting any good in spiritual matters, ascribed to man before his conversion. But after a person has been converted, and is thus enlightened, and his will is renewed, then he wills that which is good, (so far as he is born anew and is a new creature,) and "delights in the law of God, after the inward man," Rom. 7, 22. And thenceforth so far and so long as he is led by the Spirit of God, so far and so long he will do good; as Paul, Rom. 8, 14, says: "As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God." And this leading of the Holy Spirit is not a *coactio*, or a constraint, but the converted person freely performs good, as David says: "Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power," Psalm 110, 3. And still that principle which St. Paul describes, Rom. 7, 22, 23, 25, remains even in the regenerated: "I delight in the law of God, after the inward man: but I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin, which is in my members." Again, "So then, with the mind I myself serve the law of God; but with the flesh the law of sin." Again, Gal. 5, 17: "The flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh: and these are contrary the one to the other; so that ye cannot do the things that ye would."

Hence it follows, when the Holy Spirit, as already stated, has commenced his work of regeneration and renovation in us, through the word and the holy sacraments, that then, assuredly, we can and should co-operate through the power of the Holy Ghost,—yet, however, in great weakness. But this co-operation results, not from our natural and carnal powers, but from the new powers and gifts, which the Holy Spirit has begun in us in conversion, as St. Paul, 2 Cor. 6, 1, gravely admonishes us in definite terms, "as workers together *with him*, not to receive the grace of God in vain." And from these words nothing else should be understood, but that the converted person performs good so far and so long as God governs, leads, and directs him with his Holy Spirit; and that as soon as God withdraws his merciful hand from him, he cannot persevere in obedience to God a single moment. If, however, any one should wish to understand that declaration of Paul, as if the converted person co-operates with the Holy Ghost in the same manner as two horses draw together in a carriage, it can in no way be conceded without violence to divine truth.

Therefore there is a great difference between baptized and unbap-

tized persons. For since, according to the doctrine of St. Paul, Gal. 3, 27, *all who have been baptized, have put on Christ*, and thus have been truly regenerated, have *arbitrium liberatum;* that is, as Christ, John 8, 36, says, *are made free again;* for this reason, they can, not only hear the word, but also, with much weakness however, assent to and receive it.

For, since in this life we receive only the first fruits of the Spirit, and since regeneration is not perfect, but only commenced in us, a perpetual strife between the flesh and the Spirit remains, even in the elect and the truly regenerate. For we may trace not only a great difference among Christians—one being weak, another strong in spirit; but each Christian discovers in himself also, that he finds himself now joyful in spirit, and now timid and fearful, now ardent in love, strong in faith and hope, and now cold and weak.

If, however, those who are baptized act contrary to their conscience, permitting sin to rule over them, and thus aggrieve and lose the Holy Spirit in them; they need not, indeed, be rebaptized, but they must be reconverted, as has been already sufficiently shown.

For it is certain, that in true conversion there must a change, new inclinations, and new emotions take place in the understanding, will, and heart; namely, that the heart feel the sins, fear the wrath of God, turn itself away from sin, perceive and accept the promise of grace in Christ, have good spiritual sentiments, Christian purposes, and Christian zeal, and strive against the flesh. For where none of these are displayed, there also no true conversion can exist. Since, however, the question is concerning the *efficient cause*, that is, *who works* this in us, and *whence* man has it, and *how* he obtains it; this pious doctrine, inasmuch as the natural powers of man can neither do any thing nor contribute towards his conversion,—1 Cor. 2, 14; 2 Cor. 3, 5, informs us, that God out of his ineffable goodness and mercy anticipates us, and causes his holy Gospel to be preached, through which the Holy Spirit works and accomplishes this conversion and renovation in us, and that through the preaching and meditation of his word he kindles in us faith and pious virtues: so that all these are gifts and operations of the Holy Spirit alone. This doctrine points out unto us the means through which the Holy Ghost begins and effects these feelings in us; it also admonishes us how these gifts are preserved, confirmed, and augmented; and exhorts us not to permit this grace of God to be given in vain, but that we should exercise it diligently, and meditate how grievous a sin it is to obstruct and to resist this operation of the Holy Spirit.

From this complete exposition of the whole doctrine concerning freewill, the questions can finally be decided, about which, for a number of years, controversies have been agitated in the churches of the Augsburg Confession; namely, *An homo ante, in, vel post conversionem Spiritui Sancto repugnet? vel pure passive se habeat? an homo convertatur ut truncus? an Spiritus Sanctus detur repugnantibus? et an conversio hominis fiat per modum coacticnis?* That is:—Whether man, before, in, or after his conversion, strives against the Holy Spirit, and whether he does nothing at all, but merely suffers what God works in him. And then, whether in his conversion man is like a block. Lastly, whether the Holy Spirit is given to those who resist him. Again, whether conversion takes place through constraint, so that God forces them to their conversion with violence against their will. By this decision the contrary doctrine and errors can be perceived, refuted, censured, and rejected; as:

1. The insensibility of the Stoics and the Manicheans, that whatever happens, must thus happen, *et hominem coactum omnia facere;* that is, that man performs all that he does, through constraint, and that the will of man has no freedom or ability even in external operations, to regulate his conduct in accordance with outward civil justice and honorable discipline to some extent, and to avoid outward sins and vices; or, that the will of man is forced to external evil deeds, lasciviousness, rapine, murder, &c.

2. We reject the gross error of the Pelagians, that freewill is able by its own natural powers, without the aid of the Holy Spirit, to convert itself to God, to believe the Gospel, and to be obedient to the law of God with the whole heart, and thus, with this its voluntary obedience, to merit the remission of sins and eternal life.

3. We reject the error of the papists and the schoolmen who have more ingeniously introduced the false opinion, teaching, that man is able by his own natural powers to begin a virtuous life and his own conversion, and that, since man is too weak to accomplish that which was begun by his own natural powers, the Holy Spirit comes to his assistance.

4. We reject the doctrine of the Synergists, who pretend that man is not entirely dead to every thing good in spiritual things, but that he is vitally disabled. Wherefore, although freewill is too impotent to make the beginning, and by its own powers to convert itself to God and to be obedient to the law of God from the heart; yet, when the Holy Spirit shall have made the beginning, and called us through the Gospel, and offered us his grace, the forgiveness of sins, and eternal salvation, that then the freewill by its own natural

powers, is able to meet God, and to some limited extent, do something towards this reformation, however insignificant, to help the Holy Spirit and to co-operate with him, to fit and apply itself for the grace of God, to apprehend and embrace the same, and to believe the Gospel, and also by its own powers to co-operate with the Holy Ghost in the advancement and preservation of this work.

In opposition, however, to this error, we have shown above at some length, that this power, namely, *Facultas applicandi se ad gratiam*, that is, by nature to apply ourselves to grace, comes, not from our own natural powers, but through the operation of the Holy Spirit alone.

5. We reject the doctrine of the pontiffs and monks, that after conversion, man can fulfil the law of God entirely in this life; and that through this fulfilment of the law, he is justified before God, and merits eternal life.

6. On the other hand, the enthusiasts must also be censured with the greatest earnestness and zeal, and they must in no way be tolerated in the church of God: for they imagine that God draws men to himself, enlightens, justifies, and saves them, without any means, without the hearing of the divine word, and without the use of the holy sacraments.

7. We reject those who imagine, that in conversion and regeneration God so creates a new heart and a new man, that the old Adamic nature, and especially the rational soul, are entirely exterminated, and new powers of soul are created out of nothing. This error St. Augustine refutes expressly, in his explanation on the twenty-fifth Psalm, where he quotes this declaration of Paul: *Deponite veterem hominem;* "Put off the old man," Eph. 4, 22; and he explains it in these words: *Ne aliquis arbitretur, deponendam esse aliquam substantiam, exposuit, quid esset, Deponite veterem hominem, et induite novum, cum dicit in consequentibus: Quapropter deponentes mendacium, loquimini veritatem. Ecce, hoc est, deponere veterem hominem, et induere novum, etc.* That is: "In order that no one might hold that the substance or essence of man must be put off, he himself has explained what it is to put off the old man, and to put on the new, where he says in the succeeding words: 'Wherefore, putting away lying, speak ye the truth.' Behold, this is putting off the old man, and putting on the new."

8. Again, we also reject the following forms of expression, if used without an explanation:—That the will of man, before, in, and after conversion, resists the Holy Spirit, and that the Holy Ghost is given to those who strive against him.

For from the preceding explanation it is evident, that where no change at all takes place to that which is good, through the Holy Spirit, in the understanding, will, and heart, and where man does not at all believe the promises, and is not qualified of God for the reception of grace, but strives wholly and entirely against the word, no conversion can have taken place, nor can there be any. For conversion is such a change, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, in the understanding, will, and heart of man, that through this operation of the Holy Ghost, he can accept the offered grace; and indeed, all who obstinately and perseveringly strive against the operations and movings of the Holy Spirit, which occur through the word, receive not the Holy Spirit, but grieve him and are deprived of him.

But even in the regenerate there still remains an obstinacy of which the Scripture makes mention: "The flesh lusteth against the Spirit," Gal. 5, 17. Again, "The fleshly lusts war against the soul," 1 Pet. 2, 11; *and the law in the members wars against the law of the mind*, Rom. 7, 23.

Wherefore, the person who is not regenerated strives wholly against God, and is entirely the servant of sin. The regenerate man, however, delights in the law of God, after the inward man; but he nevertheless perceives in his members the law of sin, which strives against the law of the mind. With the mind, therefore, he serves the law of God, but with the flesh, the law of sin, Rom. 7, 25. In this manner the true sense concerning this matter can and must be firmly, perspicuously, and judiciously explained and taught.

But with respect to what relates to the expressions and phrases of Chrysostom and Basil: *Trahit Deus, sed volentem trahit. Tantum velis, et Deus præoccurrit;* and those of the schoolmen: *Hominis voluntas in conversione non est otiosa; sed agit aliquid.* That is, "God draws, but he draws him who is willing." Again, "Only will, and God will anticipate thee." Moreover, "The will of man is not idle in conversion, but it effects something;" which expressions, introduced for the confirmation of the natural freewill in the conversion of man, contrary to the doctrine concerning the grace of God; it is evident from the preceding explanation which we have laid down, are not analogous to the form of sound doctrine, but contrary to it; and consequently, when speaking of conversion to God, they should be cautiously avoided.

For the conversion of our depraved will, which conversion is not different from a resuscitation of the will from spiritual death, is the work of God alone; and so the resuscitation in the corporeal

resurrection of the body, must also be ascribed to God alone; as we have perspicuously explained above, and proved it with manifest testimonies from Holy Writ.

But how God in conversion makes out of rebellious and unwilling persons, through the drawing of the Holy Spirit, willing ones, and how after this conversion, the regenerate will of man goes not unemployed in daily exercise of repentance, but co-operates in all the works of the Holy Spirit, which he performs through us, has been sufficiently explained above.

Thus, too, when Luther says, that man keeps himself entirely passive in his conversion; that is, does nothing at all in it, but merely allows that which God works in him, he does not mean that conversion takes place without the preaching and hearing of the divine word; nor does he wish to convey the idea that in conversion no new emotion at all is excited in us, and no spiritual operation is commenced in us, by the Holy Spirit; but he wishes to imply that man of himself, or by his own natural powers, is unable to effect any thing, or to assist in his conversion, and that this conversion is not only in part but wholly and entirely an operation, a gift, and a work of the Holy Ghost, who by his own power and might, works and accomplishes it, through the word, in the understanding, will, and heart of man, *tanquam in subjecto patiente;* that is, in which the person neither does nor effects any thing, but merely permits it to be done; not as a statue hewn out of a stone, nor as a seal imprinted in wax, which has neither knowledge, nor feeling, nor will, with respect to the operation: but in the manner, as has already been defined.

Since, in the schools, the young have been very much confused *de tribus causis efficientibus, concurrentibus in conversione hominis non renati,* that is, with the doctrine concerning the three efficient causes of the conversion of unregenerate man to God, as to the manner in which these (namely, the preached and the heard word of God, the Holy Spirit, and the will of man,) concur: we shall again repeat from the explanation already presented, that conversion to God is the work of God, the Holy Ghost, who is the true artificer, alone working this in us; for which purpose he employs the preaching and the hearing of his holy word, as his ordinary means and instrument. But the understanding and the will of unregenerate man, are nothing else than the *subjectum convertendum*, that is, that which is to be converted, as the understanding and will of a man spiritually dead, in which the Holy Spirit works conversion and renovation. In this conversion the will of man, the subject of conversion, does nothing,

but merely suffers God to operate in it, until it is regenerated. And then it also co-operates with the Holy Spirit in other subsequent good works, doing that which is pleasing to God, as has been abundantly explained above.

III. OF JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH.

The third controversy, which has arisen among some theologians of the Augsburg Confession, is concerning the righteousness of Christ or that by faith, which God through his grace, imputes unto miserable sinners, for righteousness.

For one party contended that the righteousness by faith, which the Apostle, Rom. 3, 21, 22, calls the righteousness of God, is the essential righteousness of God, which is Christ himself as the true, the natural, essential Son of God, who through faith dwells in the elect, and impels them to the performance of good, and thus is their righteousness; in comparison with which righteousness, the sins of all men are as a drop of water in the great sea.

On the contrary, others have maintained and taught that Christ is our righteousness according to his human nature alone.

In opposition to both these parties, other teachers of the Augsburg Confession unanimously taught, that Christ is our righteousness, not according to his divine nature alone, nor yet according to his human nature alone, but according to both natures,—who as God and man, by his perfect obedience, has redeemed us from our sins, justified, and saved us; so that the righteousness by faith is the remission of sins, reconciliation with God, and is the cause of our adoption as children of God in virtue of the obedience of Christ alone, which is imputed for righteousness, through faith only, out of pure grace, unto all true believers. And thus, in consequence of it, they are absolved from all their unrighteousness.

Besides this controversy, other disputations concerning the article of justification have originated from the *Interim* and from other causes. These we shall hereafter explain in *antitheses*; that is, in connection with a recitation of those errors which are adverse to the pure doctrine of this article.

This article concerning justification by faith is, as the Apology declares, the principal and most important of the whole Christian doctrine; without which article the poor conscience can have no hope, invariably true and fixed, or conceive the riches of the grace of Christ. And as doctor Luther has written: "If this single article remain

pure, the whole Christian community will also remain pure and harmonious, and without any factions. But if it remain not pure, it is impossible to restrain a single error, or the spirit of faction," *Tom. 5, Jenensi, pag.* 159. And with respect to this article in particular, Paul, 1 Cor. 5, 6; Gal. 5, 9, says: "A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump." For that reason he enforces in this article, with so much ardor and zeal, the *particulæ exclusivæ*, that is, the words, namely, (without law, without works, by grace,) by which the works of man are excluded; for the purpose of showing how highly necessary it is, in this article, not only to unfold the true doctrine, but to lay down the *antitheses*, that is, all the contrary doctrines, that they may be discriminated, exposed, and rejected.

For the purpose, therefore, of explaining this controversy in a Christian manner, according to the analogy of the word of God, and to establish it through his grace, our doctrine, faith, and confession, are as follow:

Concerning the righteousness by faith before God, we believe, teach, and confess unanimously, according to the preceding summary abstract of our Christian faith and confession, that poor sinful man is justified before God,—that is, absolved and declared free and exempt from all his sins, and from the sentence of his well-deserved condemnation, and is adopted a child and an heir of eternal life,—without any of our merit or worthiness, and without any of our antecedent, present, or subsequent works, out of pure grace, alone for the sake of the merit, the perfect obedience, the bitter sufferings and death, and the resurrection of Christ our Lord; whose obedience is imputed unto us for righteousness.

These blessings are offered unto us by the Holy Spirit in the promises of the Gospel; and faith alone is the only medium through which we apprehend and receive them, and apply and appropriate them to ourselves. This faith is a gift of God, through which we rightly perceive Christ, our Redeemer, in the word of the Gospel, and confide in him that for the sake of his obedience alone, out of grace, we have forgiveness of sins, and are reputed of God the Father as pious and just, and are eternally saved. Therefore, these propositions are equivalent, and regarded as one and the same proposition, when Paul, Rom. 3, 28, says: "That a man is justified by faith;" or, Rom. 4, 5, that "faith is counted" unto us "for righteousness;" and when he says: *That by the obedience of the one Mediator Christ, we are justified;* or, *that by the righteousness of one, justification by faith came upon all men*, Rom. 5, 18, 19. For faith justifies us, not in consequence of the fact, that it is a work so good, and a vir-

tue so beautiful, but because it apprehends and receives the merit of Christ in the promise of the holy Gospel; for this merit must be applied and appropriated unto ourselves through faith, if we shall be justified by it. So that the righteousness, which is ascribed to faith, or imputed to believers before God through pure grace, is the obedience, the sufferings, and resurrection of Christ, by which he has rendered complete satisfaction unto the law for us, and has made expiation for our sins. For, since Christ is not only man, but God and man in one undivided person, he was even as little subject to the law, being Lord of the law, as it would have been necessary for him to suffer and die for his own person. His obedience, therefore, not only in suffering and dying, but in his being voluntarily put under the law in our stead, and fulfilling it with such obedience, is imputed unto us for righteousness; so that for the sake of this perfect obedience, which he rendered unto his heavenly Father for us, in his doing and suffering, in his life and death, God forgives us our sins, regards us as pious and just, and saves us eternally. This righteousness is offered unto us through the Gospel and in the sacraments, by the Holy Spirit; and through faith it is applied, and embraced: hence believers have reconciliation with God, remission of sins, the grace of God, filiation, and the inheritance of eternal life.

Accordingly, the word to *justify* here signifies to declare just and acquitted from sins, and to absolve from the eternal punishment of sins, for the sake of the *righteousness of Christ, which is imputed of God by faith*, Phil. 3, 9. And this use and import of that word, are common in the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. Isa. 53, 11: "By his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many; for he shall bear their iniquities." Job 9, 20: "If I justify myself, mine own mouth shall condemn me: if I say, I am perfect, it shall also prove me perverse." Rom. 8, 33: "Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth;" that is, absolves and declares free from sins.

But since the word *regeneration* is sometimes used for the word *justification*, it is necessary to explain the former with precision, in order that the renovation, which follows after justification by faith, may not be confounded with justification by faith, but be properly distinguished from it.

For, in the first place, the word *regeneration* is made to comprehend the forgiveness of sins for the sake of Christ alone, as well as the subsequent renovation which the Holy Ghost works in those who are justified by faith. And then again it is employed to signify only the remission of sins, and adoption among the children of God.

And in this latter sense this word is frequently used in the Apology, where it is written: "To be justified, is the fact of a sinner's being born anew through the Holy Ghost." And St. Paul also makes a distinction between these words, Tit. 3, 5: "He saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost." So also the word *vivification* is sometimes used in a similar sense. For if a person is justified through faith, (which the Holy Spirit alone works,) it is truly a regeneration, because out of a child of wrath, is made a child of God, and thus transferred from death into life, as it is written: "When we were dead in sins God hath quickened us together with Christ," Eph. 2, 5. Again, "The just shall live by faith," Rom. 1, 17; Heb. 2, 4. In which sense the word regeneration is frequently employed in the Apology.

But again, the word regeneration is also frequently used to imply sanctification and renovation, which follow after justification by faith. In which signification doctor Luther has used it in his work concerning churches and councils, and in his other writings.

If, however, we teach that we are born anew and justified through the operation of the Holy Spirit, it must not be understood, as if no unrighteousness still adhered to the justified and regenerate in their conduct and deportment after regeneration: but that Christ with his perfect obedience covers over all their sins, which, however, still attend the infirmities of this life. Yet they are pronounced and reputed pious and just through faith, for the sake of that righteousness of Christ, which Christ rendered unto the Father for us, from his birth to the most ignominious death of the cross, even if they are now and will remain sinners even to their graves, in consequence of their corrupted nature. Nor do we wish to be understood here, as if we mean that we dare, or that we should follow after sins, and persevere and remain in them, without repentance, conversion, and amendment of life.

For true contrition precedes justification. And to those, as stated above, who are thus justified before God, and received into his grace, for the sake of Christ, the only Mediator, out of pure grace, through faith alone, without any of their works and merit, the Holy Spirit is also given, who renews and sanctifies them, and works in them love towards God and towards their neighbors. But since the incipient renovation remains imperfect in this life, and sin still dwells in the flesh, even with the regenerate, righteousness by faith before God consists in a gracious imputation of the righteousness of Christ, without the addition of our works; so that our sins are forgiven and covered over, and not imputed unto us, Rom. 4, 6, 7, 8.

But, if we wish to retain in its purity the article concerning justification, we must be very diligent and cautious, lest that which precedes faith, and that which follows it, be at the same time intermingled and introduced into the article concerning justification, as necessary and pertaining to it. For it is not one and the same thing to speak of conversion and of justification.

For, not all that is requisite to conversion pertains alike to the article of justification. For to justification these benefits alone are required and are necessary: the grace of God, the merit of Christ, and faith which accepts these benefits in the promise of the Gospel, and through which the righteousness of Christ is imputed unto us; hence we obtain and have remission of sins, reconciliation with God, filiation, and the inheritance of eternal life.

Therefore, true and saving faith does not influence those who feel no contrition and sorrow, and have the evil design to remain in sin and to persevere in it. But true contrition precedes, and genuine faith is simultaneous with true repentance.

Love is also a fruit which certainly and necessarily follows after faith. For if a person love not, it is a sure indication that he is not justified, but that he is still in death, or has again lost the righteousness imputed by faith, as John, 1 John 3, 14, testifies. But when Paul, Rom. 3, 24, 28, affirms: "We are justified by faith without the deeds of the law," he indicates by it that neither antecedent contrition, nor subsequent works, pertain to the article or subject of justification by faith. For good works precede not justification, but follow after it. And the individual must first be justified, before he can perform good works.

And likewise, although renovation and sanctification are also a benefaction from the Mediator, Christ, and a work of the Holy Spirit, yet they do not pertain to the article or subject of justification before God, but they follow after it, since on account of the corruption of our flesh they are not entirely pure and perfect in this life, as doctor Luther has well written concerning this matter in his excellent and copious commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, where he thus says: "We readily concede, that we should teach concerning love and good works too, yet so, that it be done, when, and where it is necessary; for instance, when we are engaged in discoursing of works, exclusive of this subject of justification. But here this is the principal matter with which we must be occupied; namely, the inquiry, not, whether we should also love and perform good works, but, by what means we may be justified before God, and saved. And here we answer with St. Paul, that we are justified through

faith in Christ alone, and not through the works of the law, or through love; not that we hereby reject works and love entirely, as our adversaries falsely charge us, but in order that we may not permit ourselves to be led away, as Satan earnestly desires, from the principal subject with which we are here engaged, to another extraneous matter, which does not at all pertain to this subject. For, while we are occupied with this article concerning justification, we reject and condemn works, since this article is of such a nature as not to admit of any disputation, or controversy concerning works; therefore, we briefly cut off all laws and all the works of the law in this matter." Thus far doctor Luther.

Wherefore, in order that disturbed minds may find lasting and indubitable consolation, and also that due honor may be attributed to the merit of Christ and to the grace of God,—the Scripture teaches that the righteousness by faith before God, consists in the gracious reconciliation, or in the remission of sins, which is given unto us out of pure grace, for the merit of the Mediator Christ alone, and that through faith alone, in the promise of the Gospel, it is received. And thus, this faith, in justification before God, confides neither in contrition, nor in love, nor in other virtues, but in Christ alone; depending upon that perfect obedience with which he fulfilled the law for us, and which is imputed unto believers for righteousness.

Neither contrition, nor love, nor any other virtue, but faith alone is the only medium and instrument, by and through which we can receive and embrace the grace of God, the merit of Christ, and the remission of sins; which blessings are offered unto us in the promise of the Gospel.

It is likewise rightly asserted that believers who have been justified by faith in Christ, first have the imputed righteousness of faith, and afterwards the incipient righteousness of new obedience, or of good works, in this life. But these two must not be confounded, or at the same time introduced into the article of justification by faith in the sight of God. For, since this incipient righteousness or renovation in us is imperfect and impure in this life in consequence of the flesh, the individual, on account of that righteousness, cannot stand acquitted before the judgment-seat of God: but the righteousness alone of the obedience, the suffering, and death of Christ which is ascribed to faith, can stand before the just sentence of God; for the sake, therefore, of that obedience alone, the individual, even after his renovation, (though he may have performed many good works, and may be leading the best

life,) pleases God, becomes acceptable, and is received as a child and an heir of eternal life.

And to this is also to be referred what St. Paul, Rom. 4, 3, writes,—that Abraham was justified before God by faith alone on account of the Mediator, without the addition of his works, not only, when he had been first converted from idolatry, and had no good works, but also when he had been renewed through the Holy Spirit, and adorned with many glorious good works, Gen. 15, 6; Heb. 11, 8. And Paul, Rom. 4, 3, propounds this question, asking wherein the righteousness of Abraham before God, to eternal life, consisted, through which he had a gracious God and was well-pleasing and acceptable to him.

To which he answers: "To him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness. Even as David describeth the blessedness of the man unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works," Rom. 4, 5, 6. Wherefore, even if the converted and believers have incipient renovation, sanctification, love, virtue, and have performed good works, yet these cannot and must not be drawn into, or intermingled in the article of justification before God: so that the honor of Christ the Redeemer may remain, and that, since our new obedience is imperfect and impure, disturbed consciences may have a permanent consolation.

And this is the intention of the apostle Paul, when he urges in this article the *particulæ exclusivæ*, that is, the words by which works are excluded in the article of righteousness by faith, so diligently and zealously: these for instance, *absque operibus, sine lege, gratis, non ex operibus;* that is, by grace, without merit, without law, without works, not of works. But all these *exclusivæ* are comprehended in these words, when we say: through faith alone we are justified before God and saved. For by this means works are excluded, not however with the view that true faith can exist without contrition, or, that good works should not, must not, and need not follow true faith, as certain and indubitable fruits; or, as if believers neither need nor ought to perform any thing good: but from the article of justification before God, good works are excluded, so that in the justification of a poor sinner before God, they may not be introduced, interwoven, or intermingled as necessary or belonging to it. And this is the true sense of *particulæ exclusivæ*, that is, of the words mentioned above in the article of justification; and with all diligence and assiduity this sense should be retained and urged in this article.

1 That by these *particulæ*, or words, all self-performance, merit,

dignity, glory, and the confidence in any of our own works, are wholly and entirely excluded in the article of justification; so that our works may not be proposed and held either as a cause or a merit of justification, which God should regard in this article, or upon which we might or should depend, either as to the whole, or half, or the least portion of it.

2. That this remains the office and property of faith alone, that it alone, and nothing else, is the medium or instrument, with which and through which, the grace of God and the merit of Christ in the promise of the Gospel, are apprehended, received, and accepted, and are applied and appropriated to us; and that love and all other virtues, or works, are excluded from this office and property of such application or appropriation.

3. That neither renovation, sanctification, virtues, nor good works, *tanquam forma, aut pars, aut causa justificationis*, that is, be our justification before God; and that they be not regarded or laid down as a part or a cause of our righteousness; nor intermingled into the article of justification as necessary and requisite to it, or otherwise, under any pretext, name, or title: but that the righteousness by faith consist alone in the remission of sins, out of pure grace, for the sake of the merit of Christ alone. Which blessings are offered unto us in the promise of the Gospel; and through faith alone they are received and accepted, and are applied and appropriated unto us.

Thus too must the order be observed and retained between faith and good works, between justification and renovation or sanctification.

For good works do not precede faith; nor does sanctification precede justification. But faith is first enkindled in us by the Holy Spirit in conversion, through the hearing of the Gospel. This faith apprehends the grace of God in Christ, through which the individual is justified. Afterwards, when the person is justified, he is then also renewed and sanctified by the Holy Spirit. And from this renovation and sanctification a succession of good works follows. *Et hæc non ita divelluntur, quasi vera fides aliquando et aliquandiu stare posset cum malo proposito, sed ordine causarum et effectuum, antecedentium et consequentium, ita distribuuntur; manet enim, quod Lutherus recte dicit: Bene conveniunt et sunt connexa inseparabiliter, Fides et opera; sed sola Fides est, quæ apprehendit benedictionem sine operibus, et tamen nunquam est sola.* That is:—This is not to be understood as if justification and renovation are separated from each other, so that true faith can sometimes exist in connection with an evil design for a while: but by this the order alone is exhibited, how one precedes or succeeds the other. For it is invariably true,

as doctor Luther has rightly asserted: "That faith and good works accord and suit excellently together; but it is faith alone, that apprehends the blessing, without works," and yet it is at no time alone,—as we have already sufficiently shown.

And many disputations may be usefully and properly explained by this true and firm distinction, which the Apology speaks of concerning the declaration of James, Jam. 2, 20. For when we describe how faith justifies, the doctrine of St. Paul is, that faith alone justifies without works, since, as we have said, it applies and appropriates unto us the merit of Christ. If, however, it be asked, "Wherein and whereby can a Christian perceive and distinguish, either in himself, or in others, a true and living faith from a pretended and dead faith, since many torpid and secure Christians form an erroneous opinion concerning faith, when at the same time they have no true faith?" the Apology thus replies to it: "James calls that faith dead, which does not produce various good works and fruits of the Spirit," page 113. And in this sense the Latin Apology asserts: *Jacobus recte negat, nos tali fide justificari, quæ est sine operibus, hoc est, quæ mortua est.* That is, St. James teaches rightly, where he denies, that we are justified by a faith which is without works, which is a dead faith.

But James speaks, as the Apology declares, concerning the works of those who have already been justified through Christ, who have been reconciled to God, and have obtained the forgiveness of sins through Christ. If, however, it be asked, from what principle of reason or justice it happens, that faith justifies and saves? It is false and wrong to assert: *Fidem non posse justificare sine operibus: vel Fidem, quatenus caritatem, qua formetur, conjunctam habet, justificare: vel Fidei, ut justificet, necessariam esse præsentiam bonorum operum; aut ad justificationem, vel in articulo justificationis esse necessariam præsentiam bonorum operum: vel bona opera esse causam sine qua non, quæ per particulas exclusivas ex articulo Justificationis non excludantur.* That is, that faith cannot justify without works; or, that faith thus justifies or makes just, because it is accompanied by love, on account of which this effect is ascribed to faith: or, that the presence of good works with faith is necessary, should the individual otherwise be justified by it before God; or, that the presence of good works is necessary in the article of justification, or essential to justification; so that good works are to be regarded as a cause, without which the person cannot be justified; and which is not excluded from the article of justification, by the *particulæ exclusivæ, absque operibus, etc.;* that is, when St. Paul,

Eph. 2, 9, says: *Without works.* For faith justifies, alone for the reason and from the circumstance, that it apprehends and accepts the grace of God and the merit of Christ in the promise of the Gospel, as a means and an instrument.

And let this suffice for the present occasion as a compendious explication of the doctrine concerning justification by faith, which doctrine is copiously treated in the writings named above. From what we have now stated, however, it is evident that not only those errors which we have related above, but these and the like false dogmas, which we shall now recite, and which militate against the explication just mentioned, must be refuted, exposed, and rejected, namely:

1. That our love or our good works are, either wholly or in part, a merit or a cause of our justification before God.

2. Or, that by his good works man must prepare himself and become worthy, so that the merits of Christ may be imparted unto him.

3. *Vel formalem nostram justitiam coram Deo esse inhærentem nostram novitatem, seu caritatem;* that is, that our righteousness before God is love, or the renovation which the Holy Spirit works in us and which is in us.

4. Or, that two things or parts pertain to the righteousness by faith before God; namely, the gracious remission of sins, and renovation or sanctification.

5. *Item fidem justificare tantum initialiter, vel partialeter, vel principaliter, et novitatem vel caritatem nostram justificare etiam coram Deo, vel completive, vel minus principaliter.*

6. *Item, Credentes coram Deo justificari, vel coram Deo justos esse, simul et imputatione et inchoatione: vel partim imputatione, partim inchoatione novæ obedientiæ.*

7. *Item, Applicationem promissionis gratiæ fieri, et fide cordis, et confessione oris ac reliquis virtutibus.* That is, that faith justifies only because righteousness is commenced in us through faith; or thus, that faith has the preference in justification, although renovation and love pertain to our righteousness before God, yet in such a manner that they are not the principal cause of our righteousness, but that without this love and renovation our righteousness would not be complete or perfect.

8. Again, that believers are justified or become just in the sight of God, at the same time by the imputed righteousness of Christ, and by the incipient new obedience, or partly by the imputation of the righteousness of Christ, and partly by the incipient new obedience.

9. Likewise, that the promise of grace is appropriated to us by faith in the heart, and by the confession which is made with the lips, and by other virtues.

This doctrine is likewise erroneous, in which it is taught that man must be *saved* in another manner, or by something else than that in which he is *justified* before God, so that indeed we are justified by faith alone, without works, but to be saved without works, or to obtain salvation without works, is impossible.

That doctrine is false because it is diametrically opposed to the declaration of Paul, Rom. 4, 6: "Even as David also describeth the blessedness of the man unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works." And this is the foundation of Paul's argument, Tit. 3, 5–7, that in the same manner as righteousness is obtained, so do we also obtain blessedness or salvation; yes, that even by this, when we are justified by faith, we also at the same time receive filiation, the inheritance of eternal life, and salvation. And for this reason Paul introduces and urges the *particulæ exclusivæ*, that is, the words by which works and self-merit are entirely excluded, namely, *by grace, without works*, even as constantly and gravely in the article of salvation, as he does in the article of justification.

In like manner too, the disputation concerning the indwelling of the essential righteousness of God in us, must be rightly explained. For although by faith God,—the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the eternal and essential righteousness,—dwells in the elect who are justified, and who are reconciled to him, through Christ; (for all Christians are temples of God,—the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,—who actuates them in the performance of that which is right;) yet this indwelling of God is not that righteousness by faith, concerning which St. Paul speaks, and which he calls *justetia Dei*, that is, the righteousness of God, on account of which we are pronounced just before God. But this indwelling of God follows after the antecedent righteousness of faith, which is nothing else but the remission of sins and the gracious reception of poor sinners, for the sake of the obedience and merit of Christ alone.

Accordingly, since in our churches it is known among divines of the Augsburg Confession, that all our righteousness must be sought apart from the merits, works, virtues, and worthiness of ourselves and of all other men, and that it consists in Christ the Lord alone, it is easy to consider in what manner Christ is called our righteousness in the article of justification; viz: that our righteousness consists, not in the one nor in the other nature, but in the whole per-

son of Christ; who as God and man in his own entire and perfect obedience is our righteousness.

For, though Christ was conceived of the Holy Ghost, and was born without sin, had he fulfilled all righteousness in the human nature only, and had he not been true, eternal God, this obedience and suffering of the human nature could not have been imputed unto us for righteousness: so also, if the Son of God had not become man, the divine nature alone could not have been our righteousness. Accordingly, we believe, teach, and confess, that the entire obedience of the whole person of Christ, which he rendered unto the Father for us, by a most ignominious death on the cross, is imputed unto us for righteousness. For the human nature alone, without the divine, could not have made satisfaction unto the eternal, Almighty God, for the sins of the whole world, either by obedience or suffering. But his divinity alone, without his humanity, could not have mediated between God and man.

Since, however, as we have stated above, it is the obedience of the whole person, it is also a perfect satisfaction and expiation for the human race, by which complete satisfaction was made unto the eternal, immutable justice of God, which is revealed in the law. And this obedience is our righteousness which avails in the sight of God, which is revealed unto us in the Gospel, upon which our faith rests before God, and which he imputes through faith, as it is written, Rom. 5, 19: "For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners; so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous." And 1 John, 1, 7: "The blood of Jesus Christ, his Son, cleanseth us from all sin." Again, Heb. 2, 4: "The just shall live by faith."

In this manner neither the divine nor the human nature of Christ by itself is imputed unto us for righteousness, but the obedience of the person alone, who is at the same time God and man. And thus faith looks upon the person of Christ, as the same was put under the law for us, bore our sins, and ascended to the Father, rendering entire and perfect obedience to his heavenly Father, for us poor sinners, from his holy birth unto his death; and thereby covering all our disobedience, which inheres in our nature, thoughts, words, and deeds; so that it is no more imputed unto us to condemnation, but pardoned and forgiven through pure grace, for the sake of Christ alone.

Therefore, besides the errors stated above, we reject and condemn unanimously the following and all similar errors, as repugnant to the word of God, to the doctrine of the Prophets and Apostles, and to our Christian faith:

1. We reject the tenets in which it is asserted, that Christ is our righteousness before God according to his divine nature alone.

2. That Christ is our righteousness according to the human nature alone.

3. That in the declarations of the Prophets and Apostles, in which the justification by faith is spoken of, the words *to justify* and *to be justified*, should not be made to signify, to declare or to be declared free from sin, and to obtain forgiveness of sins; but in reality to be made righteous before God, in consequence of the love and virtue infused by the Holy Spirit, and the works following from these.

4. That faith regards not only the obedience of Christ, but his divine nature, so far as the same dwells and works in us, that through such indwelling our sins may be covered before God.

5. That faith is such a reliance on the obedience of Christ as may subsist and remain in a mind which does not even feel any genuine repentance, and where no love exists, but which, contrary to the dictates of conscience, persists in sin.

6. That not God, but only the gifts of God dwell in the believing heart.

These and all similar errors we reject unanimously as repugnant to the express word of God. And by the grace of God we shall constantly and steadily persevere in the doctrine concerning the righteousness by faith before God, as it is laid down, explained, and fortified with the word of God, in the Augsburg Confession and its Apology.

Relative to whatever is further necessary for a proper elucidation of this high and most important article, justification before God, upon which the salvation of our souls depends, we shall, for the sake of brevity, direct each one to the beautiful and excellent commentary of doctor Luther on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians.

IV. OF GOOD WORKS.

Among the theologians of the Augsburg Confession a dissension also arose concerning good works, because the one party used the following words and propositions:—Good works are necessary to salvation: it is impossible to be saved without good works: no one has ever been saved without good works, since good works are required of true believers as fruits of faith, and faith without love is dead, although this love be no cause of salvation.

The opposite party, however, contended, that good works are necessary, not to salvation indeed, but for other reasons; and that therefore the preceding propositions or expressions, (since they are inconsistent with the rational form of words and doctrine, and have

always been and are still used by the papists in opposition to the doctrine of our Christian faith, in which we confess that faith alone justifies and saves,) are not to be tolerated in the church, in order that the merits of Christ our Savior may not be diminished, and that the promise of salvation may remain firm and sure to believers.

In this contention some few employed a very questionable proposition:—That good works are pernicious to salvation. It was also contended by some that good works are not *necessary*, but *free* and spontaneous, since they should not be extorted by the dread and the denunciations of the law, but should flow from a free, spontaneous impulse and a joyful heart. On the contrary the other party contended that good works are necessary.

This controversy originated from the words *necessitas* and *libertas*, *necessity* and *liberty*, since the word *necessitas*, especially, signifies not only the eternal, immutable order, according to which all persons are under obligation and in duty bound to be obedient to God; but sometimes it implies a constraint, by which the law forces persons to good works.

Afterwards, however, they controverted not only the words, but most violently assailed the doctrine itself, and contended that the new obedience in the regenerated is not necessary in consequence of the aforenamed order of God.

To explain this dissension in a Christian manner, according to the analogy of the word of God, and through his grace to determine it finally, our doctrine, faith, and confession, are as follow:

First, in this article there is no controversy among our divines concerning the following propositions:—That it is the will, the order, and the command of God, that believers should walk in good works. That those works are not truly good which each one devises unto himself according to his own partial opinion, or, which are performed according to human tradition; but those which God himself has prescribed and commanded in his word. That works truly good are not performed by our own natural powers, but when the person is reconciled with God through faith, and renewed by the Holy Spirit, or, as St. Paul says: "Created anew in Christ Jesus unto good works," Eph. 2, 10.

Neither is it disputed, how, and why the good works of believers, although they are impure and imperfect in the flesh, are pleasing and acceptable in the sight of God; namely, on account of Christ the Lord, through faith, because the person is acceptable to God. For the works, which pertain to the preservation of external discipline, and which are required and performed also by the unbelieving and the

unconverted, although they are laudable in the sight of the world, and rewarded of God in this world with temporal blessings; yet because they do not proceed from genuine faith, they are sin before God, that is contaminated with sins, and they are held in the sight of God as sinful and impure in consequence of the corrupt nature, and because the person is not reconciled with God. For "a corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit," Matt. 7, 18; and as it is also written, Rom. 14, 23: "Whatsoever is not of faith is sin;" for a person must first be acceptable to God, and that for the sake of Christ alone, if by any means the works of this same person shall be pleasing to God.

Therefore, the source and the fountain of works which are really good and acceptable in the sight of God, and which God will reward in this and in the future world, must be *faith;* for this reason they are called by St. Paul the right fruits of faith, as also of the Spirit, Gal. 5, 22. For faith, as doctor Luther writes in his preface to the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, is a divine work in us, which changes us, and regenerates us of God; and mortifies the old fallen nature, making us quite different persons, in heart, mind, disposition, and in all our faculties, and bringing with itself the Holy Spirit. O! this faith is a living, active, efficacious, powerful principle; it is impossible for it not incessantly to perform good. Neither does it ask whether good works are to be performed, but before it is inquired, it has done them, and it is always in action. But whoever does not perform such works, is a faithless person, groping and looking about for faith and good works, not knowing what they are, yet babbling and prating a great deal about faith and good works. Faith is a living, deliberate confidence in the grace of God, so firm, that the person would rather die a thousand times than permit this confidence to be snatched from him. And this confidence and knowledge of divine grace, make us courageous, cheerful, and joyful toward God and all creatures, which joy and cheerfulness the Holy Spirit excites through faith. Hence without constraint we become willing and desirous to do good unto all, to serve all, and to endure every thing; to honor and to praise God who manifested this grace to us; so that it is impossible to separate works from faith: yes, as impossible as it is to separate heat and light from fire.

But, since there is no dispute among our divines concerning these points, we shall not treat them here at length, but we shall explain merely the controverted points in a simple and perspicuous manner.

And first, respecting whatever pertains to the necessity or to the voluntariness of good works, it is evident, that these expressions are used and frequently repeated in the Augsburg Confession and in the

Apology to the same, and that good works are also necessary. Again, that it is necessary to do good works, which should follow faith and reconciliation. Again, that we should and must necessarily perform good works which God commanded. Thus also in the holy Scripture itself the words *necessity*, *necessary*, and *needful*, and *shall* and *must*, are thus used, with respect to that which we are under obligation to perform in consequence of the order, command, and will of God, Rom. 13, 5; 1 Cor. 9, 16; Acts 5, 29; John 15, 12; 1 John 4, 21.

Wherefore, in this Christian and genuine sense, those propositions or expressions which we have mentioned, are unjustly reprehended and rejected by some. For they should justly be retained and employed for the purpose of reproving and confuting the secure, licentious opinion, in which many devise unto themselves a dead faith or a vain persuasion which is destitute of repentance and good works: as if indeed, there can at the same time, exist in one heart true faith, and an evil purpose to persevere and go on in sins,—a thing which is impossible; or, as if indeed a person can have and retain true faith, righteousness, and salvation, although he remain a corrupt and fruitless tree, from which no good fruits at all result; yes, even when, contrary to his conscience, he perseveres in sins, or designedly returns unto these sins again. These are false and impious conclusions. But here also must be observed the common fact concerning this distinction, namely, that by the word necessity must be understood *necessitas ordinis, mandati, et voluntatis Christi ac debiti nostri, non autem necessitas coactionis;* that is, when the word *necessity* is used, it must be understood, not with respect to constraint, but alone with respect to the order of the immutable will of God, whose debtors we are. For to this even the commandment of God refers, that the creature should be obedient to its Creator. For in those other places of Scripture, as in 2 Cor. 9, 7; and in the Epistle of St. Paul to Philemon, verse 14; again, in 1 Pet. 5, 2, the word, *necessity*, is received concerning that which is extorted from a person contrary to his will, through constraint, or which he otherwise does for the purpose of making an outward show, but yet without and opposed to his will. For, such hypocritical works God does not approve; but he wishes the people of the New Testament to be a willing people, Psalm 110, 3, and to sacrifice willingly, Psalm 54, 8, and to be obedient, not with unwillingness, or through constraint, but from the heart, 2 Cor. 9, 7; Rom. 6, 17. "For God loveth a cheerful giver," 2 Cor. 9, 7. In this sense and under this view, it is rightly asserted and taught that works truly good shall be performed by those whom

the Son of God has freed, from a free, spontaneous spirit; in which manner also the disputation concerning the voluntariness of good works was chiefly guided in this sense, by those who agitated it.

But here again this distinction also must be observed, concerning which Paul, Rom. 7, 22, 23, speaks: *I am willing, and* "delight in the law of God, after the inward man: but I see another law in my members," *not only unwilling, or disinclined, but* "warring against the law of my mind." And relative to the unwilling and rebellious flesh, Paul, 1 Cor. 9, 27, says: "I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection." And Gal. 5, 24, and Rom. 8, 13: "They that are Christ's have crucified," yes, "mortified the flesh, with the affections and lusts." But that pretence and doctrine are false and must be rejected, in which it is asserted, that good works are so free with believers, that it lies within their own free choice either to perform or to omit them, or to act contrary to them, and still be able to retain faith, and the favor and grace of God.

Second, when it is taught that good works are necessary, it must be explained, why, and for what reasons they are necessary; which reasons are recited in the Augsburg Confession and in the Apology.

But here we must exercise very great caution, lest works be introduced and intermingled in the article of justification and salvation. Wherefore, these propositions are justly rejected:—That good works are necessary for believers in order to salvation;—that it is impossible to be saved without good works. For they are diametrically opposed to the doctrine *de particulis exclusivis in articulo justificationis et salvatoris;* that is, they militate against those words with which St. Paul entirely excludes our works and merit from the article of justification and salvation, and ascribes all to the grace of God and to the merits of Christ alone, as was explained in the foregoing article. And again, these propositions deprive troubled and afflicted consciences of the comfort of the Gospel; they give occasion for doubt; they are dangerous in many ways; they strengthen the arrogance of self-righteousness and the confidence upon self-works; besides, they are adopted by the papists, and employed to their advantage against the doctrine concerning that faith which alone is salutary: thus they are also repugnant to the rational form of terms, in which it is written: *Salvation is his unto whom God imputes righteousness, without the addition of works*, Rom. 4, 6. Again, in the Augsburg Confession, in the sixth article, it is written, that we are saved without works, through faith alone. Thus doctor Luther also rejected and condemned these propositions:

1. He rejected them in the opinions entertained by the false apostles among the Galatians;

2. He rejected them in the writings of the papists, in many places;

3. He rejected them in the writings of the Anabaptists;

In which they lay down this comment: "That faith indeed ought not to be based on the merit of works, but that they are nevertheless required as necessary to salvation;"

4. And he also rejected them in the doctrine of some among his own divines, who wished to explain this proposition thus, in their comment on Genesis, ch. 22: "Although we require works as necessary to salvation, yet we do not teach that confidence should be based on works."

Therefore, in conformity with the motives now stated, the forms of expression which have been mentioned—which were revived, spread abroad, and brought into disputation again by the Interim, in the time of persecution, when clear and perspicuous confessions were most necessary in opposition to the various corruptions and perversions of the article of justification—should not be permitted by our congregations to be taught, maintained, or tolerated, but they should be exposed and rejected by them as false and wrong.

Third, since it is also disputed whether good works secure salvation, or whether they are necessary for the preservation of faith, righteousness, and salvation, and since much depends on this position; it must be diligently and properly explained how righteousness and salvation are secured in us from being lost again. For it is written: "He that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved," Matt. 24, 13. Again, Heb. 3, 6, 14: "For we are made partakers of Christ, if we hold the beginning of our confidence steadfast unto the end."

And therefore, in the first place, this false, licentious opinion must be gravely reprehended and rejected, in which some imagine that faith and received righteousness and salvation cannot be lost by the commission of any, even malicious and wilful sins; but even if, without fear and shame, a Christian indulges in evil lusts, resists the Holy Spirit, and wilfully returns to his sins contrary to conscience, that he nevertheless can retain faith, the grace of God, righteousness, and salvation.

In opposition to this pernicious opinion, these true, immutable, divine menaces, earnest denunciations, and admonitions, should be frequently repeated and inculcated with all diligence and gravity among those Christians who have been justified by faith, 1 Cor. 6, 9, 10: "Be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers,

nor thieves, &c., shall inherit the kingdom of God." Gal. 5, 21; Eph. 5, 5: "They who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God." Rom. 8, 13: "If ye live after the flesh, ye shall die." Col. 3, 6: "For which things' sake the wrath of God cometh on the children of disobedience."

The Apology, however, gives a beautiful example, when and in what manner, in view of this distinction, the admonition to good works may be inculcated, without obscuring the doctrine concerning faith, and the article of justification; where, in the twentieth article, concerning the declaration of Peter,—2 Pet. 1, 10: "Give diligence to make your calling and election sure,"—it says: "Peter indicates a reason for the performance of good works, namely, in order that we may make our calling sure; that is, that we may not fall from the Gospel, when we sin again. He wishes to say: do good works, in order that you may remain under the Gospel, in your heavenly calling, that you may not fall back, become cold, and lose that spirit and gift which were imparted unto you by grace through Christ,—not on account of the works which follow; for men remain firm in their calling through faith; but faith and the Holy Spirit do not remain in those who lead a sinful life." Thus far the words of the Apology.

But on the contrary, it must not be understood that faith only in the beginning apprehends righteousness and salvation, and afterwards resigns its office to works, that henceforth these must preserve faith, and the received righteousness and salvation. But in order that the promise, not only of receiving, but also of retaining righteousness and salvation, may remain firm and sure to us, Paul, Rom. 5, 2, ascribes to *faith not only access to grace, but also our standing in grace, and rejoicing in the hope of the glory of God.* That is, he attributes all to faith alone, the beginning, the progress, and the end. Again, Rom. 11, 20: "Because of unbelief, they were broken off, and thou standest by faith." Col. 1, 22, 23: "You hath he reconciled, to present you holy, and unblamable, and unreprovable, in his sight; if ye continue in the faith." 1 Pet. 1, 5, 9: "Who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation." Again, "Ye receive the end of your faith, even the salvation of your souls."

Since, therefore, it is evident from the word of God that faith is the only proper medium through which righteousness and salvation are not only received, but also preserved of God, the decree of the council of Trent must justly be rejected, and whatever else may have been resolved in this sense, that our good works secure salvation, or, that the received righteousness of faith, or even faith itself, is retained and secured by our works, either wholly or in part.

For, although previous to this controversy many sincere teachers used similar phrases in the explication of the holy Scripture, not however, by any means intending to establish by them the errors of the papists already referred to; yet, inasmuch as a controversy afterwards arose concerning these phrases, from which controversy offensive distractions of various kinds resulted, it is safest, according to the admonition of St. Paul, to adhere firmly with no less diligence to a precise form of terms, than to the pure doctrine itself; by which means many unnecessary contentions may be avoided, and the church secured from many offences.

Fourth, with respect to the proposition, that good works are pernicious to salvation, we express ourselves clearly, in the following manner:—If any one introduce good works into the article of justification, placing his righteousness and his hope of salvation upon them, wishing to merit the grace of God and to be saved by them, not we alone declare, but Paul himself declares, and thrice repeats it, Phil. 3, 7, 8, 9, that the works of such a person are not only useless and nugatory, but pernicious. The fault however is not in the good works themselves, but in the false confidence which is based upon works, contrary to the express word of God.

From this, however, it by no means follows that any one should make the absolute and unqualified assertion, that good works are pernicious to believers in or with respect to their salvation. For good works in believers, when performed *propter veras causas, et ad veras fines*, that is, with that view in which God requires them from the regenerate, are an indication of salvation, Phil. 1, 11. Since it is the will and express command of God, that believers should perform good works, which the Holy Spirit works in believers; and these God accepts on account of Christ, and promises for them a glorious reward in this life and that which is to come.

For this reason, this proposition also is reprehended and rejected in our churches, because, when it is thus proposed without any qualification, it is false and offensive, and by it discipline and moral honesty may be checked, and a dissolute, careless, effeminate life introduced and confirmed. For most diligently indeed should every one guard against that which is pernicious to his salvation.

But since Christians should not be deterred from good works, but with the greatest diligence should be admonished and encouraged to them, this bare and unqualified proposition shall not and must not be tolerated, taught, or defended in the church.

V. OF THE LAW AND THE GOSPEL.

Inasmuch as the distinction between the Law and the Gospel, is a peculiar, a glorious light which contributes to a correct division of the word of God, and to a proper explanation and understanding of the writings of the holy Prophets and Apostles, it must, with the greatest diligence, be observed and retained, lest these two doctrines be commingled, or the Gospel be transformed into law. By which thing the merits of Christ would be obscured, and afflicted consciences deprived of that comfort which they otherwise would have in the Gospel, if it were preached purely and sincerely, and by which they could sustain themselves in their severest trials, against the terrors of the law.

Now, on this subject too, a controversy has arisen between some divines of the Augsburg Confession. For the one party assert that the Gospel is properly, not only a preaching of grace, but also at the same time a preaching of repentance, reproving the greatest sin, namely, that of unbelief. But the other party contend that the Gospel is not properly a preaching of repentance, reproving sin; for this is properly the office of the law of God, to censure all sins, and consequently unbelief too; but the Gospel is properly a preaching of the grace and mercy of God, for Christ's sake, through which is remitted and forgiven unto those who are converted to Christ, the unbelief in which they previously lived, and which was reproved by the law of God.

Now, on considering this dissension properly, we discover that it has originated chiefly from the fact, that the word *Gospel* is not always used and understood in one and the same sense in Holy Writ, as also by the ancient and modern teachers of the church. For sometimes it is so used that the whole doctrine of Christ, our Lord, is understood by it, which he advanced in his ministry upon earth, and commanded to be taught in the New Testament, and thus it comprehends the explanation of the law and the revelation of the benevolence and grace of God, his heavenly Father, as it is written, Mark 1, 1: "This is the beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God." And a little afterwards we find the indispensable conditions proposed,—repentance and forgiveness of sins. Thus, where Christ after his resurrection commands the Apostles to preach the Gospel in all the world, Mark 16, 15, he comprehends the sum of this his doctrine in a few words, saying, Luke 24, 46, 47: "Thus it is written, and thus it behooved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day; that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in

his name among all nations." And likewise Paul calls his whole doctrine *the Gospel*, Acts 20, 21. But in these conditions he comprises the substance of this his doctrine, in repentance towards God, and in faith in Christ. And in this sense the *generalis definitio*, that is, the description of the word *Gospel*, is right, when it is used in its widest sense, and without reference to the proper distinction between the Law and the Gospel, if it be said, "The Gospel is a preaching of repentance and the remission of sins." For John the Baptist, Christ, and the Apostles in their preaching first introduced the doctrine of repentance, and thus they explained and urged, not only the gracious promise concerning the forgiveness of sins, but the law of God also. Finally, the word *Gospel* is used in its true sense, in which it embraces, not the preaching of repentance, but only the preaching of the grace of God, as it follows immediately afterwards, Mark 1, 15, where Christ says: "Repent ye, and believe the Gospel."

But the word repentance is likewise not always used in one and the same sense in the Scripture. For in some places in Holy Writ, it is taken for the whole conversion of man, as in Luke 13, 5: "Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish." And Luke 15, 7: "Joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth." But in the passage, Mark 1, 15, to which we had reference a little before, and in other places, where repentance, and faith in Christ, are laid down differently, Acts 20, 21, or, repentance and remission of sins, Luke 24, 46, 47, repentance signifies nothing else but to perceive sins truly, to regret them sincerely, and to abstain from them. But this perception of sins comes from the law, and it is not sufficient for a salutary conversion to God, if faith in Christ be not superadded, whose merits the consolatory preaching of the holy Gospel offers to all penitent sinners, that are terrified by the preaching of the law. For the Gospel announces remission of sins, not to rude, careless minds, but to the contrite and penitent, Luke 4, 18. And lest this contrition and terror of the law might terminate in despair, the preaching of the Gospel is necessary, so that it may be a repentance to salvation, 2 Cor. 7, 10.

For since the bare preaching of the law without mentioning Christ, either makes men presumptuous enough to imagine that they can fulfil the law by external works, or it causes them to fall into despair; *Christ*, Matt. 5 and Rom. 7, *takes the law in his hands*, and explains it spiritually. And thus he reveals his wrath from heaven against all sinners, showing how great it is, Rom. 1, 18, by which they are pointed to the law, and then first learn from it to perceive their sins rightly, which perception Moses never could have effect-

ed in them. For, as the Apostle, 2 Cor. 3, 14, 15, 16, testifies, although Moses be read, yet the veil, which he hung before his face, still remains undrawn; so that they do not perceive the law spiritually, and what great things it requires from us, and how severely it accuses and condemns us, because we are unable to keep and to fulfil it. But if they have turned unto the Lord, then this veil is removed, 2 Cor. 3.

Therefore, the Spirit of Christ must not only console, but also, through the office of the law, reprove the world of sin, John 16, 8, and thus act in the New Testament, as the Prophet says: *Opus alienum, ut faciat opus proprium*, Isa. 28, 21; that is, he must perform an extraneous office, (work, which is to reprove,) until he advances to his own work, which is, to console, and to preach concerning grace. For this cause he was obtained for us and sent to us through Christ, and called the Comforter, as doctor Luther has explained it in his exposition of the Gospel, *Dominica V. after Trinity*, in the following words:

"*All that describes our sins and the wrath of God, is properly called preaching of the law, no matter how or when it occurs. The Gospel, however, is a preaching which exhibits and presents nothing else but grace and forgiveness in Christ*, although it is true that the Apostles and ministers of the Gospel, as even Christ himself has done, confirm the preaching of the law, and commence with it among those who do not yet perceive their sins, and are not alarmed in consequence of the wrath of God, as he says: 'The Holy Ghost will reprove the world of sin, because they believe not on me,' John 16, 8, 9. Yea, what is a more grave, a more terrible *indication and declaration of the wrath of God against sinners, than even the suffering and death of Christ his Son!* But as long as all this proclaims the wrath of God, and terrifies men, it is not the proper preaching of the Gospel nor that of Christ, but of Moses and the law against the impenitent. For Christ and the Gospel were not ordained and sent, either to alarm or to condemn, but to console and to elevate those who are alarmed and depressed. And again, Christ, John 16, 8, says: 'The Holy Ghost will reprove the world of sin;'—*a thing which cannot take place, unless through a declaration of the law*," *Tom. 2, Jenens.* 455.

Thus the Articles of Smalcald also assert: "This office of the law the New Testament retains and enforces," which reveals sins, and the wrath of God; "but to this office the New Testament instantly subjoins the consolatory promises of grace through the Gospel." See part III., Art. 3, of the Articles of Smalcald.

And the Apology declares, that it is not sufficient for a true and salutary repentance, to preach the law alone, but the Gospel must

also be preached. In this manner both these doctrines are connected, and they must both be urged together,—but in a certain order, and with due distinction. And the Antinomians, the adversaries of the law, are justly condemned, who banish the preaching of the law from the church, and affirm that sins are to be reproved, and that contrition and sorrow are to proceed, not from the law, but only from the Gospel. See Art. 5 of the Apology.

But in order that all may see that we keep nothing concealed in this controversy, we shall present our views of the whole matter before the eyes of the Christian reader, in a simple and perspicuous manner.

Accordingly, then, we believe, teach, and confess unanimously, that the *Law* is properly a divine code, in which the righteous, the immutable will of God is revealed, teaching how man ought to be in his nature, thoughts, words, and deeds, in order to be pleasing and acceptable to God. And it announces the wrath of God, and temporal and eternal punishments upon transgressors. For, as Luther declares in opposition to the Antinomians, all that reproves sins belongs to law, the proper office of which it is, to reprove sins and to conduce to a perception of sins, Rom. 3, 20, and 7, 7. And inasmuch as unbelief is the source and fountain of all sins, the law also condemns unbelief.

Yet it is also true, that the law, and the doctrine in reference to it, are illustrated and explained by the Gospel; while it remains properly the office of the law, to reprove sins and to inculcate good works.

The law also reproves unbelief, if we do not believe the word of God. Now since the Gospel, which alone properly teaches and commands us to believe in Christ, is the word of God; the Holy Spirit therefore, through the office of the law, reproves this unbelief too, because sinners believe not in Christ; although the office of the Gospel properly is to teach alone the saving faith in Christ.

But the *Gospel* is properly a doctrine, which teaches (since man kept not the law of God, but transgressed it, against which his corrupt nature, thoughts, words, and deeds, strive, and being for this reason subject to the wrath of God, to death, to all temporal afflictions, and to the punishment of hell) what man is to believe, that he may obtain remission of sins before God; namely, that the Son of God, Christ our Lord, has taken upon himself the curse of the law, and has borne it, and has atoned for all our sins; through whom alone we are again restored to favor with God, by faith obtain remission of sins, are liberated from death and from all the punishments of sins, and are eternally saved.

For all that consoles, all that offers unto the transgressors of the law the favor and grace of God, is properly called the Gospel, a good

and joyful tiding that God for the sake of Christ will forgive sins, and not inflict punishment.

Wherefore, every penitent should believe, or place his whole confidence only in Christ the Lord, namely, that *He was delivered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification*, Rom. 4, 25; *who, although he knew no sin, was made to be sin for us*, 2 Cor. 5, 21; *so that we might attain the righteousness in him, which avails in the sight of God—who was made unto us righteousness*, 1 Cor. 1, 30—whose obedience is imputed unto us for righteousness before God in his strict judgment; so that the law, as we have shown above, *is a ministry, which kills through the letter, and pronounces condemnation*, 2 Cor. 3, 7. But the "Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth," Rom. 1, 16; *which proclaims righteousness, and gives the Spirit.* In this manner doctor Luther also urged this distinction in nearly all his writings with special diligence, constantly inculcating that the knowledge of God, which originates from the Gospel, is far different from that which is taught and learned from the law. For even the heathens had a knowledge of God to some extent from the natural law, although they neither knew him correctly, nor honored him rightly, Rom. 1, 20, 21.

From the beginning of the world these two doctrines were inculcated together in the church of God every where, yet with due distinction. For the posterity of the venerable Patriarchs, as also the Patriarchs themselves, did not only recall to their mind continually that God created man holy and righteous in the beginning, and that through the deception of the serpent, he transgressed the law of God, became a sinner, ruined himself with all his posterity, and plunged them with himself into death and eternal condemnation: but they also solaced themselves again from the annunciation concerning the seed of the woman, which should bruise the head of the serpent, Gen. 3, 15: again, concerning the seed of Abraham, in which all the nations of the earth should be blessed, Gen. 22, 18, and 26, 4: and concerning the son of David, who should restore the kingdom of Israel, and be a light unto the Gentiles, and who was wounded for our transgressions, and bruised for our iniquities, with whose stripes we are healed, Psalm 110, 1, 2; Isa. 4, 9, 6; and 53, 5.

We believe and confess that these two doctrines must be urged continually in the church of God with diligence, until the end of the world, yet with that distinction which properly belongs to them; in order that in the ministration of the New Testament, the hearts of impenitent men may be alarmed, and brought to a knowledge of their sins and to repentance, by the preaching of the law and by its me-

naces; yet not in such a manner as to cause them to despond or despair: but (since the law is a schoolmaster to bring us to Christ, that we may be justified by faith, Gal. 3, 24, and thus points and leads us, not *from* Christ, but *to* Christ, who is the end of the law, Rom. 10, 4,) to be thus consoled and strengthened again by the preaching of the holy Gospel concerning Christ our Lord: namely, that if they believe the Gospel, God forgives them all their sins through Christ, receives them as children for his sake, and justifies and saves them out of pure grace without any of their merits. But nevertheless, not in such a manner as to induce them to abuse the grace of God, and willingly commit sin in consequence of this mercy. And this distinction between the law and the Gospel, Paul, 2 Cor. 3, 6, points out expressly and forcibly.

Therefore lest these two doctrines, the Law and the Gospel, be intermingled or confounded, and that which belongs to the one be attributed to the other, the true and proper difference between the law and the Gospel must be retained and urged with the greatest diligence, and all that might give occasion for confusion between the law and the Gospel, by which both doctrines, the law and the Gospel, might be confused and commingled into one doctrine, must be assiduously avoided. For by such confusion the merits and beneficence of Christ might easily be obscured, and the Gospel transformed into a doctrine of law, as we know came to pass under the papacy. And thus Christians might be deprived of that true consolation, which they have in the Gospel against the terrors of the law, and the door opened again unto the papacy into the church of God. It is, therefore, dangerous and wrong to assert that the Gospel, when it is properly so called, and when it is distinguished from the law, is a preaching of repentance, reproving sin. But otherwise, if it is understood in general concerning the whole Christian doctrine, the Apology also asserts several times, that the Gospel is a preaching of repentance and of remission of sins. But nevertheless the Apology also indicates in the mean time, that the Gospel is properly the promise of the remission of sins and of justification through Christ; but the law is a declaration which reproves and condemns sins.

VI. OF THE THIRD USE OF THE LAW OF GOD.

Inasmuch as the law of God is useful, not only in preserving external discipline and honesty against the vile and disobedient, and likewise, in bringing men to a knowledge of their sins; but also, when they are born anew by the Spirit of God, converted to the Lord, and

the veil of Moses being thus removed from them, in teaching them to live and lead a truly pious life, a controversy arose among some few theologians, concerning the third and last use of the law. The one party taught and held that it is not necessary that the regenerate should learn the new obedience from the law, neither should the law direct their good works, nor should the doctrine of obedience be urged from it, since they are made free by the Son of God, become temples of his Spirit, and are so free that, even as the sun of himself, without any compulsion, performs his regular course, so they also of themselves, through the inspiration and impulse of the Holy Spirit, perform that which God requires of them. In opposition to this, the other party taught, that although genuine believers are truly impelled by the Spirit of God, and consequently, according to the inward man, they do the will of God out of a free spirit, yet even the Holy Spirit uses the written law for doctrine among them; through which even true believers learn to serve God, not according to their own thoughts, but according to his written law and word, which are a certain rule and guide, by which the conduct of life must be regulated according to the eternal and immutable will of God.

In order to explain and determine this dissension, we believe, teach, and confess unanimously, that, although true believers and those Christians who are really converted to God and justified, are released and liberated from the curse of the law, they should nevertheless exercise themselves daily in the law of the Lord, as it is written, Psalm 1, 2, and 119, 1: *Blessed is the man that delights in the law of the Lord, and meditates upon it day and night.* For the law is a mirror, in which the will of God and that which is pleasing to him, are properly portrayed; it should, therefore, be continually impressed upon believers, and urged among them diligently and incessantly.

For, although, as the Apostle, 1 Tim. 1, 9, testifies, there is no law given for the righteous, but for the unrighteous; yet this must not be understood simply as if the righteous should live without law; for the law of God is written in their hearts, Heb. 8, 8, and 10, 16, and unto the first man immediately after his creation there was also a law given, according to which he should live. But the true meaning of St. Paul is, that the law cannot burden with its curse those who are reconciled unto God through Christ, and that it dare not fetter the regenerate with its constraint, for they delight in the law of God, after the inward man, Rom. 7, 22.

And indeed, if the believing and elect children of God were perfectly renovated in this life by the indwelling Spirit, so that they would be

entirely freed from sin in their nature and all its faculties, they would need no law, and consequently no compulsion; but of themselves, and with entire voluntariness, without any instruction, admonition, solicitation, or injunction of the law, they would do that which they are under obligation according to the will of God to do: even as the sun, the moon, and the whole host of heavenly bodies, perform of themselves their regular course unimpeded, without admonition, solicitation, or force, according to the order of God, which he once gave unto them: yes, as the holy angels render an entirely voluntary obedience.

But inasmuch as believers are not perfectly and entirely, *completive vel consummative*, renovated in this life; although their sins are covered by the perfect obedience of Christ, so that they are not imputed for their condemnation; and although the mortification of the old Adam and the renovation in the spirit of their minds, are commenced by the Holy Spirit; yet the old Adamic nature ever inheres in their nature and in all its mental and physical powers; concerning which the Apostle, Rom. 7, 18, writes: "I know that in me (that is, in my flesh) dwelleth no good thing;" and moreover, in verse 15: "For that which I do, I allow not: for what I would, that do I not; but what I hate, that do I." Again, verse 23: "I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin." Again, Gal. 5, 17: "The flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh: and these are contrary the one to the other; so that ye cannot do the things that ye would."

Wherefore, in consequence of this lusting of the flesh, the believing, the elect, and regenerate children of God, in this life need, not only the daily instruction and admonition, the warning and menaces, but frequently the punishments of the law, in order that they may be encouraged, and may submit to the Spirit of God, as it is written, Psalm 119, 71: "It is good for me that I have been afflicted; that I might learn thy statutes." And again, 1 Cor. 9, 27: "I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection; lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway." Again, Heb. 12, 8: "If ye be without chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards, and not sons;" as doctor Luther, in the Church Postil, has more amply and fully explained this in his exposition of the Epistle on the nineteenth Sunday after Trinity.

But that which the Gospel performs in the new obedience of believers, and that which is the office of the law therein, so far as good works concern believers, must be separately explained.

For the law declares indeed, that it is the will and the command of God, that we should walk in a new life, but it does not give the power and ability, by which we can begin and accomplish this new obedience. But the Holy Spirit, who is given and received, not through the law, but through the preaching of the Gospel, renews the heart of man, Gal. 3, 5, 14. Afterwards the Holy Spirit uses the law for the purpose of teaching the regenerate, and in the Ten Commandments he indicates what is the will of God, and what is well-pleasing to him, Rom. 12, 2. In these good works those should walk, whom God has before prepared, Eph. 2, 10. The Holy Spirit exhorts them to good works, and, if in these they are remiss and negligent, or disinclined in consequence of the flesh, he reproves them for it through the law. In this manner he bears both offices together;—he kills and he makes alive; he brings down to the grave, and he brings up again; whose office is not only to console, but also to reprove. As it is written, John 16, 8: "When the Holy Spirit is come, he will reprove the world" (in which the old Adam is intimated) "of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment." But all that is contrary to the law of God is sin. And St. Paul, 2 Tim. 3, 16, asserts: "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof," and to reprove is the proper office of the law. Therefore, as often as believers stumble, they are reproved by the Holy Ghost through the law, and again raised up and consoled by this same Spirit through the preaching of the holy Gospel.

But in order to avoid, as much as possible, all misunderstanding,—to preserve and inculcate, with due caution, the distinction between the works of the law and those of the Spirit, it must be remarked with special diligence, that when good works are spoken of, which are conformable with the law of God, (for otherwise they are not good works,) that the word *law* is synonymous with the immutable *will* of God, according to which, in their whole course of conduct, men should act.

The difference in works, however, exists, in consequence of the difference in the persons who endeavor to live according to this law or will of God. For as long as a man is unregenerated, and endeavors to live according to the law, performing its duties because they are commanded, through the fear of punishment or the hope of reward, that man is still under the jurisdiction of the law, and his works are by St. Paul properly called works of the law; for these works are extorted by the law as from bondmen, who, like Cain, are unwilling worshippers.

But when a person is born anew through the Spirit of God, and is liberated from the law, that is, from the constraint of the law, and impelled by the Spirit of Christ, he lives according to the unchangeable will of God revealed in the law, and does all, so far as he is born anew, through a free and cheerful spirit. And such works are not properly called works of the law, but works and fruits of the Spirit, Gal. 5, 22, or, as St. Paul, Rom. 7, 23, 25, terms it, *the law of the mind*, and 1 Cor. 9, 21, *the law of Christ*. For such persons are no more under the law, but under grace, as St. Paul, Rom. 8, 2, declares.

Since, however, believers are not perfectly renewed in this life, but the old fallen nature cleaves to them even to their graves, *the contest between the Spirit and the flesh also continues*. Therefore they "delight in the law of God, after the inward man," Rom. 7, 22; but the law in their members strives against the law of their mind. Thus they are never without law, and yet they are not *under*, but *in the law*, living and walking in the law of the Lord, and yet performing nothing through constraint of the law.

But with respect to whatever pertains to the old Adam, who still inheres in them, it is evident that he must be urged, not only by the law, but by chastisements: who nevertheless does all through unwillingness and constraint, no less than the ungodly, who are urged by the denunciations of the law, and kept in obedience, 1 Cor. 9, 27, and Rom. 7, 18, 19.

Consequently, this doctrine of the law is likewise necessary for believers, lest they should depend on their own sanctimoniousness and devotion, and under the pretext of the Spirit of God, institute self-chosen methods of worship, without the word and command of God, as it is written, Deut. 12, 8, 32: "Ye shall not do after all the things that we do here this day, every man whatsoever is right in his own eyes. What thing soever I command you, observe to do it: thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it."

The doctrine of the law is also necessary to believers in the exercise of good works; for otherwise a person may very easily imagine, that his works and life are entirely pure and perfect. But the law of God describes good works to believers in such a manner, as, in a mirror, to give us an internal perception of their imperfection and impurity during this life; so that we must say with Paul: "I know nothing by myself; yet am I not hereby justified," 1 Cor. 4, 4. Thus, where Paul exhorts the regenerate to good works, he expressly holds forth unto them the Ten Commandments, Rom. 13, 8; and the fact that his good works are imperfect and impure, he perceives from the law, Rom. 7, 7, 14. And David, Psalm 119, 32, says:

"I will run the way of thy commandments." But "enter not into judgment with thy servant: for in thy sight shall no man living be justified," Psalm 143, 2.

But how and from what reason, the good works of believers, although they are imperfect and impure in this life in consequence of the sin which inheres in the flesh, are nevertheless acceptable and well-pleasing to God, this the law does not teach; which law requires an obedience altogether perfect and pure, if it shall please God. But the Gospel teaches, that our spiritual sacrifice is acceptable to God through faith for Christ's sake, 1 Pet. 2, 5; Heb. 11, 6, and ch. 13, 16, 21. In this manner Christians are not under the law, but under grace, because they are freed from the curse and condemnation of the law through faith in Christ, and because their good works, although still imperfect and impure, are acceptable to God through Christ. Because, moreover, so far as they are born anew according to the inward man, they do from their hearts that which is pleasing to God, not through a constraint imposed by the law, but through the renewal of the Holy Spirit. But nevertheless, they sustain a continual struggle with the old Adamic nature.

For the old fallen nature with its indomitable and obstinate propensity, still constitutes a portion of them, which must be forced into the obedience of Christ, not only by the teaching, the admonition, the impulsion, and denunciations of the law, but frequently by chastisement and affliction, until this sinful flesh is wholly and entirely removed, and they are perfectly renewed in the resurrection; when they will no longer need either the preaching of the law, or its menaces and chastisements, or of the Gospel, which belong to this imperfect life. But as they will behold God face to face, so by virtue of the indwelling Spirit of God, they will do the will of their heavenly Father, freely, without any constraint, and without any impediment, most purely and perfectly, with the greatest pleasure, delighting in it eternally.

Accordingly, we reject and condemn as an error pernicious to Christian discipline and true piety, the doctrine, in which it is asserted, that the law is not to be urged in the manner and to the extent mentioned above, among Christians and true believers, but only among the unbelieving, the impious, and the impenitent.

VII. OF THE HOLY SUPPER OF CHRIST.

Although the exposition of this article should not, perhaps, according to the opinion of some, be laid down in this treatise, in which we have undertaken to explain only those articles which were brought

into controversy among the theologians of the Augsburg Confession; (from which Confession the sacramentarians very soon withdrew and separated themselves entirely, when this Confession was first written, and delivered to the Emperor at Augsburg, A. D. 1530, and presented their own confession;) yet,—inasmuch as some theologians and some others, alas! who boast of adhering to the Augsburg Confession, concurred with the sacramentarians on this article, who not secretly, but publicly to some extent, and contrary to the testimony of their own conscience, assail the Augsburg Confession with violence, as if it agreed entirely with the doctrine of the sacramentarians on this article, and in this manner pervert it,—we cannot forbear our evidence to the divine truth even in this treatise by our confession, repeating the true meaning and the proper sense of the words of Christ, and of the Augsburg Confession concerning this article. For we conceive it to be our duty, so far as we are able, by the help of God, to secure this pious doctrine for posterity, and faithfully to warn our hearers with other pious Christians against this pernicious error, which is repugnant to the holy divine word and to the Augsburg Confession, and which has so often been condemned.

The chief controversy between our doctrine and that of the sacramentarians, in this article.

Although some sacramentarians labor to approximate in their terms as nearly as possible to the Augsburg Confession, and to use the form or manner of expression employed by our church; and they confess, that the body of Christ is truly received by believers in the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper; yet, when they are seriously urged to express their opinion distinctly, sincerely, and plainly, they all unanimously declare themselves thus: that the true, essential body and blood of Christ are as far absent from the consecrated bread and wine in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper as the highest heaven is from the earth. For this is the import of their own words: *Abesse Christi corpus et sanguinem a signis tanto intervallo dicimus, quanto abest terra ab altissimis cœlis.* That is, we declare that the body and blood of Christ are as far distant from the signs as the earth is from the highest heavens. Therefore, they understand this presence of the body of Christ, not as being here on earth, but only *respectu fidei;* that is, that by the visible signs, as by the preached word, our faith, reminded and awakened, elevates itself and transcends the limits of heaven, and there in heaven receives and enjoys the present body of Christ, yes, Christ himself with all his beneficence, truly and essen-

tially, but yet only spiritually. For they believe that, as the bread and wine are here on earth and not in heaven, so the body of Christ is now in heaven and not on earth; and that therefore, nothing else is received with the lips, in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, but bread and wine.

Now, at first, they pretended that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is only an external sign, by which Christians are discerned from other persons, and that in this sacrament there is nothing else administered, but mere bread and wine, the bare signs of the absent body of Christ. But when they discovered that this device had no permanent color, or that it could not endure, they acknowledged that Christ the Lord is truly present in his Supper, namely, *per communicationem idiomatum*; that is, only according to his divine nature, but not with his body and blood.

Afterwards, when they were urged by the words of Christ to confess that the body of Christ is present in this holy Supper, they still understood and explained it, as they believed it, to be only a spiritual presence; that is, that Christ makes us participants only of his virtue, operation, and beneficence, through faith. Since, as they say, by the Spirit of Christ which is every where present, our bodies, in which the Spirit of Christ dwells here upon earth, are united with the body of Christ, which is in heaven.

Therefore, by these splendid and magnificent words, many great and illustrious persons were deceived, when they pretended and boasted that they were of no other opinion than that Christ the Lord is truly, essentially, actively present in his holy Supper. But this they understand only concerning his divine nature, and not concerning his body and blood; for they think that these are only in heaven and nowhere else, and that Christ gives us his true body and blood with bread and wine to eat and to drink, spiritually through faith, but not to enjoy corporeally with the lips.

For, the words of the institution of the Lord's Supper,—*Eat, this is my body*—they do not understand properly, as they read, according to the letter, but as figurative expressions; so that *to eat* the body of Christ, signifies nothing else but to *believe*; and the word *body*, is no more than *symbolum*, that is, a sign or figure of the body of Christ which is not in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper on earth, but only in heaven. The word *is*, they interpret *sacramentaliter, seu modo significative, ne quis rem cum signis ita putet copulari, ut Christi quoque caro nunc in terris adsit, modo quodam invisibile et incomprehensibile.* That is, that the body of Christ is united with the bread sacramentally or by implication; so that as certainly as pious,

believing Christians eat the bread with their mouth, so certainly do they also enjoy the body of Christ, which is in heaven above, spiritually by faith. But the doctrine that the body of Christ is essentially, though invisibly and incomprehensibly present in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and received by the lips with the consecrated bread, even by hypocrites or pretended Christians, they are accustomed to condemn and imprecate as a horrible blasphemy.

On the contrary, concerning the Lord's Supper, it is taught in the Augsburg Confession, out of the word of God, thus: "That the true body and blood of Christ are truly present under the form of bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, and there administered and received. And the opposite opinion" (namely, that of the sacramentarians, who even at the same time delivered their own confession at Augsburg, in which it is asserted, that the body of Christ, since he has ascended to heaven, is not truly and essentially present here on earth in the sacrament) "is rejected." This same view is also plainly expressed in the Smaller Catechism of doctor Luther in the following words: "The Sacrament of the Altar is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, with bread and wine, instituted by Christ himself, for us Christians to eat and to drink." And in the Apology it is not only explained more clearly still, but it is also confirmed by the declaration of Paul, 1 Cor. 10, and by the testimony of Cyril in these words:

"The tenth article is approved, in which it is confessed, that in the Supper of the Lord, the body and blood of Christ are truly and essentially present, and truly administered with the visible elements, bread and wine, to those who receive this sacrament. For, since Paul, 1 Cor. 10, 16, asserts: 'The bread which we break, is the communion of the body of Christ,' it would follow that the bread is the communion, not of the body, but of the Spirit of Christ, if not the body of Christ, but only the Holy Spirit were truly present." And we know that, not only the Roman church, but the Greek church also, taught the bodily presence of Christ in the holy Supper of the Lord. And the testimony of Cyril is likewise adduced, that Christ also bodily, in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, dwells in us, by communication of his flesh.

Afterwards, when those who delivered their confession at Augsburg concerning this article, became allied to the Confession of our church, the following *Formula Concordiæ*, or articles of Christian agreement, (which we shall now recite,) was drawn up at Wittemburg, A. D. 1536, between the divines of Saxony and those of

the upper countries, and were subscribed by doctor Martin Luther and other theologians of both parties:

"We have heard how Martin Bucer and the other divines who came with him from the cities, have expressed their sentiments concerning the holy sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, namely, thus:"

"Agreeably to the words of Ireneus, they confess, that in this sacrament there are two things, a terrestrial and a celestial. Accordingly, they believe and teach, that with the bread and wine the body and blood of Christ are truly and essentially present, administered, and received. And although they deny a transubstantiation, that is, an essential change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, nor do they believe that the body and blood of Christ are included, (*localiter*) *locally* in the bread, or that they are in any other manner united with it *constantly*, apart from the use of this sacrament; yet, they concede that through the sacramental union, the bread is the body of Christ. For apart from this use, when the bread is laid aside, and preserved in the pyx, or when it is borne about and exhibited in procession, as is done under the papacy, they hold not that the body of Christ is present.

In the second place, they hold, that the institution of this sacrament established by Christ, is efficacious in the Christian community, and that it does not depend on the worthiness or unworthiness of the servant who administers this sacrament, nor upon that of the recipient. Therefore, as St. Paul says, the unworthy also receive this sacrament: thus they believe that even unto the unworthy the body and blood of Christ are truly administered, and the unworthy truly receive the same, if the institution and the command of Christ the Lord be observed. But such persons receive it to judgment, as St. Paul, 1 Cor. 11, 29, declares; for they misuse this holy sacrament, because they receive it without true repentance and without faith. For it was instituted for the purpose of testifying that unto those the grace and benefits of Christ are here appropriated, and they who truly repent, and console themselves through faith in Christ, are incorporated into Christ, and washed by the blood of Christ."

In the following year, when the principal theologians attached to the Augsburg Confession, assembled themselves from all Germany at Smalcald, and consulted what to lay before the council (which it was thought would be convened by the pontiff) concerning the doctrine of the church, those articles were drawn up by doctor Luther with general advice, which are called the Articles of Smalcald, and were subscribed unanimously, and individually, by all the theologians. In these articles doctor Luther embraces the true and genuine meaning

of the aforenamed *Formula Concordiæ*, or Articles of Agreement, drawn up at Wittemburg, in brief, but significant and perspicuous terms, agreeing most closely with the words of Christ. For the sacramentarians had perverted the Form of Concord, or the Articles of Agreement established the preceding year, to their own evil purpose; for instance, in saying that the body of Christ with all his benefits is administered with the bread in no other manner than they are with the words of the Gospel; and that by the sacramental union nothing else is to be understood but the spiritual presence of Christ the Lord through faith. These evasions and subterfuges resorted to by the sacramentarians, are opposed by the Articles of Smalcald. For these assert, that bread and wine in the Eucharist, are the true body and blood of Christ,* and are administered and received not only by pious, but also by impious Christians.

In his Larger Catechism, doctor Luther explains and establishes from the word of God, this same view more amply, where it is thus written: "*What then is the Sacrament of the Altar?* Ans.:—*It is the true body and blood of Christ our Lord, in and with bread and wine, commanded through the words of Christ, for us Christians to eat and to drink.*" And a little afterwards he declares: "It is the word, I say, that makes and distinguishes this sacrament so that it is not mere bread and wine, but is called and really is the body and blood of Christ." And directly afterwards he says: "By this word you can strengthen your conscience, and say: 'If a hundred thousand devils together with all the fanatics approach, exclaiming, how can bread and wine be the body and blood of Christ, I still know that all these spirits and the learned in a mass, are not as wise as the Divine Majesty.' Now, here are the words of Christ: 'Take, eat, this is my body; drink ye all of this, this is the New Testament in my blood.' To these words we constantly adhere, and we shall see who may presume to overcome Christ, and to pervert these words from his own declaration. It is true indeed, if you separate the word from it, or view it apart from the words, there is nothing remaining but mere bread and wine; but if the words remain with the bread and wine, as they should and must, it is, agreeably to the words themselves, the true body and blood of Christ. For as the mouth of Christ speaks and declares, so it is, inasmuch as he can neither lie nor deceive."

"Hence it is easy to reply to various questions, about which many are now solicitous; for instance,—whether a wicked priest may han-

*In reference to this subject, see note on page 209.—[TRANS.

dle and administer the sacrament, and the like? For here we conclude, and assert: even if a knave receives or administers the sacrament, he receives the right sacrament, that is, the body and blood of Christ, as well as he who partakes it in the most reverential and dignified manner; for it is founded, not upon human sanctity, but upon the word of God: and as no saint on earth, no angel in heaven, can make bread and wine the body and blood of Christ; so likewise no one can alter or change it, even if the sacrament is misused."

"For the words, through which it became a sacrament, and through which it was instituted, do not become false on account of the indignity or incredulity of the person. For he does not say, if you believe or are worthy, you have my body and blood; but, *Take, eat, and drink, this is my body and blood.* Again, *do this*, (namely, this which I now do, institute, give and command you to take,) which is as much as to say, whether you be worthy or unworthy, you here have Christ's body and blood through the virtue of these words which are spoken in the consecration of the bread and the wine. Mark this and retain it well; for upon these words depend our grounds, our security, and defence against all the errors and seductions which have arisen and which may yet arise."

Thus far we have recited the words of the Larger Catechism, in which the true presence of the body and blood of Christ, in the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, is confirmed from the word of God: and this is understood, not of the believing and worthy alone, but of the unbelieving and the unworthy also.

But inasmuch as this highly enlightened man saw in spirit that, after his death, some would endeavor to render him suspected of having receded from the doctrine just mentioned, and from other Christian articles, he subjoined to his Larger Confession the following protestation:

"Whilst I behold faction and error increase as time advances, whilst I see no stop to the raging and raving of Satan; lest therefore, during my life or after my death, some might hereafter conceal their device under my name, and falsely introduce my writings to establish their errors, as the sacramentarians and the Anabaptists now begin to do; I shall by this instrument of writing, profess my faith from point to point before God and all the world. And in this faith (so help me God) I intend to persevere until death, and, in it, to depart from this world, and to appear before the judgment-seat of our Lord Jesus Christ; and if after my death any one should say: 'If doctor Luther lived now, he would teach and believe differently con-

cerning this article or those; for he has not sufficiently considered them:" in opposition to this, I say now as then, and then as now, that by the grace of God, I have most diligently considered all these articles, and compared them again and again with the Scriptures, and would as warmly have defended these then, as I have now defended the Sacrament of the Altar. I am not intoxicated, nor inconsiderate; I know what I affirm; I feel too indeed, what it will avail me at the appearing of Jesus Christ in the last judgment. Therefore, no one should think that I am jesting or trifling; I am sincere; for by the grace of God, I have a considerable knowledge of Satan; if he can pervert and distort the word of God, what shall he not do with my words, or those of other men?"

After this protestation, among other articles, Luther, of sacred memory, lays down this one also: "Even thus I declare," says he, "and confess too, concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, that here the body and blood are truly eaten and drunk in the bread and wine with the lips, although the priest who administers it, or those who receive it, believe not, or otherwise misuse it;—for the sacrament of the Lord's Supper depends, not upon the belief or unbelief of man, but upon the word and institution of God;—unless it were in consequence of their having first changed the word and institution of God perhaps, and explained them otherwise than they ought, as the present enemies of this sacrament do. These, doubtless, have nothing but bread and wine in this Supper, because they have neither the word nor the instituted order of God, but have perverted and changed the same according to their own conceits."

And doctor Luther, who certainly understood the true and proper meaning of the Augsburg Confession, rather than others, constantly adhered to it till the end of his life, and defended it, in his last confession, a little before his death, confessed his faith concerning this article with great zeal, and repeated it in the following words,* where he thus writes: "I reckon all those in the same number, that is, as sacramentarians and fanatics—for such they are—who will not believe that the bread of the Lord in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is his true natural body, which the ungodly or Judas, as well as St. Peter and all other saints, received with the lips: whoever, I say, will not believe this, should let me alone, and he need not expect any fellowship with me; for thus stands the sentence, which is not to be altered."

*Tom. II., Wittemb., German, fol. 252.

From this exposition, but more especially from doctor Luther's explanation, who is the principal divine of the Augsburg Confession, every intelligent person, who loves truth and peace, can perceive with certainty what has always been the proper meaning and sense of the Augsburg Confession concerning this article.

For besides the expressions of Christ and St. Paul, in which they assert that the bread in the sacrament is the body of Christ, or the communion of the body of Christ, the forms, *under the bread, with the bread, in the bread,* have been used for the purpose of avoiding the papal doctrine of transubstantiation, and for the purpose of indicating the unchanged essence of the bread and of the body of Christ in the sacramental union, as the expression, "The word was made flesh," is sometimes replaced by the equivalent form, "The word dwells in us;" "In Christ dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily;" "God was with him;" "God was in Christ;" Col. 2, 9; Acts 10, 38; 2 Cor. 5, 19; namely, that the divine essence is not changed into the human nature, but that the two unchanged natures are personally united. And indeed, many ancient teachers of erudition, Justin, Cyprian, Augustine, Leo, Galasius, Chrysostom, and others, employ even this similitude (concerning the person of Christ) in explaining the words of the testament of Christ, "This is my body." For they teach that, as in Christ there are two different unchanged natures united inseparably; so in the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper the two substances, the natural bread, and the true natural body of Christ, are simultaneously present here on earth in the instituted administration of this sacrament; although this union of the body and blood of Christ with the bread and the wine, is not a personal union like that of the two natures in Christ, but it is a sacramental union, as doctor Luther and our divines term it in the aforenamed Articles of Agreement, composed A. D. 1536, and elsewhere. By this they wish to indicate, that, even if they use also these forms, *in pane, sub pane, cum pane,* that is, these different modes of expression, *in the bread, under the bread, with the bread,* they nevertheless received the words of Christ properly and as they read, and understood this proposition, that is, the words of the testament of Christ,—*This is my body,*—not as figurative or metaphorical, as Justin says: "This we receive not as common bread and ordinary drink; but even as Jesus Christ our Savior was made flesh through the word of God, and had flesh and blood on account of our salvation: so we believe, that the food blessed by him through the word and prayer, is the body and blood of the Lord Jesus Christ." And doctor Luther, in his Larger, and especially in his last Confession concerning the Lord's Supper, de-

fended with great sincerity and zeal even the form of expression, which Christ used in celebrating the first sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Inasmuch, then, as doctor Luther must be regarded as the most eminent teacher of the church which confesses the Augsburg Confession, the whole doctrine and contents of which are comprehended in the oft-mentioned Augsburg Confession, delivered to Emperor Charles V.; the proper, the true, the genuine sense and meaning of said Augsburg Confession, cannot be drawn or perceived from any other man's writing, more correctly and certainly, than from the didactic and polemic writings of doctor Luther.

And indeed this same view which we have now stated, is founded upon the only, the firm, immovable, and indubitable rock of truth, the words of the institution, recited in the divine word; and it was thus understood, taught, and propagated by the holy Evangelists and Apostles, and their disciples and hearers.

For our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ, by whom, as by our only preceptor, this grave command: "Hear ye him," Matt. 17, 5, was given from heaven to all persons, is not a mere man or angel, and is not only true, wise, and mighty, but eternal truth and wisdom, and Almighty God; who knows full well *what* and *how* he ought to speak, and is able effectually to accomplish, and to bring into operation, all those things, which he declares and promises, as he says: "Heaven and earth shall pass away; but my words shall not pass away," Luke 21, 33; again, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth," Matt. 28, 18.

Now, this true, this Almighty Lord, our Creator and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, after the last Supper, when he commenced his bitter sufferings and death for our sins, on that last, sorrowful night, declared with due consideration and great solemnity these words in the institution of this highly venerable sacrament, which was to be used until the end of the world with great reverence and obedience, and which was to be a perpetual memorial of his bitter passion and death, and of all his benefactions, a sealing of the New Testament, a consolation for afflicted hearts, and a continual bond and union of Christians with Christ their Head, and among themselves—these words, I say, in the ordination and institution of this holy Eucharist, he spoke concerning the consecrated and offered bread:—*Take and eat, this is my body which is given for you;* and these, concerning the cup or the wine: *This is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for you for the remission of sins.*

For these reasons, we dare not, indeed, interpret these words of this eternal, true, and almighty Son of God, our Lord, our Creator and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, as figurative, metaphorical, tropical, or strange expressions, and explain them so that they may appear conformable with our reason: but we are rather under obligation to receive these words of Christ as they read, in their clear and literal sense, with pure faith and due obedience; and we should not permit ourselves to be led away from them by persuasion or human contradictions, drawn from the reason of man, however forcible they may appear to our reason.

Although Abraham, when he heard the words or command of God concerning the sacrifice of his son, had sufficient reason to dispute whether these words should be understood literally, or whether they might not admit of some other more tolerable or some milder interpretation, since they appear to be repugnant, not only to all reason and to the law of God and of nature, but to the principal article of faith, concerning Christ, the promised seed, who should be born of Isaac; but nevertheless, as on a previous occasion, when the promise concerning the blessed seed of Isaac was given to him, (although it seemed impossible to his reason,) he gave God the honor of truth, and with the greatest certainty concluded and believed, that God is able to do whatever he promises: so in this instance he understands and believes the words and command of God in their simple, pure, and literal import, and commits the matter to the omnipotence and wisdom of God, knowing that he has more ways and means to fulfil the promise concerning the seed of Isaac, than man can comprehend with his blind reason.

So we should with all humility and obedience likewise simply believe the express, immutable, clear, and positive words and command of our Creator and Redeemer, without any doubt and disputation as to how they might accord with our reason or how they may be possible. For the Lord has uttered these words, who himself is infinite wisdom and truth, and can most assuredly bring into execution and accomplish all that he promises.

Now, all the circumstances of the institution of this holy sacrament, show that these words of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, which are simple, expressive, clear, immutable, and positive in themselves, can and should be understood only in their literal signification. For since Christ gives this command at table and during the Supper, there can indeed be no doubt, that he speaks concerning true natural bread, and concerning natural wine, and also concerning eating and drinking with the mouth;

so that in the word *bread* there can be no metaphor, that is, change of meaning, as if the body of Christ be a spiritual bread or a spiritual food for the soul. And Christ himself establishes the fact, that in the word *body*, there is no metonymy, that is, that there is likewise no change of meaning, and that he speaks, not concerning a sign of his body, or concerning a significant or a figurative body, or concerning the virtue of his body and benefits, but concerning his true, essential body, which he gave unto death for us, and concerning his true, essential blood, which he shed upon the cross for us for the remission of sins.

Now, indeed, there is no interpreter of the words of Christ, so faithful and certain as Christ, the Lord, himself, who best understands his own words, his own heart, and his meaning, and is most wise and intelligent in explaining them; who here in the declaration of his last will and testament, and perpetual covenant and union, uses, not figurative words, but words literally applicable, simple, indubitable, and clear, as he has done elsewhere in all articles of faith, and in all other covenants and signs of grace, or in the institution of sacraments, as circumscision, the various sacrifices in the Old Testament, and in the institution of holy baptism; and in order that no misunderstanding might arise, he sufficiently explains his meaning in reference to the Lord's Supper, in these words—*given for you, shed for you;* and when his disciples received the words in their simple and proper meaning, he permitted them to remain under this impression, and commanded them thus to teach all nations to observe what he commanded them, the Apostles.

Wherefore, all three of the Evangelists, Matthew, Matt. 26, 26, Mark, Mark 14, 22, Luke, Luke 22, 19, as well as St. Paul, who received the institution of the Lord's Supper from Christ himself, after his ascension to heaven, 1 Cor. 11, 23, 24, unanimously, and in the same words and syllables, repeat these clear, immutable, perspicuous, and positive words of Christ, *this is my body*, altogether in one and the same manner, concerning the consecrated and administered bread, without any trope, figure, or variation. Therefore, there is no doubt, that concerning the other part of this sacrament, these words of Luke and Paul: *This cup is the new testament in my blood*, can have no other meaning than that which St. Matthew and Mark give, *this* (namely, this which you drink out of the cup with your lips) is my blood of the new testament, by which I ratify, seal, and confirm unto you this my testament, and new covenant, namely, the remission of sins.

Consequently, this repetition, confirmation, and declaration of the words of Christ, which St. Paul, 1 Cor. 10, 16, lays down, is to be considered with all diligence and earnestness as an especial clear evi-

dence of the true, essential presence and distribution of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, where he thus writes: "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" From these words we perceive clearly, that not only the cup, which Christ blessed in the first Supper, and not only the bread, which Christ broke and distributed, but that also which we break and bless, are the communion of the body and of the blood of Christ; so that all those who eat this bread, and drink out of this cup, truly receive, and become participants of the true body and blood of Christ. For if the body of Christ were not truly and essentially, but only according to its virtue and efficacy, present and enjoyed, the bread would have to be called a communion, not of the body, but of the Spirit, virtue, and benefits of Christ, as the Apology argues and concludes. And if Paul spoke only concerning the spiritual communion of the body of Christ through faith, as the sacramentarians pervert this passage, he would not say, the bread, but the spirit or faith is the communion of the body of Christ. But the Apostle affirms, the *bread* is the communion of the body of Christ, namely, that all who receive the blessed bread, become partakers of the body of Christ too; consequently, he must speak, not of a spiritual, but of a sacramental or oral participation of the body of Christ, which is common to the pious and to the impious Christians.

The occasion and the circumstances of this whole discourse of St. Paul, confirm this opinion of ours. For those who partook of an offering made to an idol, and had communion with the heathen ceremonies of idolatry, and nevertheless approached unto the table of the Lord, and became participants of the body and blood of Christ, Paul deters from acts so criminal, and admonishes, lest they should receive the body and blood of Christ to their own judgment and condemnation. For since all who are partakers of the consecrated and broken bread in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, have communion with the body of Christ also, St. Paul cannot indeed speak of the spiritual communion with Christ, which no one can misuse, and in consequence of which no one needs to be warned.

Wherefore, our venerable Fathers and predecessors, as Luther and other pure teachers of the Augsburg Confession, have likewise explained this declaration of Paul's with such words as to accord most appropriately with the words of Christ, where they thus write: "The bread which we break, is the administered body of Christ, or the common body of Christ, administered to those who receive this broken bread."

To this simple and substantial explication of a glorious testimony, 1 Cor. 10, we adhere unanimously, and we are truly surprised that some with great audacity, now quote this passage which they themselves had alleged against the sacramentarians, in support of their error, that in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper the body of Christ is only spiritually enjoyed: *Panis est communicatio corporis Christi, hoc est, id, quo fit societas cum corpore Christi (quod est Ecclesia) seu est medium, per quod fideles unimur Christo, sicut verbum Evangelii fide apprehensum, est medium, per quod Christo spiritualiter unimur, et corpori Christi, quod est Ecclesia, inserimur.* That is, the bread is the communion of the body of Christ, or, it is that, through which we have communion with the body of Christ, which is the church, or, it is the medium, through which we believers are united with Christ, even as the word of the Gospel, when it is apprehended by faith, is a medium, through which we are spiritually united with Christ, and incorporated with the body of Christ, which is the church.

For, the fact that not only pious and believing Christians, but also unworthy and impious hypocrites,—persons, for instance, like Judas and his associates, who have no spiritual communion with Christ, and approach the table of the Lord, without true repentance and conversion to God,—receive the true body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, with their lips, and by their unworthy eating and drinking commit grievous sin against the body and blood of Christ; this St. Paul expressly teaches, 1 Cor. 11, 27: "Whosoever shall eat this bread and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily," commits sin not only against the bread and the wine, not only against signs, or symbols and figures of the body and blood, but is "guilty of the body and blood of the Lord" Jesus Christ, who being present here in this sacrament, he dishonors, abuses, and disgraces, even as the Jews, who in fact and in deed, sinned horribly against the body of Christ, and put him to death. For in this manner the ancient Christian Fathers and teachers of the church unanimously understood and explained this declaration of St. Paul.

Now, there are two modes of partaking the flesh of Christ: the one *spiritual*, concerning which Christ, John 6, 54, especially speaks, and which is effected only spiritually by faith, in the preaching and contemplation of the Gospel even as well as in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and this is useful and salutary in itself, and necessary to all Christians, at all times, for salvation; without which spiritual participation even this sacramental or oral eating in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, is not only unprofitable, but injurious and condemnable.

But this spiritual eating is nothing else but to *believe;* namely, to hear the word of God, (in which is offered unto us Christ, true God and man, with all the blessings which he obtained for us with his body given unto death for us, and with his blood shed for us,—namely, the grace of God, remission of sins, righteousness, and eternal life,) to embrace the same with faith, to apply it to ourselves, to rely firmly and with indubitable confidence and assurance upon this consolation, that we have a merciful God for the sake of the Lord Jesus Christ, and to support ourselves by it in every time of need, and in all temptations.

The other mode of partaking the body of Christ is *oral* or *sacramental;* when in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the true, essential body and blood of Christ are received orally by all who eat and drink the consecrated bread and wine in this holy sacrament. Believers receive the body and blood of Christ as a sure pledge and confirmation that their sins are certainly remitted, and that Christ dwells and is efficacious in them. But unbelievers also receive the body and blood of Christ orally, but to their judgment and condemnation. This the words of Christ, which are used in the institution of this sacrament, expressly teach. For at the table and during the Supper, he administered natural bread and natural wine to his disciples, which he calls his true body and his true blood, and says in connection: *Eat,* and *drink.* Therefore, indeed, this command of Christ, in consequence of the circumstances connected with it, must be understood concerning eating and drinking with the mouth, not in a gross, carnal, Capernaitic,* but in a supernatural, incomprehensible manner. Besides this eating, afterwards Christ, in his other command, requires another and spiritual eating, where he further says: "This do in remembrance of me;" for here he demands faith.

Wherefore, according to these words of the institution of Christ, and to the explication of St. Paul, all the ancient Christian teachers expressly and in unanimity with the universal, holy, Christian church, invariably taught, that the body of Christ is received not only spiritually, by faith—which also takes place without the use of the sacrament—but also orally, not only by believing and pious Christians, but also by the unworthy, the unbelieving, the wicked, and the hypocrite, who only bear the Christian name. But it would take up too much space to transcribe the testimony of these ancient teachers; we shall therefore, for the sake of brevity, refer the Christian reader to our writings, in which these are copiously treated.

* *Capernaitic.*—This word alludes to the gross, physical sense in which the people of Capernaum always understood the words of the Savior.—[TRANS.

Hence it is manifest, with what wicked malignity the fanatical sacramentarians* deride Christ the Lord, St. Paul, and the whole church, who have called this oral eating, and the eating of the unworthy, *duos pilos caudæ equinæ, et commentum, cujus vel ipsum Satanam pudeat*, and the doctrine concerning the Majesty of Christ, *excrementum Satanæ, quo diabolus sibi ipsi et hominibus illudat;* which expressions are so horrible, that modesty and decency forbid a pious Christian to translate them.

But it should be accurately explained who are the *unworthy guests* of this holy Supper: those namely, who approach this sacrament, without true repentance and sorrow for their sins, without true faith, and without a good intention to amend their lives, and by their unworthy oral eating of the body of Christ, incur judgment, that is, temporal and eternal chastisements, and become guilty of the body and blood of Christ.

But the worthy guests of this Supper of the Lord, are Christians infirm in faith, faint-hearted, and afflicted, who, on account of the magnitude and the multitude of their sins, are alarmed in their hearts, who while considering this their great impurity, judge themselves unworthy of this noble treasure and beneficence of Christ, and discover and deplore their weakness of faith, and desire from their hearts to be able to serve God with stronger, with more joyful faith, and with pure obedience; these, we say, are the truly worthy guests, for whom this highly venerable sacrament was chiefly instituted and ordained. For thus Christ most benignly invites every one, saying: "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest," Matt. 11, 28. Again, "They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick," Matt. 9, 12. Again, "My strength is made perfect in weakness," 2 Cor. 12, 9. Again, "Him that is weak in faith, receive ye; for God hath received him," Rom. 14, 1, 3. "For whosoever believeth in the Son of God," be it with a weak or a strong faith, "hath everlasting life," John 3, 16.

Therefore, this worthiness consists, not in a greater or a less weakness or strength of faith, but in the merits of Christ; which the disconsolate father, who was weak in faith, and who is mentioned in the 9th ch. and 24th verse of Luke, enjoyed, even as well as Abraham, Paul, and others, who had a joyful and a strong faith.

This is thus far stated in reference to the true presence and the two kinds of participation of the body and blood of Christ, which are enjoyed by the worthy through faith *spiritually*, and *orally* both by the worthy and unworthy.

* Theodorus Beza, and others.

But inasmuch as a misunderstanding and a dissension have arisen among some teachers of the Augsburg Confession, also concerning the consecration, and concerning the general rule, that nothing is a sacrament, apart from the instituted use; we have likewise expressed our views in friendship and unanimity with each other, concerning this matter, in the following manner, namely:—That the true presence of the body and blood in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, is not effected by the word or work of any man, whether it be the merit or annunciation of the minister, or the eating and drinking, or the faith of communicants: but this must be wholly ascribed to the almighty power of God and to the word, the institution, and order of our Lord Jesus Christ alone.

For the positive and omnipotent words of Jesus Christ, which he declared in the first institution, have been efficacious not only in the first sacrament of the Lord's Supper, but their power, virtue, and efficacy still endure and prevail; so that in all places, where this Supper is celebrated according to the institution of Christ, and where his words are used, by virtue and power of these words which Christ declared in the first Supper, the body and blood of Christ are truly present, administered, and received. For, where his institution is observed, and his words are recited in the consecration of the bread and the cup, and this blessed bread and cup are administered, through these recited words, Christ himself is still efficacious, by virtue of the first institution, through his words, which he wishes repeated here; as Chrysostom,* in his sermon concerning the passion, asserts: "*Christ himself prepares this table, and blesses it.* For no man can make the proposed bread and wine, the body and blood of Christ, but Christ himself, who was crucified for us. These words are pronounced through the mouth of the priest, but by the power and grace of God, through these words, where he says: ***This is my body***, the elements set apart in this Supper, are blessed. And as these words, Gen. 1, 28: 'Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth,' were only once declared, but are always efficacious in nature, so that men increase and multiply: so also these (***this is my body, this is my blood***) were once declared, but are efficacious till this day, and will be until his coming, and they cause his true body and blood to be present in this Supper of the church."

Luther, Tom. 6, Jen., fol. 99, writes thus: "This his command and institution, enable us to administer and receive, not mere bread and wine, but his body and blood, as his words declare:

* *De proditione Judæ hom.* 7, *de Passione.*

This is my body, This is my blood. So that not our work or speaking, but the command and ordination of Christ, make the bread the body, and the wine the blood, from the beginning of the first Supper of the Lord, until the end of the world; but they are daily administered through our service and office."

Again, *Tom.* 3, *Jen., fol.* 446, he says: "Thus also here, even if I were to pronounce these words concerning all bread, *this is the body of Christ*, yet most assuredly nothing would be effected by it; but if, in the administration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, we say, according to his command and institution: *This is my body*, then it is his body, not on account of our declaration, or, that the utterance of these words have this efficacy; but on account of his command, because he commanded us to pronounce these words, and to do this, and thus connected his command and his act with our declaration."

Now, the words of the institution, in the administration of this holy Supper, should be publicly recited, or chanted before the congregation, in a clear and expressive manner, and they should by no means be omitted; so that due obedience may be rendered to the command of Christ, who says: *This do;* and that by the words of Christ, the faith of the hearers may be awakened, strengthened, and assured concerning the essence and the fruit of this sacrament,—concerning the presence of the body and blood of Christ, concerning the remission of sins, and all the benefits which were obtained for us through the death of Christ and the shedding of his blood, and which are given unto us in the testament of Christ;—and that the elements of bread and wine may be sanctified or blessed to this holy use, so that with these the body and blood of Christ may be administered unto us to eat and to drink; as Paul says: *The cup of blessing which we bless*, 1 Cor. 10, 16, 17; which blessing, indeed, comes to pass only through the repetition and recitation of the words of the institution.

But this blessing alone, or the recitation of the words of the institution of Christ constitute no sacrament, if the whole *action* of this Supper, as it was ordered by Christ, be not observed; if, for instance, the consecrated bread be not administered, received, and enjoyed, but locked up, sacrificed, or borne about. But the command of Christ, *this do*, must be observed entire and inviolate, which comprises the whole *action* or operation of this sacrament; namely, in a Christian assembly, to take bread and wine, to bless them, to administer them, to receive them, to eat and to drink, and by this means to announce the death of the Lord, as also St. Paul presents before our eyes the whole action of breaking bread, or of distributing it and receiving it, 1 Cor. 10, 16, 17.

In order to preserve this true and Christian doctrine concerning this holy Supper, to avoid and to exterminate the various idolatrous abuses and perversions of this testament of Christ, this useful rule and standard was summed up from the words of the institution: *Nihil habet rationem sacrimenti extra usum a Christo institutum*, or *extra actionem divinitus institutum;* that is, if the institution of Christ, as he ordered it, be not observed, it is no sacrament. This rule must not by any means be rejected; for it may be urged in the church of God with advantage, and it should be retained. And here the word *usus* or *actio*, that is, *use* or *action*, does not signify faith particularly, nor the oral eating alone, but the whole external, visible transaction as instituted by Christ, of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper,—the consecration, or the words of the institution, the distribution and reception, or the oral participation of the consecrated bread and wine, the body and blood of Christ; apart from which use, when in the papistical mass the bread is not distributed, but sacrificed, or locked up, borne about, and set apart to be adored, it must not be regarded as a sacrament, even as the water in baptism, when it is used to consecrate bells, or to remove eruptive diseases, or set apart to be adored, is no sacrament or baptism. For in opposition to such papistical abuses, this rule was originally drawn up, and it is explained by doctor Luther, *Tom.* 4, *Jen.*

But in the meanwhile we should not conceal the fact that the sacramentarians craftily and maliciously pervert this useful and necessary rule to the negation of the true, essential presence and oral participation of the body of Christ, which take place here on earth, alike both in the worthy and unworthy; and interpret it as alluding to *usum fidei*, that is, to the spiritual and internal use by faith, as if it were no sacrament to the unworthy, and as if the participation of the body of Christ takes place only spiritually through faith, or as if faith causes the body of Christ to be present in this holy Supper, and that, therefore, the unworthy, the unbelieving hypocrite receives not the body of Christ as being present.

Now, our faith does not constitute this sacrament, but the positive word and the institution of our Almighty God and Savior, Jesus Christ alone, make it; for these are ever efficacious and remain in the Christian community, and are not abrogated or rendered ineffectual by the worthiness or unworthiness of the minister, or by the unbelief of the recipient. Even as the Gospel, although the impious hearer believe it not, nevertheless it remains the true Gospel; only it does not operate in the unbelieving to salvation: so, whether those who receive this sacrament, believe or disbelieve, Christ nevertheless remains true

in his words, in which he says, *Take, eat, this is my body;* for the presence of his body and blood he effects, not through our faith, but through his omnipotence.

Wherefore, those commit a pernicious and an impudent error, who, by a crafty perversion of this customary rule, ascribe more to our faith,—as if it alone caused the body of Christ to be present and received it,—than to the omnipotence of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.

The various imaginary grounds and the futile objections of the sacramentarians, which they produce concerning the essential and natural properties of a human body, concerning the ascent of Christ to heaven, concerning his departure from this world, and the like, are all radically and amply refuted by doctor Luther with arguments derived from the word of God, in his polemic writings. We shall, therefore, for the sake of brevity, refer the Christian reader to these writings. But among these, those to which we chiefly have reference, are his publications against the heavenly prophets, (as they are now called,) his treatise on the subject, that these words, *This is my body*, still remain unshaken; his Larger and Smaller Confessions concerning the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and other writings of his. For, since the death of doctor Luther, no new arguments have been produced by the fanatical spirits.

But that we neither will nor can nor should permit ourselves to be led away, by any human, artful opinions, no matter what gloss or semblance of sanctity they may have, from the simple, the perspicuous, and clear meaning of the words and testament of Christ, to a figurative meaning, deviating from the express words of Christ; but we shall rather, in the manner stated above, simply understand and believe them; the following are our grounds, upon which, after the agitated controversy concerning this article, we have ever and continually based ourselves in reference to this matter; even as doctor Luther laid them down in the beginning against the sacramentarians in the words which follow:

"My grounds, upon which I stand with respect to this matter, are these:

1. The first is this article of our faith:—Jesus Christ is essential, natural, true, and perfect God and man, in one person, unseparated and undivided.

2. That the right hand of God is every where.

3. That the word of God is neither false, nor deceptive.

4. That God knows and has within his power various ways, in which he can at any time be present in a place, and not only the one, about which the fanatics trifle, and which philosophers call local or circumscribed.

Again, the body of Christ has three different ways, or a triple mode of being in any place.

First, *the comprehensible and corporeal mode*, in which he moved bodily on earth, where he occupied, and took up space, according to his magnitude. This mode he is able to use still, when he pleases, as he did after his resurrection, and as he will on the last day; as Paul declares: 'Which in his times he shall show, who is the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords,' 1 Tim. 6, 15. And Col. 3, 4: 'When Christ, who is our life, shall appear.' In this mode he is not in God, nor with the Father, nor in heaven, as the fanatical spirits dream; for God is not a corporeal, local being. And to this mode, the passages of Scripture refer, which the fanatics introduce, that Christ departed from the world, and went to the Father.

Second, *the incomprehensible, spiritual mode*, in which he is not circumscribed in space, but penetrates through all creatures, where he pleases, as my vision (to use this gross similitude) passes through air, light, or water, and yet neither takes up, nor makes room; as sound passes through air or water, or planks and walls, and yet does not require a vacuum; again, as light and heat pass through air, water, glass, crystals, and the like, and yet neither makes nor requires room, and as many other similar examples. This method he employed when he arose from the closed sepulchre, and when he passed through the closed doors, and in the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, and as it is believed, when he was born of his mother.

Third, *the divine and heavenly mode*, in which he is one person with God, and according to which all creatures must undoubtedly be far more permeable and present to him, than they are according to the second mode. For if, according to this second mode, he can be in and with creatures in such a way, that they neither feel him nor touch him, nor circumscribe him, nor comprehend him; how much more wonderfully is he in all creatures according to this exalted third mode! so that they neither circumscribe him nor comprehend him, but much rather that he has them present before him, circumscribes them, and embraces them. For this mode of the presence of Christ, which he has from a union of person with God, you must place far, very far beyond creatures, as far as God is above them; again, as deep and as near in all creatures, as God is in them; *for he is an inseparable person with God; where God is, there he must also be,—or our faith is false.* But who will say or imagine, how this takes place? We well know, that it is so, namely, that he is in God, that

he is beyond all creatures, and that he is one person with God, but how it comes to pass, we know not; it is above nature and human reason; yes, above all the angels in heaven; it is known and visible to God alone. Since, then, it is unknown to us, and nevertheless true, we should not deny his word before we are able to prove with certainty, that the body of Christ can by no means be where God is, and that this mode of presence is false. It is incumbent upon the fanatics to prove this, but they will not attempt it.

Now, that God has and knows more ways still, according to which the body of Christ may be in any place, I will by no means deny; but I wished to show how dull and stupid our fanatics are, who attribute to the body of Christ not more than the first comprehensible mode of presence; although they are unable to prove that even this mode is contrary to our understanding. For I will in no way deny, that God may be able to accomplish so much that a body might be simultaneously present in many places, even in a corporeal and comprehensible manner. For who will prove, that this is impossible to God? Who has seen a limit to his power? The fanatics think indeed, that God cannot effect this; but who will believe their thoughts? By what kind of argument do they confirm these thoughts?" Thus far Luther.

From these words of doctor Luther it is likewise manifest, in what sense the word *spiritual* is used in our churches concerning this matter. For with the sacramentarians, this word *spiritual* signifies nothing more than the spiritual communion, when by faith the truly believing are embodied in spirit in Christ the Lord, and become true spiritual members of his body.

But when this word *spiritual* is used by doctor Luther, or by ourselves in reference to this matter, we understand by it the spiritual, supernatural, heavenly mode, according to which Christ being present in the holy Supper, works not only in the believing consolation and life, but in the unbelieving also, judgment. And by this word *spiritual* we exclude and reject those Capernaitic thoughts concerning the gross and carnal presence, which are charged upon our churches, by the sacramentarians, notwithstanding all our public and frequent protestations. In this sense we wish the word *spiritual* to be understood, when we assert that in the holy Supper the body and blood of Christ are spiritually received, eaten, and drunk; for, although this participation takes place orally, yet the *mode* is *spiritual*.

Thus our faith in this article concerning the true presence of the body and blood of Christ in the holy Supper, is built upon the truth

and omnipotence of the true and omnipotent God, our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. This foundation is sufficiently strong and firm to strengthen and confirm our faith against all attacks in consequence of this article, and, on the other hand, to refute and to overthrow all the objections and contradictions of the sacramentarians, no matter how acceptable and evident to reason they may appear. And upon these grounds, securely and firmly can a Christian lean and depend.

Accordingly, we reject and condemn with our hearts and our lips, as false, dangerous, and seductive, all the errors, which are adverse and repugnant to the doctrine which we have now laid down, and which is founded upon the word of God; these, namely:

1. The papistical *transubstantiation*, by which it is taught, that the consecrated or blessed bread and wine, in the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, lose their substance and essence wholly and entirely, and are changed into the substance of the body and blood of Christ; so that only the mere form of bread and wine, or *accidentia sine subjecto*, remains. And, as they think, under this form of the bread, which, however, according to their opinion, is no longer bread, but has lost its natural essence, the body of Christ is present, even apart from the administration of the Supper, when the bread is enclosed in the pyx, or carried about as a spectacle and to be adored. For nothing can be a sacrament, apart from the command of God and the ordained use, for which it was instituted by the word of God, as above stated.

2. In like manner, we repudiate and condemn all other papistical abuses of this sacrament; as, the abomination of the sacrifice of the mass for the living and the dead.

3. Again, we condemn the practice of administering but one element or part of this sacrament to the laity, contrary to the express command and institution of Christ. And indeed these and many other papistical abuses are amply refuted and rejected by the word of God, and by testimonies of the ancient churches, in the common Confession and Apology of our church, in the Articles of Smalcald, and in other writings of ours.

But since, in this treatise, we have designed chiefly to lay down our confession and declaration concerning the true presence of the body and blood of Christ alone, against the sacramentarians, some of whom, under the name of the Augsburg Confession, impudently insinuate themselves into these churches; we shall here also enumerate the errors of the sacramentarians particularly, for the purpose of admonishing our hearers, to detect and avoid them.

Accordingly, we reject and condemn with our hearts and our lips, as false, erroneous, and seductive, all the opinions and dogmas of the sacramentarians, which are not consistent with, but adverse and repugnant to, the doctrine stated above, which is founded in the word of God.

1. Namely, when they pretend, that the words of the institution are not to be received simply in their literal meaning as they read, concerning the true, essential presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper, but that through tropical and figurative significations, they are to be explained in a different, and an extraneous sense. And here we reject all similar opinions of the sacramentarians, and their self-contradictory definitions, no matter how multifarious and diverse they may be.

2. Again, we reject the doctrine by which the oral participation of the body and blood of Christ in this holy Supper, is denied, and by which, on the contrary, it is taught, that in this Supper the body of Christ is received only spiritually through faith, so that in this holy Supper we receive with our lips nothing but mere bread and wine.

3. Likewise, when it is taught, that bread and wine in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, are nothing more than signs by which Christians may be known to each other.

4. Or, that they are only indications, similitudes, and representations of the far-absent body of Christ, in such a manner, that even as bread and wine are the external food of our bodies, so the absent body of Christ with his merits, is the spiritual food for our souls.

5. Or, that they are nothing more than signs and memorials of the absent body of Christ, through which signs, as through an external pledge, we are assured that faith, which turns itself away from the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and ascends above all heavens, there indeed becomes a participant of the body and blood of Christ, as truly as we receive the external signs with our lips in the Lord's Supper; and that thus the assurance and confirmation of our faith in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, come to pass through the external signs, and not through the true, the present, and to us administered body and blood of Christ.

6. Or, that in the holy Supper, only the virtue, operation, and merit of the far-absent body of Christ, are administered unto faith, so that in this manner we become partakers of his absent body. And that, in the manner just stated, *unio sacramentalis*, or sacramental union, is to be understood *de analogia signi et signati*, that is, from the analogy of a sign and the thing signified.

7. Or, that the body and blood of Christ are received and enjoyed only spiritually through faith.

8. Again, when it is taught, that Christ, in consequence of his ascension to heaven, is so contained and circumscribed with his body in a certain place in heaven, that with it he neither can nor will be truly and essentially present with us in the holy Supper, which is celebrated here on earth according to the institution of Christ, but that he is as far distant from it as heaven and earth are from each other; as some sacramentarians, for the confirmation of their error, have wilfully perverted this text, Acts 3, 21: *Oportet Christum cœlum accipere;* that is, *It behooved Christ to receive the heaven;* and instead of this faithful translation, they have replaced these words: *Oportet Christum cœlo capi;* that is, It behooved Christ to be received by or into the heaven, or to be circumscribed and contained in heaven, so that he neither can nor will be with us on earth in any manner with his human nature.

9. Again, that Christ neither could nor would promise or effect the true, essential presence of his body and blood in his holy Supper, since the nature and the properties of his assumed human nature, can neither bear nor admit of it.

10. Again, we reject the doctrine by which it is taught, that not the words and omnipotence of Christ alone, but faith causes the body of Christ to be present in the holy Supper. Hence, in the administration of this Supper, the words of the institution are omitted by some. For, although the papistical consecration, the efficacy of which was ascribed to the verbal rehearsal,—the work of the priest,—as if this constituted a sacrament, is justly reprehended and rejected; yet the words of the institution neither can nor should in any way be omitted in the administration of this Supper; as was shown in the preceding explanation.

11. Again, we deny that believers should not seek the body of Christ in the bread and the wine of this Supper, by virtue of the words of the institution of Christ, but that with their faith they are pointed from the bread of this holy Supper into heaven to the place where Christ the Lord is with his body, so that there they might receive him.

12. We likewise reject the error by which it is taught, that the unbelieving and impenitent (who only bear the title of Christians, but have not the true, the genuine, living, and saving faith) receive not the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, but bread and wine alone. And since but two kinds of guests at this heavenly banquet are found; namely, the worthy and the unworthy: we also reject that distinction which is made among the unworthy, by some in asserting that impious epicures and mockers of the word

of God (who are in the outward communion of the church) receive not the body and blood of Christ to judgment, in the use of the holy Supper, but bread and wine alone.

13. Thus too, when it is taught, that the worthiness consists not in true faith alone, but in a person's own preparation.

14. And likewise, when it is taught, that true believers also, who have and retain a genuine, pure, and living faith, and are nevertheless deficient in their own proposed and fancied preparation, can receive this sacrament to judgment, as well as the unworthy guests.

15. Again, we reject the doctrine, that the elements, the visible *species*, or forms of the consecrated bread and wine, shall be adored. But that Christ himself, true God and man, who is truly and essentially present in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in its legitimate use, should be adored in spirit and in truth, as also in all other places, especially where his congregation assemble, no one can or will deny, unless he be an Arian heretic.

16. We repudiate, moreover, and condemn all the curious, ridiculous, and wicked questions and expressions, which are employed in a gross, carnal, Capernaitic manner, concerning the supernatural, heavenly mysteries of this sacrament.

Other contrary and objectionable doctrines have been reprehended and rejected in the preceding explanation. These, for the sake of brevity, we shall not repeat here; and whatever other erroneous and condemnable opinions there may be besides, can be easily perceived and named from the above explanation. For we reject and condemn all that is not consistent with, but contrary and repugnant to, the doctrine which we have stated above, and which is well founded in the word of God.

VIII. OF THE PERSON OF CHRIST.

A controversy has likewise arisen among the theologians of the Augsburg Confession, concerning the person of Christ; which, however, did not take its rise among them, but it sprung originally from the sacramentarians.

For after doctor Luther, in opposition to the sacramentarians, maintained on substantial grounds the true, essential presence of the body and blood of Christ in the holy Supper, from the words of the institution, this objection was urged against him by the Zwinglians: "If the body of Christ is simultaneously present in heaven and on earth, in the Supper of the Lord, it cannot be a right, true, human body; for this ubiquity can be attributed to God only, but the body of Christ is not capable of it."

Although doctor Luther opposed and forcibly refuted this objection, as his doctrine and polemic writings concerning the holy Supper show, which we hereby acknowledge as well as his didactic writings; yet, after his death, some theologians of the Augsburg Confession arose, who, though they indeed did not yet wish publicly and expressly to acknowledge themselves sacramentarians in reference to the Lord's Supper, nevertheless introduced and employed the same grounds, concerning the person of Christ, by which the sacramentarians undertook to deny the true, essential presence of the body and blood of Christ in his Supper; namely, that to the human nature in the person of Christ, nothing shall be ascribed that is above, or contrary to its natural, essential properties. And besides this, they have loaded the doctrines of doctor Luther, and all those who adhere to the same as being conformable to the word of God, with the charges urged against nearly all ancient, abominable heresies.

To explain this controversy by virtue of the word of God, according to the analogy of our simple, Christian faith, and by the grace of God to allay it entirely, our unanimous doctrine, faith, and confession, are as follow:

We believe, teach, and confess, that, although the Son of God has been a special, distinct, and entire divine person, and thus true, essential, perfect God, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, from eternity, he nevertheless, when the time was fulfilled, assumed human nature also in unity of his person, not in such a manner to become two persons or two Christs, but, Jesus Christ now in one person, is, at the same time, true, eternal God, begotten of the Father from eternity, and a true man, born of the blessed Virgin Mary; as it is written, Rom. 9, 5: "Of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is over all, God blessed, for ever."

Moreover, we believe, teach, and confess, that in this one undivided person of Christ, there are two distinct natures: the divine, which is from eternity, and the human, which in time was assumed in unity of the person of the Son of God. And these two natures in the person of Christ are never separated, nor commingled with each other, nor changed the one into the other; but each one remains in its nature and essence in the person of Christ to all eternity.

We likewise believe, teach, and confess, that, as the said two natures remain unmingled and unseparated in their essence and attributes, so also we believe that each one retains its natural, essential properties, and to all eternity lays them not aside; and that the essential properties of the one nature never become the essential properties of the other nature.

Consequently, we believe, teach, and confess, that to be almighty, eternal, infinite, to be present every where at the same time, naturally, that is, according to the property of that nature, and its natural essence, of itself, to know all things, are essential attributes of the divine nature, which never become the essential attributes of the human nature.

But again, to be a corporeal creature, to consist of flesh and blood, to be finite and circumscribed, to suffer, to die, to ascend, to descend, to move from place to place, to be pained with hunger, thirst, cold, heat, and the like, are attributes of the human nature, which never become the attributes of the divine nature.

We believe, teach, and confess, that each nature does not subsist independently in Christ, since his incarnation, so as to constitute with each a single and separate person; but we conceive these natures so united as to constitute one person only, in which both the divine and the assumed human nature subsist at the same time, personally united. Not only the divine, indeed, but the assumed human nature, belongs to the entire person of Christ, since his incarnation; and the person of the *incarnate Son of God* cannot be an entire person, without his humanity, any more than without his divinity. In Christ, therefore, there are not two distinct persons, but one only; and yet the two natures are found unconfused in him,—each one in its own essence and natural attributes.

We also believe, teach, and confess, that the assumed human nature in Christ, not only possesses and retains its original, essential properties, but, in consequence of the personal union with the Divinity, and by its subsequent exaltation, it has been elevated to the right hand of Power, Might, and Majesty, above all that can be named, not only in this world, but in the world to come.

With respect to whatever pertains to this Majesty, to which Christ has been exalted according to his humanity, he did not first receive it, when he arose from the dead and ascended to heaven, but when he was conceived by his mother, and became man, and when the divine and human natures were personally united with each other. But this personal union must not be understood, as some incorrectly explain it, like both natures, the divine and the human, were united with each other, as two boards are glued together; so that *realiter*, that is, in deed and in truth, they would have no communion at all with each other. For this was the error and heresy of Nestorius and Samosatenius, who, as Suidas and Theodorus, presbyters of Rethenesis, testify, have taught and held, δυο φυσεις ακοινωνητους προς εαυτας πανταπασιν, hoc est, *Naturas omni modo incommunicabiles esse*; that is, that the natures have no communion at all with each other. By this false

dogma the natures are separated from each other, and thus two Christs are constituted, the one of whom is Christ, and the other God, the Word, who dwells in Christ.

For thus writes the presbyter Theodorus: *Paulus quidam iisdem quibus Manes temporibus, Samosatenus quidem ortu, sed Antiochiæ Syriæ Antistes, Dominum impie dixit nudum fuisse hominem, in quo Deus Verbum, sicut et in singulis Prophetis habitavit, ac proinde duas naturas separatas et citra omnem prorsus inter se communionem in Christo esse, quasi alius sit Christus, alius Deus, Verbum in ipso habitans.* That is: Even in the days of Manes, the heretic, there was one by the name of Paul, a Samosatenian by birth indeed, but a professor at Antioch, in Syria, who taught impiously, that Christ the Lord was only a mere man, in whom God, the Word, dwelt, as he did in every Prophet. Hence he also maintained, that the divine and human natures are divided and separated from each other, and that in Christ they undoubtedly have no communion with each other, even as if one were Christ, and the other God, the Word, who dwells in him.

In opposition to this condemnable heresy, the Christian church has ever believed and maintained with great simplicity, that the divine and human natures in the person of Christ, are so united as to have a real communion with each other. Yet the natures are not, therefore, mingled in one essence, but, as doctor Luther writes, in one person. And on account of this personal union and communion, the ancient teachers of the church frequently, before and since the council of Chalcedon, used the word *mixtio* in an appropriate sense and with due distinction. And for the confirmation of this fact, many testimonies, were it necessary, could be produced from the writings of the Fathers, which testimonies may also be found in various places in our writings. And indeed the ancient teachers explained the personal union and communion by the similitude of body and soul, and of heated iron. For body and soul, as also fire and iron, have communion with each other, not merely nominally or verbally, but truly and really: and yet by this mode, no confusion or equalization of the natures is introduced; as, when mead is formed out of honey and water, which is no more distinct water or honey, but a mixed drink. But here with respect to the union of the divine and human natures in the person of Christ, it is quite different; for far different, far more exalted, and inexpressible, are the communion and union between the divine and human natures, in the person of Christ, on account of which union and communion, God is man, and man is God. Yet by this union and communion of natures, neither the natures themselves, nor

their properties, are confounded: but each nature retains its essence and properties.

On account of this personal union, (which without this real communion of the natures, could neither exist nor be imagined,) not the bare human nature, the attribute of which is to suffer and to die, suffered for the sins of the whole world, but the Son of God himself suffered truly, yet according to his assumed human nature, and, as our Apostolic Creed or Symbol testifies, he died truly, although the divine nature can neither suffer nor die. This doctor Luther has amply explained in his Larger Confession concerning the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in opposition to the blasphemous alternation of Zwingle, where he taught, that one nature must be taken and understood for the other; this Luther deprecates as the machination of the devil.

Wherefore, the ancient teachers of the church used both these words in connexion, κοινωνια and ενωσις, *communion* and *union*, in explaining this mystery, and explained one by the other: Ireneus, book 4, ch. 3; Athanasius in his Epistle to Epictetus; Hilarius concerning the Trinity, book 9; Basilius and Nyssenus against Theodoretus; Damascenus, book 3, ch. 19.

In consequence of this personal union and communion of the divine and human natures in Christ, we also believe, teach, and confess, according to the analogy of our Christian faith, what is said concerning the Majesty of Christ on the right hand of the Almighty power of God, according to his humanity, and what attaches to the same. All of which were nothing, and could not exist, if this personal union and communion of the natures in the person of Christ, did not exist *realiter*, that is, in deed and in truth.

On account of this personal union and communion of the natures, Mary, the blessed Virgin, brought forth, not a mere man, but a man who is truly the Son of God the Most High, as the angel, Luke 1, 32, testifies. This Son of God even in his mother's womb, demonstrated his divine majesty, in being born of a virgin, her virginity remaining inviolate; hence she was truly the mother of God, and yet remained a virgin.

By virtue of this personal union and communion, he also wrought all his miracles, and, at his pleasure, when and as he pleased, he manifested this divine majesty of his, and not for the first alone after his resurrection and ascension, but also in the state of his humiliation: for instance, at the marriage in Cana of Galilee, John 2, 11; again, among the learned, when he was twelve years of age, Luke 2, 46; again, in the garden, when with a word he smote down his enemies,

John 18, 6; likewise in death, when he died not simply as another man, but *with* and *in* his death, conquered sin, death, Satan, hell, and eternal perdition,—a thing which the human nature alone could not have accomplished, without having been thus personally united with the divine nature.

From this union and communion of the natures, the human nature also has its exaltation, since the resurrection from the dead, above all creatures in heaven and on earth, which is only by his entire resignation of the form of a servant, and yet, not of the human nature; for this he retains to eternity,—and his being placed in the full participation and possession of the divine majesty, according to his assumed human nature. This majesty, however, he had immediately in his conception, even in his mother's womb; but, as the Apostle testifies, Phil. 2, 7, he "made himself of no reputation," and, as doctor Luther explains it, in the state of his humiliation he kept it concealed, and used it, not always, but when he pleased.

But now, since he has ascended to heaven not merely as another saint, but, as the Apostle, Eph. 4, 10, testifies, ascended above all heavens, he also really fills all things, and rules and reigns, not only as God, but also as man, every where present, from sea to sea, unto the ends of the earth; as the Prophets, Psalm 93; Zach. 9, 10, foretell concerning him, and as the Apostles, Mark 16, 20, testify, that he every where co-operated with them, and confirmed their words with signs following. These operations he attended, not in a mode local and circumscribed, but, as doctor Luther has explained, in consequence of his omnipresence at the right hand of God, which is not a particular *place* in heaven, (as the sacramentarians pretend, without evidence from the Scripture,) but which is nothing less than the Almighty *power* of God, which fills heaven and earth, and in the possession of which Christ, according to his humanity, was placed *realiter*, that is, in deed and in truth, without confusion and equalization of the natures, in their essence and essential attributes. From this communicated power, therefore, Christ, by virtue of the words of his testament, can be and is truly present with his body and blood in the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, to which he directed us through his word. This is possible to no other man, because no man is united with the divine nature, and placed in this divine, omnipotent majesty and power, through and in the personal union of the two natures in Christ, in such a manner, as Jesus, the Son of Mary, is, in whom the divine and human natures are personally united with each other; so that in Christ "dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily," Col. 2, 9. And in this personal union there is a communion of the natures so

exalted, so intimate and inexpressible, as to attract the admiration, the delight, and joy of the angels in beholding it, as Peter, 1 Pet. 1, 12, testifies. But all this shall hereafter be regularly and more fully explained.

From the foundation which we have now mentioned, and from which we have explained the *personal union*, that is, the manner in which the divine and human natures in the person of Christ are united with each other, that they have in common among themselves not only the names, but also communion in deed and in truth, without any confusion or identity of these in their essence, results also the doctrine *de communicatione idiomatum;* that is, concerning the true communion of the properties of those natures; concerning which matter we shall hereafter further speak.

For since it is positively true, *quod propria non egrediantur sua subjecta*, that is, that each nature retains its essential properties, and these are not transferred from the one nature into the other, as water is drawn out from one vessel into another; there could neither be nor exist any communion of the properties, if the aforenamed personal union or communion of the natures did not truly exist in the person of Christ. But this, next to the article concerning the holy Trinity, is the greatest mystery in heaven and on earth, as St. Paul, 1 Tim. 3, 16, testifies: "Without controversy, great is the mystery of godliness; God was manifest in the flesh." For since the apostle Peter, 2 Pet. 1, 4, testifies in clear terms, that also we, in whom Christ dwells only by grace, on account of this high mystery in Christ, become partakers of the divine nature; what kind of a communion of the divine nature, then, must this be, concerning which the Apostle says, that *in Christ dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily*, Col. 2, 9; so that God and man are one person! But it is very important that this doctrine *de communicatione idiomatum*, that is, concerning the communion of the properties of both natures, should be treated and explained with due distinction. For the propositions or predications, which are used in speaking of the person of Christ, and of the natures and properties, are not all of one and the same kind or manner. And if we speak concerning this matter without due distinction, it involves this doctrine, and the inexperienced reader is easily led astray. For these reasons, the following illustration should be carefully observed, which, to render it more plain and intelligible to the reader, may be comprehended in three chief articles.

First, since in Christ there remain two distinct natures, unchanged and unconfounded in their natural essence and properties, and nevertheless the two natures constitute but one person; that which is even

the attribute of the one nature alone, is ascribed, not to that nature only, as separated, but to the whole person, who at the same time is God and man, whether he be called God or man.

But to speak in this way, it does not follow, that that which is ascribed to the person, is at the same time the attribute of both natures; but it is distinctly explained according to which nature each is ascribed to the person. Thus the *Son of God was born of the seed of David, according to the flesh*, Rom. 1, 3. Again, *Christ was put to death in the flesh, and he has suffered for us in or according to the flesh*, 1 Pet. 3, 18, and 4, 1.

But the secret and also the public sacramentarians conceal their pernicious error under these words, in which it is asserted, that that which is the property of one nature, is ascribed to the whole person, while they name the whole person indeed, but nevertheless understand by it merely the one nature, and exclude the other nature entirely, as if the mere human nature had suffered for us; as doctor Luther, in his Larger Confession concerning the holy Supper, writes concerning the *allœosi*, alternations, of Zwingle. We shall, therefore, introduce the words of doctor Luther himself, for the purpose of securing the church of God in the best manner against this error; thus read his own words:*

"This is called by Zwingle, *allœosis*, when something is said concerning the divinity of Christ, which nevertheless belongs to the humanity. For instance, where it is said in the Scripture: 'Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory?' Luke 24, 26. Here Zwingle pretends in an artful manner, that Christ is taken for the human nature. Beware, beware, I say, of this *allœosis*, it is the mask of the devil; for it will finally prepare a Christ, according to whom I certainly would not wish to be a Christian: namely, that henceforth Christ neither is nor does any more with his suffering and life, than a mere saint. For if I were to believe that the human nature alone has suffered for me, Christ would be a Savior of little worth to me, but he himself indeed would need a Savior. In a word, it cannot be expressed what the devil seeks with this *allœosis*." And a little afterwards he says: "If by chance that old sorceress, madam Reason, the grandmother of this *allœosis*, might cry out, saying: 'The divinity can neither suffer nor die;' you should reply: 'This is true, but nevertheless, since the divinity and humanity in Christ constitute one person, the Scripture, on account of this hypostatical union, attributes also to the divinity all what occurs to

* Tom. 2, Wittemb., fol. 188.

the humanity, and in turn, to the humanity all that occurs to the divinity;' and thus it is in truth. For, this you must affirm:—The person (as Christ indicated) suffers, dies; now the person is true God, therefore it is rightly said, the Son of God suffers. For although the one part, (so to speak,) as the divinity, suffers not, yet the person suffers, which is God, in the other portion, as in the humanity; for in truth the Son of God was crucified for us; that is, the person which is God. For this it was, this, I say, the person was crucified, according to the human nature." And again, a little afterwards, he says: "If this *allœosis* should stand, as Zwingle proposed it, Christ would have to be two persons, a divine and a human, since Zwingle distorts the passages of Scripture concerning suffering, to the human nature alone, and in every respect separates them from the divinity. For where the works are divided and separated, there the person itself must also be divided, because all the works and sufferings are attributed, not to the natures, but to the person. For it is the person that does and suffers all; one infliction according to the one nature, another according to the other nature. All this the learned well know. Wherefore, we regard Christ our Lord as God and man in one person, neither confounding the natures, nor dividing the person."

Again, in his work concerning councils and churches,* doctor Luther says: "We Christians must know, that if God is not also on the balance, and does not oppose our weight, we must sink to the ground with our side. By this I mean, that if it could not be said that God died for us, but only a man, we are lost: but if the death of God, and the God who died for us lie in the scale, his preponderance will cause us to rise as a weight inconceivably light; yet indeed he can also rise up again, or rebound from this scale: but he could not be placed into this scale, unless he had become man like unto us; so that it might be said, the God who died, the passion of God, the blood of God, the death of God. For God in his nature cannot die: but now, since God and man are united in one person, it is rightly called the death of God, when the man dies, who is one thing or one person with God." Thus far Luther. From these words it is evident, that it is an erroneous assertion, when it is said or written, that the aforenamed expressions, God suffered, God died, are only verbal predications, and are not so in deed. For our simple Christian faith teaches that the Son of God, who became man, suffered and died for us, and redeemed us with his blood.

* Tom. 7, Wittemb., fol. 30.

Second, with respect to the execution of the office of Christ, the person acts and operates, not in, with, through, or according to one nature alone, but in, with, according to, and through both natures; or as the council of Chalcedon says, one nature operates in communion with the other, that which is the attribute of each one. Thus Christ is our Mediator, our Redeemer, our King, our High-priest, our Head, our Pastor, &c., not according to one nature alone, whether it be the divine or the human, but according to both natures, as we have already fully illustrated in another place.

Third, but it is quite a different thing, if in reference to this subject, it be inquired, asked, or discussed, whether the natures in the personal union in Christ, have nothing else or more than merely their natural, essential attributes alone; for that they have and retain these, was proved above.

Now, relative to the divine nature in Christ, *since with God there is no variableness*, James 1, 17; the divine nature of Christ, by the incarnation, neither increased nor diminished in its essence and attributes, and through the incarnation, the divine nature in itself or through itself was neither diminished nor augmented.

But in reference to the assumed human nature in the person of Christ, some indeed have contended, that this even in the personal union with the divine nature, has nothing more than merely its natural, essential properties, according to which that person is in all respects like unto the person of other men. Hence they affirm that nothing should nor can be ascribed to the human nature in Christ that is above or contrary to its natural properties, although the testimony of the Scripture attributes such to the human nature of Christ. But that this opinion is false and wrong, is so evident from the word of God, that their own associates now reprehend and reject this error. For the holy Scripture, and the ancient Fathers, upon the authority of the Scripture, testify forcibly, that the human nature in Christ, for the reason and from the circumstance, that it is personally united with the divine nature in Christ, (having laid off the form of a servant and the state of humiliation, being now glorified, and exalted to the right hand of the majesty and power of God,) has received over and above its natural, essential, and permanent human properties, also special, high, great, supernatural, inscrutable, ineffable, heavenly prerogatives in majesty, glory, power, and might, above all that can be named, not only in this, but also in the world to come; so that the human nature in Christ (in its measure and mode) co-operates in the duties of the office of Christ, and also has its efficacy, that is, its virtue and operation, not only from, and according to, its natural, essential properties,

or only so far as its virtue and efficacy extend, but chiefly from, and according to, the majesty, the glory, the power, and might, which it has received through the personal union, the glorification, and exaltation. And this our adversaries can scarcely dare to deny now; and yet they dispute and contend that these are merely created gifts, or finite qualities, with which the human nature in Christ is endowed and adorned, like those in the saints; and that by their own thoughts and by their own argumentations, or proofs, they would attempt to describe, and to calculate what the human nature in Christ, without abolishing the same, can or should be capable or incapable of.

But the best, the surest, and safest method to be pursued in this controversy is this, namely, that no one can know better and more certainly what Christ has received according to his assumed human nature, through the personal union, the glorification or exaltation, and what his assumed human nature is capable of, above its natural properties without abolishing the same, than Christ our Lord himself: but he has revealed these things in his word, so far as it is necessary for us to know them in this life. Now, in reference to this matter, in so far as we have clear and indubitable testimony in the Scripture, we should simply believe it, and in no way dispute in opposition to it, as if the human nature in Christ were not capable of it.

It is very true indeed, that Christ does possess those created gifts originally conferred on human nature, essentially in himself; but these gifts by no means equal that majesty which the Scripture, and the ancient Fathers, according to Scripture, ascribe to the assumed human nature in Christ.

For to vivify, to have all dominion and all power in heaven and on earth, to have all things in his hands, to have all things subjected under his feet, to purify from sins, &c., are not created gifts, but divine and immortal attributes, which are nevertheless, according to the declaration of the Scripture, given and communicated to the man Christ, John 5, 27, and 6, 39; Matt. 28, 18; Dan. 7, 14; John 3, 35, and 13, 3; Matt. 11, 28; Eph. 1, 22; Heb. 2, 8; 1 Cor. 5, 27; John 1, 3.

And the fact that this communication is not to be understood *per phrasin aut modum loquendi*, that is, merely verbally or phraseologically, concerning the person of Christ according to the divine nature alone, but according to the assumed human nature, these three firm and irrefutable arguments prove, which we shall now recite.

1. This is a rule approved by the whole, ancient, orthodox church unanimously,—that whatever the holy Scripture testifies that Christ has received in time, he received not according to the divine

nature, (according to which he had all things from eternity,) but the person of Christ has received it in time, *ratione et respectu humanæ naturæ*, that is, according to the assumed human nature.

2. The Scripture, John 5, 21, 22, and 6, 39, clearly testifies, that the power to *make alive and to exercise judgment, is* GIVEN *to Christ, because he is the Son of man*, and because he has flesh and blood.

3. The Scripture does not speak only in general concerning the person of the Son of man, but refers also expressly to his assumed human nature, when it is said, 1 John 1, 7: *The blood of Christ cleanseth us from all sin*,—not only according to the merit which was once achieved upon the Cross; but in this place John says concerning this matter, that in the work or act of justification, not only the divine nature in Christ, but also his *blood* cleanses us from all sin, *per modum efficaciæ*, that is, effectively. Thus, John 6, 51, the *flesh of Christ* is a quickening food. And from this declaration of the Apostle the council of Ephesus concluded, that the *flesh* of Christ has the power to make alive. And concerning this article there are many other excellent testimonies adduced from the ancient, orthodox churches, elsewhere in our writings.

We should, therefore, and must believe according to the Scripture, that Christ received this power according to his human nature, and that it is given and communicated to the assumed human nature in Christ. But, as already stated, since the two natures in Christ are so united as not to be mixed together, or one nature changed into the other, and since each one retains its natural, essential property, so that the attributes of the one nature never become the attributes of the other nature, this doctrine must also be correctly explained, and diligently secured against all heresies.

Now, in reference to this matter, we advance no new thoughts of our own, but receive and repeat the explanations which the ancient, orthodox church has given from good grounds derived from the holy Scripture, concerning this subject; namely, that this divine virtue, life, power, majesty, and glory, are given to the assumed human nature in Christ; but not in such a manner as the Father communicated unto the Son, according to his divine nature, his essence and all the divine attributes from eternity, by which he is one essence with the Father, and equal with God. For Christ is *equal with the Father according to the divine nature alone:* but *according to the assumed human nature he is subordinate to God.* From this it is evident, that we make no confusion, equalization, or abolition of the natures

in Christ. And consequently, the power to make alive does not exist in the flesh of Christ in the same manner as it does in his divine nature, namely, as an essential attribute.

But this communication was not effected through an essential or natural infusion of the properties of the divine nature into the human, as if the humanity of Christ had them for itself and separated from the divine essence; or, as if through this communication, the human nature in Christ had laid off its natural, essential properties entirely, and were now either changed into the divinity, or were in and of itself equal with it through these communicated properties; or, that now both natures should be of the same, or indeed, of equal, natural, essential properties and powers. For these and similar errors were justly rejected and condemned by authority of the Scripture, in the ancient and approved councils: *Nullo enim modo vel facienda vel admittenda est, aut conversio, aut confusio, aut exæquatio, sive naturarum in Christo, sive essentialium proprietatum.* That is: For in no manner shall there be made or admitted, a conversion, or a confusion, or an equalization of the natures in Christ, or of their essential properties.

And indeed, we have never understood these words (*realis communicatio*, or *realiter communicari*, that is, the communication or communion which takes place in deed and in truth,) concerning a *physica communicatione vel essentiali transfusione*, that is, concerning an essential, natural communion or effusion, through which the natures are mixed in their essence and in their essential properties; as some have craftily and maliciously perverted these words and expressions contrary to the dictates of their own conscience, for the purpose of rendering the pure doctrine questionable: but we have only used them in opposition to the *verbali communicationi*, that is, to that doctrine, in which these persons pretend, that this communication is merely a *phrasis*, or *modus loquendi*, that is, nothing more than mere words, names, and titles; and upon this verbal communication they insisted so strenuously that they would know of no other communion. Wherefore, to a true explanation of the majesty of Christ, we have used these words (*de reali communicatione*), and wished to indicate by them, that this communion has really been effected, yet without any confusion of the natures and of their essential properties.

Thus, then, we hold and teach with the ancient, orthodox church, as she has explained this doctrine from the Scripture, that the human nature in Christ has received this majesty according to the manner of the personal union; namely, that since all the fulness of the God-

head dwells in Christ, Col. 2, 9, not as in holy men or angels, but *bodily*, as in its own body, it shines forth with all its majesty, power, glory, and operation, in the assumed human nature, voluntarily, when and as Christ pleases, exercising, showing, and perfecting his divine power, glory, and operation, *in*, *with*, and *through* this assumed human nature, as the soul in the body and fire in red-hot iron do; (for by these similitudes, as already stated, the whole, ancient church explained this doctrine.) But this majesty of the human nature was hidden and withheld at the time of humiliation. But now, the form of a servant being laid off, the majesty of Christ appears fully, efficiently, and manifestly before all the saints in heaven and on earth, and we also in the life to come shall see his glory face to face, as John, John 17, 24, testifies.

For this reason, there is and remains in Christ only one divine omnipotence, power, majesty, and glory, which is the property of the divine nature alone. But this shines, exhibits, and manifests itself fully, yet spontaneously, *in*, *with*, and *through* the assumed, the exalted human nature in Christ. Precisely as to shine and to burn are not the properties of iron, but the power to shine and to burn is the property of the fire; but since the fire is united with the iron, it exhibits and manifests its own power to shine and to burn, in, with, and through this red-hot iron; so that also this red-hot iron through this union, has the power to shine and to burn, without a change of the essence, and of the natural properties of the fire or of the iron.

Wherefore, these testimonies of the Scripture, which speak concerning the majesty, to which the human nature in Christ is exalted, we receive not in the sense, that this divine majesty (which is the property of the divine nature of the Son of God) in the person of the Son of man, should be ascribed to Christ according to his divine nature alone, or that this majesty should be in the human nature of Christ in such a manner, that his human nature should have only the bare title and name of this divine majesty, *per phrasin et modum loquendi*, that is, merely in words, but no communion at all with it, in deed and in truth. For, (since God is a spiritual, indivisible essence, and accordingly every where and in every creature, and in whomsoever he is—but especially in the believing and in the saints—he dwells; there he has his majesty with and by himself,) it might also, according to the above false hypothesis, be said with truth, that in every creature, in whom God is, but especially in the believer and the saint, in whom God dwells, all the fulness of the Godhead dwells bodily, in these all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge

are hidden, to these all power in heaven and on earth is given, since unto them the Holy Spirit, who has all power, is given. But in this manner there would be no distinction made between Christ according to his human nature and pious men, and thus he would be robbed of his majesty, which he has received above all creatures, as man, or according to his human nature. For no other creature, neither man nor angel, can or should say: "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth;" although God is in the saints with all the fulness of the Godhead, which he has every where with himself; but he does not dwell in them *bodily*, as he does in Christ, nor is he *personally* united with them. For, by reason of this personal union, Christ says, even according to his human nature: "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth," Matt. 28, 18. Again, "Jesus knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands," John 13, 3. Again, "In him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily," Col. 2, 9. Again, "Thou hast crowned him with glory and honor. Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands: thou hast put all things under his feet," Psalms 8, 5, 6. "For in that he put all in subjection under him, he left nothing that is not put under him," Heb. 2, 7, 8. "But when he saith all things are put under him, it is manifest that he is excepted which did put all things under him," 1 Cor. 15, 27.

But we in no respect believe, teach, or confess, that there is an effusion of the majesty of God and of all its attributes into the human nature of Christ, through which the divine nature is weakened, or through which any portion of its attributes is transferred to the human nature, which it does not retain in itself; or, that the human nature has received into its substance and essence the divine majesty separated or distinguished from the nature and essence of the Son of God, as when water, wine, or oil is poured out of one vessel into another. For neither the human nature, nor any other creature either in heaven or on earth, is susceptible of the omnipotence of God, in such a manner as to become an almighty essence in itself; or, as to have almighty attributes in and of itself. For in this manner the human nature in Christ would be denied, and transmuted wholly and entirely into the divine,—things which are contrary to the doctrine of our Christian faith, and of all the Prophets and Apostles.

We believe, teach, and confess, however, that God the Father so gave his Spirit unto Christ his beloved Son, according to the assumed humanity, (hence he is also called Messiah, that is, the Anointed,) that he received the gifts of this Spirit not *with measure*, John 3, 34, as the saints. For in Christ our Lord, according to his assumed

human nature, (since, according to the divine nature, he is one essence with the Holy Spirit,) rests the Spirit of wisdom, and of understanding, and of counsel, and of strength, and of perception, but not in such a manner that hence as man, he knows and is able to accomplish only some things, as the saints through the Spirit of God, who works in them only created gifts, know and are able to accomplish: but since Christ, according to his divine nature, is the second person in the holy Trinity, and since from him no less than from the Father, the Holy Spirit proceeds, and consequently is and remains his and the Father's own Spirit to all eternity, not separated from the Son of God; therefore unto Christ according to the flesh, which is personally united with the Son of God, the whole fulness of the Spirit, (as the Fathers say,) is communicated through this hypostatical union. But this voluntarily exhibits and exerts itself in, with, and through the human nature of Christ with all its power, so that he knows not only some things, and is ignorant of others, and is able to accomplish not only some things, and is unable to accomplish others; but he knows and is able to accomplish *all things*. For the Father poured out upon the Son, *without measure*, the Spirit of wisdom and of power, so that he, as man, has received through this personal union *all* perception and *all* power in deed and in truth. And thus *all* the treasures of wisdom are hidden in him, thus *all* power is given unto him, and he is seated at the right hand of the majesty and power of God. And it is manifest from history, that in the days of the emperor Valens, there was a peculiar sect among the Arians, who were called *Agnoetæ*, because they imagined that the Son, the word of the Father, knows all things indeed; but many things are unknown to his assumed human nature. This heresy also Gregorius Magnus refuted.

On account of this personal union and the communion following from it, which the divine and human natures in the person of Christ have with each other in deed and in truth, that is attributed to Christ according to the flesh, which his flesh according to its nature and essence cannot be in itself, and which it cannot have apart from this union: namely, that his flesh is a true, vivifying food, and that his blood is a true, vivifying drink; as the two hundred Fathers of the council of Ephesus have testified, *Carnem Christi esse vivificam seu vivificatricem*, that is, that the flesh of Christ is a life-giving flesh: hence too, this man Christ alone, and no other man, either in heaven or on earth, can say with truth: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them," Matt. 18, 20. Again, "I am with you always, even unto the end of the world," ch. 28, verse 20.

And these testimonies of Scripture we receive not in the sense, that only the divinity of Christ is present with us in the Christian church and congregation, as if this presence in no way pertained to Christ according to his humanity. For in this manner Peter, Paul, and all the saints in heaven, since the divinity, which is every where, dwells in them, would also be present with us on earth,—a thing which the holy Scripture, however, testifies concerning Christ alone and no other man. But we maintain that by the foregoing testimonies of Scripture, the majesty of the man Christ is declared, which according to his humanity Christ received at the right hand of the majesty and power of God; namely, that also *according to* and *with* this his assumed human nature, he can be and also is present wherever he pleases, and that he is present with his church and congregation on earth, as Mediator, Head, King, and High-priest,—not half, or the half alone, but the whole person of Christ, to which pertain both natures, the divine and the human,—not only according to his divinity, but also *according to* and *with* his assumed human nature, according to which he is our brother, and we are flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone, Eph. 5, 30. And indeed he instituted his holy Supper for a more certain assurance and confirmation of the fact, that also according to the nature, in which he has flesh and blood, he will be with us, will dwell in us, will operate in us, and be efficacious.

Upon this permanent foundation doctor Luther, of sacred memory, has likewise based his doctrine concerning the majesty of Christ according to his human nature.

In his Larger Confession concerning the Supper of the Lord, he writes thus in reference to the person of Christ:* "But now he is a man, who is supernaturally one person with God, and apart from this man there is no God; hence it must follow, that also according to that third supernatural mode he is and may be in all places wherever God is, and all are thoroughly full of Christ, even according to his humanity, not in that first corporeal, comprehensible mode, but according to the supernatural, divine mode.

"For here you must confess and say, that according to his divinity, wherever he be, there Christ is a heavenly, divine person, and is there also really and personally; as indeed his conception in his mother's womb shows. For if he be the Son of God, he had to be naturally and personally in his mother's womb, and become man. Now if he is natural and personal, where he is, there he must also be

* Tom. 2. Wittemb., fol. 191.

man; for in Christ there are not two separate persons, but there is only one person. Wherever this is, there it is the one undivided person. And in whatsoever place you can rightly say, Here is God, there you must also say, the man Christ is also. And if you would point out any place, where God might be, and not the man, the person would already be divided. Because I could then say with truth, here is the God who is not man, and who has never yet become man.

"But away with such a God from me.* For from this it would follow, that space and situation separated the two natures from each other, and divided the person, when nevertheless death and all the devils could neither divide nor separate them. And indeed, such a Christ would be of little value to me, who could be at no more than one single place simultaneously a divine and a human person, and who at all other places must be a mere separated God, and a divine person without humanity. No, dear friend, wherever you place God for me, there you must also place the humanity in connection; for the two natures in Christ can neither be separated nor divided: they have become one person in Christ, and the Son of God does not separate from himself the assumed humanity."

In his small work on the last words of David, doctor Luther, a little before his death, wrote thus:† "According to the other, the temporal, human nativity, the eternal power of God was also given unto him, but in time, and not from eternity. For the humanity of Christ has not been from eternity, like the divinity, but, according to our computation, Jesus the Son of Mary is now 1543 years of age. But from the very moment, in which the divinity and humanity were united in one person, the man, the Son of Mary, is called and truly is omnipotent, eternal God; who has eternal power, who created and preserves all things, *per communicationem idiomatum*, because with the divinity, he is one person, even true God. Concerning this he speaks, where it is said: 'All things are delivered unto me of my Father,' Matt. 11, 27. And in another place: 'All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth,' Matt. 28, 18. Unto what Me? Unto me, Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Mary, born man. From eternity I have this power of the Father, before I became man. But when I became man, I received it in time according to the humanity, and retained it in secret until my resurrection and ascension, when

* That is: God prevent me from saying this. Or: Be it far from me to embrace or to honor such a God.

† Tom. 5, Wittemb., German, fol. 545.

it should be manifested and declared, as Paul, Rom. 1, 4, writes: 'He was declared to be the Son of God with power;' John calls it *glorified*, John 17, 10."

Similar testimonies are found in the writings of doctor Luther, but especially in his book entitled: *That these words* (this is my body) *remain unshaken still*, and in his Larger Confession concerning the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper. These writings, as well founded explications of the majesty of Christ at the right hand of God and of his testament, we wish, for the sake of brevity, repeated in this article as well as in the article concerning the holy Supper of the Lord, in the manner above mentioned.

Therefore we regard it as a pernicious error, to take away that majesty from Christ according to his humanity. For in this way Christians are deprived of that sweetest consolation, which they draw from the aforenamed promises concerning the presence and indwelling of their Head, their King, and High-priest, who has promised them that not only his mere divinity should be with them, (which to us miserable sinners is like a consuming fire to dry stubble,) but he, yea he, the man who conversed with the Disciples, who tasted all kinds of tribulation in his assumed human nature, and who, from that circumstance, can have compassion upon us, as upon men, who are his brethren, will be with us in all our afflictions, even according to *that nature* in which he is our brother, and we are flesh of his flesh.

Wherefore, with one consent, we reject and condemn with our lips and our hearts, as repugnant to the Prophetic and Apostolic Scriptures, to the authentic Symbols, and to our Christian Augsburg Confession, all errors, which are not conformable with the doctrine which we have now laid down, as these, for instance:

1. If it should be believed or taught by any one, that the human nature, on account of the personal union, is *confused* with the divine, or *changed* into the same.

2. That the human nature in Christ is every where present in the same manner as the Deity, as an infinite essence, through the *essential* power and attribute of its own nature.

3. Again, that the human nature in Christ has become *equal* to the divine nature in its substance and *essence*, or in its essential attributes.

4. Again, that the humanity of Christ is *locally expanded* into all places in heaven and on earth,—a thing which is not to be attributed even to the Deity. But that Christ by his divine omnipotence can be present where he pleases with his body, (which he has seated at the right hand of the majesty and power of God,) especially where he

has promised to be present, as in the holy Supper, his omnipotence and wisdom can effect this, indeed, without a transmutation or an abolition of his true human nature.

5. Again, that the *bare* human nature in Christ has suffered for us, and redeemed us, with which nature the Son of God had no communion at all in the passion.

6. Again, that Christ *according to his divine nature alone*, is present with us on earth, in the preached word and in the holy sacraments, where they are legitimately used, and that this presence of Christ does by no means concern his assumed human nature.

7. Again, that the assumed human nature in Christ has no communion at all with the divine virtue, power, wisdom, majesty, and glory: but that it has in common only the *mere titles* and *names*.

These errors, and all that is contrary and adverse to the doctrine here advocated, we reject and condemn as repugnant to the pure word of God, the holy Prophetic and Apostolic Scriptures, and to our Christian Faith and Confession. And since in the holy Scripture, Christ is called a mystery, which has given offence to every heretic, we admonish all Christians not inconsiderately to pry into this mystery with their human reason; but with the beloved Apostles, simply to believe, to close the eyes of their reason, to suffer their understanding to be taken captive in the obedience of Christ, and to console themselves in him: and thus to rejoice without ceasing, that our flesh and blood is placed so high at the right hand of the majesty and almighty power of God. Thus we shall find most assuredly permanent consolation in adversity, and be well secured against pernicious errors.

IX. OF CHRIST'S DESCENT INTO HELL.

Since various explanations of the article concerning Christ's descent into hell, are found among the ancient Christian teachers, as well as among some of our divines, we leave the matter in the simplicity of our Christian faith which is comprehended in the Apostolic Symbol, to which doctor Luther referred in his sermon delivered in the castle at Torgau, A. D. 1533,* concerning Christ's descent into hell; where we make this confession: "I believe in Christ the Lord, the Son of God, who died, and was buried, and descended into hell."

* Here, in the Leipsic edition of 1790, from which we translate, follows a part of this sermon of doctor Luther's, as explanatory of this subject; but since it does not occur in the Dresden edition of 1580, and others, it was deemed unimportant to retain it in our translation.—[TRANS.

In this confession we perceive that the burial of Christ and his descent into hell, are distinguished as different articles. We therefore, unreservedly believe, that the whole person, God and man, after his burial, descended into hell, and destroyed all its powers, conquered the devil, and took away all his authority. But in reference to the manner in which this was effected, we should not bewilder ourselves with wild and daring imaginations. For no better can this article be comprehended by human reason and the five senses, than the preceding one with respect to the manner in which Christ is seated at the right hand of the almighty power and majesty of God; but it must be simply believed, and the invariable sense of the word of God must be maintained. And thus we retain the essence of this doctrine, and have the consolation, that neither the devil can capture nor hell can injure us or any one who believes in Christ.

X. OF CHURCH USAGES.

Among the theologians of the Augsburg Confession a controversy has likewise arisen concerning ceremonies or church usages which are neither commanded nor prohibited in the word of God, but are introduced into the church for the purpose of preserving good order and decorum, or other Christian discipline. The one party maintained, that even in time of persecution and in case it should be necessary to make known our confession, even if the enemies of the Gospel do not agree with us in doctrine, we might nevertheless with clear conscience, upon the urgent solicitation of our adversaries, re-establish certain abrogated ceremonies, which are things indifferent in themselves, neither commanded nor prohibited of God; and thus conform with them in such ceremonies, or indifferent things. But the other party contended, that in time of persecution, when a confession of faith is required, we can by no means without upbraiding conscience, and without violence to divine truth, gratify our adversaries in re-establishing things indifferent; especially, when they urge it for the purpose of suppressing the pure doctrine, and of gradually insinuating their own false doctrine into our churches again, either by open violence and force or by secret machinations.

To explain this controversy, and, by the grace of God, finally to determine it, we shall in reference to this matter, give the Christian reader the following simple advice:

If these things are proposed under the title and character of things external and indifferent, which (although they be concealed by a false

color) are nevertheless really adverse to the word of God, they must not be regarded as things indifferent and arbitrary, but they must be avoided as forbidden of God. And indeed, among things which are really arbitrary and indifferent, those ceremonies must not be numbered, which have the appearance, (or present a semblance of avoiding persecution,) as if our religion differed but little from that of the papists; or as if the same were not very disagreeable to us; or when these ceremonies are required or re-established with a view to conform the two conflicting religions, and to unite them in one body; or when there is danger of securing a retreat to popery again, and a digression from the pure doctrine of the Gospel and from true religion; or when these results may gradually ensue.

For in this case that which Paul writes, shall and must have its authority: "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers; for what communion hath light with darkness? Wherefore, come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord," 2 Cor. 6, 14, 17.

And in like manner, things which are unnecessary for the preservation either of good order, or of Christian discipline, or of evangelical prosperity in the church, are not truly indifferent; but they are useless and foolish displays.

But in reference to things which are really *adiaphora*, or indifferent, (as explained above,) we believe, teach, and confess, that these ceremonies in and of themselves are no divine service, nor any part of it, but they must be duly distinguished from it. For thus it is written: "In vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men," Matt. 15, 9.

Accordingly, we believe, teach, and confess, that in all places and at all times, the congregation of God has authority and power to alter, to diminish, or to increase these ceremonies for their own convenience, if it is done decently and orderly, without levity and offence, as it may at any time be deemed most useful, requisite, and conducive to good order, Christian discipline, evangelical moderation, and edification of the church. And how far, in these outward and indifferent things, we can with good conscience concede and give way to the weak in faith, Paul, Rom. 14, 21, teaches, and, Acts 16, 3, and ch. 21, 26, and 1 Cor. 9, 19, indicates by his example.

We also believe, teach, and confess, that in a time when a confession of divine truth is required, namely, when the enemies of the word of God desire to suppress the pure doctrine of the holy Gospel, the whole congregation of God, yes, every Christian, but especially the ministers of the word, as the overseers of the congregation of God,

are under obligation, by virtue of the divine word, to confess, not only in words, but also in reality and in fact, the doctrine and all that pertains to the entire system of religion, freely and openly. And in this case, we believe, that even in these indifferent things, they should not yield to their adversaries, nor permit these things to be forced upon themselves by the enemy, either by violence or secret artifice, to the detriment of the right service of God, and to the inculcation and establishment of idolatry. For thus it is written: "Stand fast, therefore, in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage," Gal. 5, 1. Again: "And that because of false brethren unawares brought in, who come in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage; to whom we gave place by subjection, no not for an hour, that the truth of the Gospel might continue with you," Gal. 2, 4, 5. And in this place Paul speaks concerning circumscision, which at that time was made an arbitrary and indifferent thing, 1 Cor. 7, 18. And at another time it was employed in spiritual liberty by Paul, Acts 16, 3. But when the false apostles required and misused circumcision for the confirmation of their false doctrine, as if the works of the law were necessary to righteousness and salvation, Paul declares that he would not give away for a single hour, so that the truth of the Gospel might continue.

Thus Paul yields and gives away to the weak in faith, in the observance of meats and times or days, Rom. 14, 6. But to the false apostles, who wish to impose these observances upon the conscience as necessary things, he will not yield, even in things which are arbitrary and indifferent in themselves: "Let no man, therefore, judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a holy-day," Col. 2, 16. And when in this case, Peter and Barnabas yielded somewhat more than they ought, Paul openly censured them as those who "walked not uprightly, according to the truth of the Gospel," Gal. 2, 14.

For here we are concerned no longer about things external and indifferent, which according to their nature and essence are and continue to be arbitrary in themselves, and accordingly can admit neither command nor prohibition, either to use them or to omit them: but in the first place, about the high article of our Christian faith, as the Apostle testifies: "That the truth of the Gospel might continue," Gal. 2, 5. For the truth of the Gospel is obscured and perverted, when these indifferent things are imposed on our conscience by constraint or a command to be observed. Because these indifferent things are then, either openly required for the confirmation of false doctrine, of

superstition, and of idolatry, and for suppression of the pure doctrine and of Christian liberty, or are at least misused for this purpose, and thus accepted, by the adversary.

We are concerned, moreover, with the article on Christian liberty also, which the Holy Spirit through the mouth of the holy Apostle, so earnestly commanded his church to retain, as has just been stated. For as soon as this article is weakened, and human traditions are obtruded by constraint of the church as necessary, and as if the omission of these were wrong and sinful, the way to idolatry is already paved, by which human commands will afterwards be accumulated, and be held as divine service, not only equal to the commandments of God, but even superior to them.

Thus too, by this concession and conformation in external things, if previously there is not a union effected in doctrine in a Christian manner, the idolatrous are confirmed in their idolatry; but on the contrary, those who truly believe in Christ, are grieved and offended, and weakened in their faith: both of which effects each Christian is under obligation at the hazard of the happiness and salvation of his soul to endeavor to avoid, as it is written: "Wo unto the world because of offences!" Matt. 18, 7. Again: "Whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea," Matt. 18, 6.

But especially should that be considered which Christ declares: "Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven," Matt. 10, 32.

And that this, in reference to these indifferent things, has ever been the faith and confession of the principal teachers of the Augsburg Confession, (in whose footsteps we follow, and by the grace of God we intend to persevere in their confession,) the following testimonies demonstrate, which we shall recite from the Articles of Smalcald, written and subscribed A. D. 1537 and 1540.

Testimonies from the Articles of Smalcald, A. D. 1537.

With respect to this matter the Articles of Smalcald declare thus:* "We do not grant to them (the papistical bishops) that they are the church, and they are not the church; and we shall likewise not listen to what they command or forbid in the name of the church. For, praise be to God, a child of seven years old knows what the church

* In the article concerning the church, see page 304.

is, namely, the saints, the believers, and the lambs who hear the voice of their shepherd." And a little before:* "If the bishops would faithfully discharge their office, and manifest a care for the church and the Gospel, they might, for the sake of peace and tranquillity, but not from necessity, be allowed the privilege to ordain and confirm ourselves and ministers: very carefully avoiding, however, degrading, ridiculous ceremonies, and all wicked, silly, and pompous incantations. But since they neither are nor wish to be true bishops, but political lords and princes, who will neither preach nor teach, nor baptize, nor administer the sacrament, nor transact any work or office in the church, but banish, persecute, and condemn those who are called to this office, the church must not, however, for their sake, remain destitute of ministers."

And under the article concerning popery, the Articles of Smalcald declare thus: "Therefore, as little as we can adore the devil as a Lord or God, so little can we tolerate his apostle, the pope or anti-christ, in his kingdom as head and lord. For falsehood and murder, a destruction of body and soul eternally, is his papal government chiefly."

And in the treatise concerning the power and primacy of the pope, which was appended to the Articles of Smalcald, and subscribed with their own hands by the theologians who were present at that time, we find these words: "No one shall encumber the church with his own ordinances, and no one's power or reputation shall avail more than the word of God."

And a little afterwards: "Inasmuch, then, as these things are so, all Christians should be diligently on their guard, lest they make themselves partakers of this impious doctrine, blasphemy and unjust cruelty; but they should withdraw from the pope and his members or accomplices, as from the kingdom of anti-christ, and execrate it, as Christ has commanded: 'Beware of false prophets,' Matt. 7, 15. And Paul, Tit. 3, 10, commands: 'A man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject.' And 2 Cor. 6, 14, he says: 'Be not unequally yoked together with unbelievers; for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness?'

"Grievous is it, for a person to separate himself from so many countries and people, and to vindicate this doctrine; but here stands the command of God, that every one should be on his guard, and not be an accomplice with those who promulgate false doctrines, or wish to defend them with cruelty."

* Concerning consecration and vocation, see page 303.

Thus doctor Luther also in a special meditation, has reminded the church of God in a detailed manner what should be held concerning ceremonies in general, and concerning indifferent things in particular, *Tom.* 3, *Jen.*, *fol.* 523, as it occured A. D. 1530; and it may be found in the German, *Tom.* 5, *Jen.*

From this explanation every one can understand what may be done or omitted with inviolate conscience, in things indifferent, by a Christian congregation, and by every Christian, particularly in a time when it is necessary that he should make a public confession of his faith, especially if he be a minister, lest God should be provoked to just indignation, love be violated, the enemies of the word of God be strengthened in their attempts, and the weak in faith be offended.

1. Accordingly we reject and condemn as wrong, when human commands are held in themselves as a divine service, or as any part of it.

2. We also reject and condemn as wrong, when these commands are obtruded by constraint, as necessary to be observed by the congregations of God.

3. We likewise repudiate and condemn as wrong the opinion of those who maintain, that in time of persecution we may gratify the enemy in restoring these indifferent things, or conform with them,—an opinion which contributes to a violation of truth.

4. In like manner we regard it as a sin deserving punishment, if in time of persecution, any thing either in things indifferent, or in doctrine, and in whatever else pertains to religion, be transacted in deed and in fact, contrary and in opposition to the Christian Confession, for the sake of the enemies of the Gospel.

5. We also reject and condemn the extravagance of those who so abrogate these indifferent things, as if the congregation of God should not be at liberty at any time and place to use one or more of these according to their convenience, in Christian liberty, as it may be most useful for the church.

In this manner the congregations, on account of dissimilitude of ceremonies, when in Christian liberty one observes more or less of these than the other, should not condemn one another, if they are otherwise united with each other in doctrine and in all doctrinal articles, as also in a right use of the holy sacraments, according to the well known saying: *Dissonantia jejunii non dissolvit consonantiam fidei;* dissimilarity in fasts, should not dissolve the unity in faith.

XI. OF GOD'S FOREKNOWLEDGE AND ELECTION.

Concerning the eternal election of the children of God, no public, offensive, and prolix controversy has hitherto fully arisen among the theologians of the Augsburg Confession. But since in other places this article has been made a subject of serious contention, and since it is slightly agitated by some among us also, not being always set forth by theologians, with uniformity of expression; we have therefore, by the grace of God, in order to prevent disunion and dissension among our posterity, so far as it lies in our power, desired to lay down an explanation here; so that it might be known to all, what our unanimous doctrine, faith, and confession are concerning this article. For the doctrine concerning this article, if it be set forth according to the example of the divine word, neither can nor should be regarded as useless or unnecessary, much less as offensive or injurious; since the holy Scripture considers this article not only at one place casually, but it is copiously treated and inculcated in many places. Nor should the doctrine of the divine word be neglected or rejected on account of the abuse or sinister opinions of others, but much rather should the true sense in reference to this matter be explained from the authority of the Scripture, to avert all abuse and misunderstanding. And accordingly, the simple substance and import of the doctrine concerning this article, are comprehended in the following points:

In the first place, the difference between the *eternal foreknowledge* of God and the *eternal election* of his children to everlasting salvation, must be accurately observed. For the prescience or foresight of God, by which he sees and knows all things before they occur, and which is called the *foreknowledge of God*, extends to all creatures, the good and the bad: he sees and knows all things before,—that which now is or will be, that which now occurs or will occur, whether it be good or bad, since before God all things, whether they be past or future, are manifest and present. For thus it is written: "Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father," Matt. 10, 29. And Psalm 139, 16: "Thine eyes did see my substance, yet being unperfect; and in thy book all my members were written, which in continuance were fashioned, when as yet there was none of them." Again, Isa. 37, 28: "I know thy abode, and thy going out, and thy coming in, and thy rage against me."

But the *eternal election* or *predestination of God*, that is, the ordination of God unto salvation, does not pertain both to the good and to the bad, but only to the children of God, who were elected and ordained to eternal life, before the foundation of the world was laid, as Paul, Eph. 1, 4, 5, declares: "He hath chosen us in Christ Jesus, and predestinated us unto the adoption of children."

The *foreknowledge of God* foresees evils also, and knows them before they happen, but the will of God is not, for that reason, propitious, as it were, to their occurrence. But all these evils, just on the point of being accomplished, which the obstinate will of the devil and of men, keeps plotting and endeavoring to perpetrate, God foresees and knows long beforehand. And this foreknowledge, even in evil deeds and occurrences, preserves its controlling influence, so that certain limits are prescribed by the Lord to these evils, which God neither desires nor approves; and definite bounds are assigned which they cannot transgress, and the immutable law is imposed declaring how long they may endure, and the time and the mode according to which they shall again be arrested and subjected to their punishment. And God so regulates all these things, that they contribute to the glory of his own divine name, and to the salvation of his own elect, while the wicked are confounded and put to shame.

The foreknowledge of God, however, is not the beginning or the cause of evil; (for God does not originate or cause evil, nor does he facilitate or promote it;) but the wicked, perverted will of the devil and of men is the cause of evil. For thus it is written: "O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself; but in me is thine help," Hos. 13, 9. Again, Psalm 5, 4: "Thou art not a God that hath pleasure in wickedness."

But the *eternal election of God* not only foresees and foreknows the salvation of the elect, but through his gracious will and pleasure in Christ Jesus, is also a reason why he procures, facilitates, and promotes our salvation and whatever pertains to it; and upon this our salvation is so firmly grounded that "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it," Matt. 16, 18. For it is written: "And my sheep no one shall pluck out of my hand," John 10, 28. And again, Acts 13, 48: "And as many as were ordained to eternal life believed."

And yet this eternal election or *ordination* of God to everlasting life, must not be contemplated abstractly in the secret, ethereal, impenetrable council of God, as if it comprehended nothing more, or required nothing more, or it must exhaust itself in meditating on what God foresees,—how many and what kind of men will secure salvation; who they are and how many that shall perish for-

ever,—or as if the Lord would appoint, and declare or decree a military review, saying, this one *must* be saved, but that one *must* be lost; this one shall persevere to the end, constant in his fidelity; but that one shall not persevere.

For, from this opinion, many draw and embrace absurd, perilous, and pernicious thoughts, which excite and confirm a delusive feeling either of security and impenitence, or of anguish and despair, so that they indulge vexatious reflections, saying: "Since God has predestined his elect to salvation, before the foundation of the world was laid, Eph. 1, 4, 5, and God's election cannot fail, or be obstructed or changed by any one, Isa. 14, 27; Rom. 9, 19, if, therefore, I am elected to salvation, nothing can injure my salvation, even if I commit all kinds of sin and shame without repentance, even if I do not regard the word and sacrament, nor concern myself about repentance, faith, prayer, or piety;—but I shall and must nevertheless be saved, because the election of God must take place: but if I am not predestined, it will avail nothing even if I do adhere to the word, repent, and believe. For the predestination of God I can neither defeat nor alter."

And these thoughts may arise even in the minds of the pious—although through the grace of God they repent, believe in Christ, and have a desire to live piously—when they imagine unto themselves: "If you are not elected to salvation from eternity, it is all still in vain." And especially do these thoughts present themselves, when the individual takes into consideration his own weakness, and views the examples of those who persevered not, but fell back again.

In opposition to this false opinion and to these perilous thoughts, the following invariable position should be taken, which is indubitable, and cannot deceive our expectation, namely:—It is certain, "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God," not to contribute to a feeling of security, and to impenitence, but to be "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness," 2 Tim. 3, 16. It is also certain, that all things in the word of God are prescribed unto us, not to drive us into despair, but "that we, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope," Rom. 15, 4. Wherefore, it is without any doubt, that this in no way is the rational sense, or the legitimate use of the doctrine concerning the eternal predestination of God; by which either impenitence or despair is excited or confirmed. Nor is this doctrine inculcated in the Scripture in any other manner, but to direct us to the word of God, Eph. 1, 13; 1 Cor. 1, 7, 8; to admonish us to repentance, 2 Tim. 3, 16; to encourage us to godliness, Eph. 1, 4, 13; John 15, 3; to strengthen

our faith, and to confirm us in our salvation, Eph. 1, 4, 13; John 10, 28; 2 Thess. 2, 13.

Wherefore, if we would reflect and discourse correctly and with advantage upon the eternal election or predestination and ordination of the children of God to everlasting life, we should accustom ourselves, not to speculate upon the abstract, hidden, secret, inscrutable foreknowledge of God; but to meditate on it in the manner, in which the counsel, the purpose, and ordination of God, in Christ Jesus, who is the right and the true book of life, are revealed unto us through the word. Therefore, the whole doctrine concerning the purpose, the counsel, will, and ordination of God, belonging to our redemption, call, justification, and salvation, should be comprised together. For in this manner Paul treats and explains this article, Rom. 8, 29, 30; Eph. 1, 4, 5. And so does Christ also in the parable, Matt. 22, 1–14; namely, that in his counsel and purpose God ordained:

1. That the human race are truly redeemed, and reconciled with God through Christ, who by his innocent obedience, suffering, and death, has merited for us that righteousness which avails before God, and eternal life.

2. That this merit of Christ and his benefactions should be offered, administered, and distributed to us through his word and sacraments.

3. He has also decreed, that by his Holy Spirit through the word, when it is preached, heard, and considered, he will be efficacious and active in us, to turn our hearts unto true repentance, and to preserve us in true faith.

4. It is his eternal purpose, to justify all those who in true repentance embrace Christ by genuine faith, to receive them in grace, and to adopt them as children and heirs of eternal life.

5. And to sanctify those in love, who are thus justified, as St. Paul, Eph. 1, 4, testifies.

6. In his eternal counsel he has purposed to defend them in their great weakness against the devil, the world, and the flesh, and to govern and to lead them in his ways, and, if they should fall, to raise them up again, and to comfort and preserve them in crosses and temptations.

7. It is his eternal decree to strengthen and increase in them that good work which he has commenced, and to preserve them unto the end, if they adhere to the word of God, are diligent in prayer, adhere to the goodness of God, and faithfully use the gifts received.

8. And in his eternal counsel he has decreed, that he will finally render those whom he has elected, called, and justified, eternally happy and glorious even in everlasting life.

And in his counsel, purpose, and ordination, God has not only prepared salvation in general, but in mercy he considered also all and each person of the elect, who will ultimately be saved through Christ, and elected them to salvation, and decreed, that in the manner just mentioned, he will through his grace, his gifts, and operation, bring them to this salvation, assist them in it, strengthen, and preserve them.

All this according to the Scripture is comprehended in the doctrine concerning the eternal election of God to the adoption of children, and to everlasting salvation. It should be understood in this article, and it ought never to be excluded or omitted, when we discourse of the purpose, the predestination, the election, and ordination of God to salvation. And if, according to the Scripture, our views are thus formed in reference to this article, we can by the grace of God, clearly understand it.

And for a fuller explication of this subject, and for a salutary use of the doctrine concerning the predestination of God to salvation, it is necessary, since only the elect will be saved, whose names stand written in the book of life, to know by what means and whence it can be discerned *who the elect are*, who can and will embrace this doctrine to their own consolation.

And in reference to this point we should not judge according to our reason, or to the law, or to any external appearance; nor should we attempt to scrutinize the concealed, the hidden depth of divine predestination, but we should attend to the revealed will of God. "For he has made known unto us the mystery of his will," *and brought it to light through Christ, that it might be preached*, Eph. 1, 9, 10, 11; 2 Tim. 1, 9, 10.

But this is revealed unto us in this manner, as Paul, Rom. 8, 29, 30, declares: "Whom he did predestinate," *elect, and ordain*, "them he also called." Now God does not call without means, but through the word; hence he has commanded repentance and remission of sins to be preached. And Paul also testifies the same thing, where he writes: "We are embassadors for Christ: as though God did beseech you by us, be ye reconciled to God," 2 Cor. 5, 20. And the guests, whom the king desired to have at the marriage of his son, he caused to *be called by his servants whom he sent forth*, Matt. 22, 3, 4. And the householder called into his vineyard, some at the first hour, others at the second, third, sixth, ninth, even the eleventh hour, Matt. 20, 3, 6.

If, therefore, we would profitably consider our eternal election to salvation, we must firmly and constantly observe this fact, that, as the preaching of repentance is universal, so is also the promise of the

Gospel, that is, it extends to all persons, Luke 24, 47. Therefore Christ commanded, "That repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations." "For God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son" unto it, John 3, 16. "Christ taketh away the sin of the world," John 1, 29. Christ gave his flesh "for the life of the world," John 6, 51. His blood is "the propitiation *for the sins of the whole world*," 1 John 2, 2. Christ says: "Come unto me, *all* ye that are heavy laden, and I will give you rest, Matt. 11, 28. "God hath concluded them *all* in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon *all*, Rom. 11, 32. "The Lord is not willing that *any* should perish, but that *all* should come to repentance," 2 Pet. 3, 9. "The same Lord over *all* is rich unto *all* that call upon him," Rom. 10, 12. "The righteousness of God, which is by faith of Jesus Christ *unto all*, and *upon all them that believe*, is manifest," Rom. 3, 22. "This is the will of him that sent me, that *every one* which seeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have everlasting life," John 6, 40. Thus it is the command of Christ, Luke 24, 47; Mark 16, 15, that in general unto *all*, unto whom repentance is preached, this promise of the Gospel should also be presented.

And this call of God, through the preaching of the word, we should not regard as uttered in a spirit of dissimulation, but we ought to know that through it God reveals his will; namely, that in those whom he thus calls, he will operate through the word; so that they may be enlightened, converted, and saved. For the word, through which we are called, is a *ministration of the Spirit, which imparts the Spirit, or through which the Spirit is conferred*, 2 Cor. 3, 8; and *the power of God unto salvation*, Rom. 1, 16. And since through the word the Holy Spirit will be efficacious, and strengthen us, and administer power and ability; it is the will of God, that we should receive and believe the word, and be obedient to it.

Hence the elect are thus described: "My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me: and I give unto them eternal life," John 10, 27, 28. And Eph. 1, 11, 13: those who, *according to purpose, are ordained to an inheritance, hear the Gospel*, believe in Christ, pray, and return thanks, and are sanctified in love, have hope, patience, and consolation in crosses, Rom. 8, 16, 25. And although all this is very weak in them, yet they "hunger and thirst after righteousness," Matt, 5, 6.

Thus the Spirit of God bears witness unto the elect, that they are the children of God, and as they know not what they should pray

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and calls us, we should learn and determine what his will towards us is, that whatever it promises us, we should firmly believe and not doubt.

Wherefore, Christ causes the promise of the Gospel to be proposed not only in general, but he also seals it with the sacraments which he has attached as seals of the promise, and thus he confirms it to each believer in particular.

For this reason we, as the Augsburg Confession declares in the eleventh article, retain private absolution, teaching that it is the command of God to believe this absolution, and to feel assured that when we believe the words of the absolution, we are as truly reconciled unto God, as if we had heard a voice from heaven; as the Apology explains this article. But we would be wholly and entirely deprived of this consolation, if from that call which is made through the word and the sacraments we should not infer the will of God toward us.

And even this foundation of our religion would be subverted, namely, that the Holy Spirit is truly present with the preached, the heard, and considered word, and will be efficacious and operate through it. It must, therefore, by no means be understood, as we have mentioned a little before, that those are among the number of the elect, who contemn, reject, blaspheme, and persecute the word of God, Matt. 22, 5, 6; Acts 13, 46; who hearing the word, harden their hearts, Heb. 4, 2, 6, 7; who resist the Holy Spirit, Acts 7, 51; who persevere in sins without repentance, Luke 14, 18; who do not believe in Christ, Matt. 16, 16; who bear only an external appearance of piety, Matt. 7, 22, 23, and 22, 12; or, seek other means, apart from Christ, to righteousness and salvation, Rom. 9, 31. For, even as God has ordained in his counsel, that the Holy Spirit shall call, enlighten, and convert the elect, through the word, and that he will justify and save all those who receive Christ through true faith: he has also decreed in his counsel, that he will harden, reject, and condemn those who are called through the word, if they repudiate the word, and resist the Holy Spirit, who desires to be efficacious and to operate in them through the word, and if they persevere in this obstinacy. And thus many are called, and few chosen.

For few receive the word with seriousness and obey it sincerely; the greater part despise the word, and will not come to the wedding. The cause of this contempt of the word is, not the foreknowledge of God, but the perverted will of man, which rejects or perverts the means and instrument of the Holy Spirit, which God offers unto it through the call, and it strives against the Holy Spirit, who would

be efficacious and operate through the word; as Christ, Matt. 23, 37, says: *How often would I have gathered you together, and you would not!*

Thus many of them receive the word with joy, but afterwards fall off again, Luke 8, 13. But this is not because God would not grant unto those, in whom he has commenced this good work, his grace in order to perseverance; for this is contrary to the declaration of St. Paul, Phil. 1, 6; but it is because they maliciously turn themselves away from the holy command again, grieve and offend the Holy Spirit, intermingle themselves with the filth of the world, and decorate the habitation of their hearts for Satan again. The latter condition of these is worse than the former, 2 Pet. 2, 10; Luke 11, 25, 26; Heb. 10, 26; Eph. 4, 30.

And thus far the mystery of predestination is revealed to us in the word of God. If we continue in these bounds, and rely upon the revealed word of God, this doctrine is very wholesome, and consolatory; for it confirms most forcibly the article, that we are justified and saved by pure grace for the sake of Christ alone, without any of our own works and merits. Before the beginning of time, before we were, indeed before the foundation of the world was laid, when certainly we could have done nothing good, we were elected to salvation by grace in Christ according to the purpose of God, Rom. 9, 11; 2 Tim. 1, 9. And by this doctrine all false opinions and errors concerning the powers of our natural will are subverted; since before the time of the world, God decreed and ordained in his counsel, that he himself by the power of his Holy Spirit, would effect and work in us all that belongs to our conversion, through the word.

Thus this doctrine also affords this beautiful and glorious consolation, that God was so deeply interested in the conversion, righteousness, and salvation of each Christian, and so faithfully procured these blessings, that, before the foundation of the world, he held counsel concerning them, and ordained in his purpose how he would bring me to salvation, and preserve me therein: again, that he wished to secure my salvation so well and so firmly, that in his eternal purpose, which cannot fail or be overthrown, he decreed it, and to secure it, placed it into the omnipotent hands of our Savior Jesus Christ, from whom no one can tear us, John 10, 28. For if the security and safety of our salvation were committed unto us, it might easily be lost out of our hands through the weakness and wickedness of our flesh, or extorted and snatched away by the fraud and power

of the devil and of the world. Hence Paul, Rom. 8, 29, 35, says: *Since we are called according to the purpose of God, who shall separate us from the love of God in Christ?*

And in crosses and afflictions the sweetest consolation may be derived from this doctrine. For it teaches, that before the world was, God considered and decreed in his counsel, that in all our necessities he would stand by us, grant us patience, give us consolation, work hope in us, and bring about such events as will contribute to our salvation. Hence St. Paul, Rom. 8, 29, 38, 39, also draws excellent consolation from this doctrine, where he teaches, that God ordained in his purpose before the time of the world, by what crosses and afflictions he would *conform* each one of his elect to the image of his Son; and that the crosses of each one must co-operate for the better, because he is called according to the purpose of God. Hence Paul concludes without any doubt, that neither tribulation nor anguish, neither death nor life, can separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus.

This article also affords us excellent testimony, that the church of God will remain, and resist all the powers of hell, and it teaches likewise which is the true church of God, so that we may not be offended at the grand appearance of the false church, Rom. 9, 24, 25.

And from this article grave admonitions and warnings are deduced; as for instance, Luke 7, 30: "They reject the counsel of God against themselves." "I say unto you, that none of those men which were bidden, shall taste of my Supper," Luke 14, 24. Again, Matt. 20, 16, and ch. 22, 14: "Many are called, but few are chosen." Again, Luke 8, 8, 18: "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear, and take heed how he hears." Thus the doctrine of this article can be employed in a useful, consolatory manner.

But a very accurate distinction must be observed between that which is expressly revealed in the word of God in reference to this matter, and that which is not revealed. For except that of which we have thus far spoken, and which is revealed in Christ, God has concealed and kept in secret many things concerning this mystery, and reserved them in his wisdom and knowledge alone; which things we ought not to scrutinize, nor indulge in with our imaginations, nor grovel after, nor attempt to determine; but we should adhere to the revealed word. In relation to this mystery, this admonition is necessary in the highest degree.

For, our curiosity always prefers to be engaged in those things which are abstruse and hidden, rather than in that which God has re-

vealed unto us in his word with respect to this matter, since we are unable to reconcile them in our minds,—a thing which we are not commanded to do.

Thus there is no doubt that God foresaw precisely and with the greatest certainty before the time of the world, and he knows still, who among those who are called, will believe, or will not believe; who among the converted will remain steadfast, and who will not remain steadfast; who, if they fall back into sin, will return, and who will become obdurate. Nor is there any doubt that the number of those who will be saved, and of those who will be lost, is known and seen of God. But since God has reserved this mystery unto his own wisdom, and has revealed nothing of it unto us in his word, much less commanded us to scrutinize it in our own imaginations, but has earnestly dissuaded us from it, Rom. 11, 33; we should not draw conclusions or inferences about it from our imaginations, nor indulge in useless and sophistical speculations in reference to it; but we should adhere to his revealed word, to which he has referred us.

Thus too, God knows without any doubt, and has determined the time and hour of each one's call and conversion; but since he has not revealed these things unto us, we infer that it is enjoined upon us to persist continually in preaching and treating the word of God, but to commit the time and hour of conversion to God, Acts 1, 7.

In the same manner, when we see that God gives his word to one kingdom or government, but does not extend it to another nation; that he withdraws it from one people, but grants it still longer to another; that this one is hardened, blinded, and given up to a reprobate mind, but that one, though involved in the same crime, is converted to God; we must be exceedingly careful not to indulge too far our rash reflections upon these facts. Paul, Rom. 11, 22, 23, has imposed certain limits upon us,—how far we may be allowed to inquire. For he instructs us to consider the judgment of God to be just, and to be the punishment for sins upon those who perish. For the punishment is in consequence of crimes, if God, on account of contempt for the divine word, punishes a whole province or nation to such a degree, that the dreadful calamity extends to their posterity, an example of which may be seen among the Jews, the most obstinate and wretched of men. And the Lord exhibits his severity in the punishment of certain provinces and individuals in this manner, in order to show what calamities we all deserve, who are unthankful to God for his revealed word, who live unworthy of the Gospel, and deeply grieve the Holy Spirit. The Lord desires that, warned by their example, we may live in the fear of God; that we

may acknowledge and applaud with a grateful heart his unmerited beneficence, lavished upon *us*, whom he has honored with his word; whom he has neither hardened nor rejected.

For since our nature is corrupted by sin, and exposed to divine wrath and everlasting condemnation, God assuredly owes nothing to us, nor is he bound under any obligation to lavish upon us his word and his Holy Spirit,—to follow us always with his grace and favor. And why? Because we often reject those gifts which he does lavish from his grace upon us, and render ourselves unworthy of eternal life, Acts 13, 46. Therefore he proposes his righteous judgment, which the impiety of men deserves, for our contemplation, among certain kingdoms, nations, and individuals, in order that, by comparing ourselves with them, and by discovering our great similarity to them, we may acknowledge and applaud, with so much the greater sincerity, the boundless mercy of God, which is due to no merit of ours.

For those nations, who pay the penalties of their impiety, and receive the wages of their crimes, are afflicted without the least injustice. But in these people, whom God blesses with the light of his word, among whom he preserves its radiance, by which wretched mortals are illumined, converted, and saved, the Lord approves his boundless grace and unmerited mercy.

If we proceed thus far in this article, we remain in the right path, as it is written: "O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself; but in me is thine help," Hos. 13, 9.

But whatever opinions and expressions transcend these limits in this disputation, we should immediately curb, and with St. Paul press our lips into silence, and remember the declaration: "O man, who art thou that repliest against God?" Rom. 9, 20.

For that we neither can nor should search out and fathom all that is contained in this article, this example of the apostle Paul teaches. For, when he disputed much concerning this article from the revealed word of God, immediately when he arrived at the point to show what God reserved to his hidden wisdom concerning this mystery, he desists, breaks off his disputation, and concludes with these words: "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord?" Rom. 11, 33, 34; namely, besides and above that which he has revealed unto us in his word.

Accordingly this eternal election of God must be considered *in Christ*, and not apart from, or *out of* Christ. For in Christ, the holy apostle Paul testifies, *we were chosen before the foundation of*

the world, Eph. 1, 4; as it is written: "He hath made us accepted in the Beloved," Eph. 1, 6. But this election is revealed from heaven through the preached word, when the Father says: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him," Matt. 17, 5; Luke 3, 22. And Christ, Matt. 11, 28, says: "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." And concerning the Holy Spirit, Christ says: "He shall glorify me: for he shall receive of mine, and show it unto you," John 16, 14. So that the entire holy Trinity, God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, directs all persons to Christ, as to the book of life, in whom they should seek the eternal election of the Father. For this was decreed from eternity by the Father, that those whom he would save, he would save through Christ; as Christ himself says: "No man cometh unto the Father, but by me," John 14, 6. And again: "I am the door: by me, if any man enter in, he shall be saved," John 10, 9.

But Christ, as the only-begotten Son of God, who is in the bosom of the Father, John 1, 18, has revealed the will of the Father unto us, and consequently our eternal election to everlasting life too; namely, where he says: "The kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe the Gospel," Mark 1, 15. Again, he says: "This is the will of him that sent me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have everlasting life," John 6, 40. And moreover: "God so loved the world," &c., John 3, 16.

These declarations the Father desires all men to hear, and to come unto Christ. But those who come, Christ will not cast from himself, as it is written: "Him that cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out," John 6, 37.

And in order that we may come unto Christ, the Holy Spirit works true faith in us through the hearing of the word, as the Apostle testifies, where he says: "So then, faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God," Rom. 10, 17; when it is purely and sincerely preached.

Wherefore, whoever desires to be saved, should not trouble or harrass himself with thoughts concerning the secret counsel of God, whether he is also predestined and ordained to eternal life; thoughts with which the detestable Satan is accustomed to disturb and torment pious minds: but he should hear Christ, who is the book of life and of God's eternal election of all the children of God to everlasting life; and who testifies to all men without distinction, that God desires all men to come unto him, who are encumbered and burdened with sins, in order that they may be renovated and saved

According to this doctrine of Christ we should abstain from our sins, repent, and believe his promises, and rely wholly and entirely upon him. But since we are unable to do this by our own powers and of ourselves, the Holy Spirit desires to work in us repentance and faith,—through the word and the sacraments. And in order that we may be enabled to realize these virtues, to persevere in them, and to remain steadfast, we should call upon God for his grace, which he has promised us in holy baptism, and not doubt that he will impart it unto us according to his promise. For thus Christ has promised, saying: "If a son shall ask bread of any of you that is a father, will he give him a stone? Or, if he shall ask an egg, will he offer him a scorpion? If ye, then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children; how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?" Luke 11, 11, 12, 13.

And inasmuch as the Holy Spirit dwells in the elect, who now believe in Christ, 1 Cor. 3, 16, as in his temple, who is not idle in them, but impels the children of God to obedience of the commands of God: believers should likewise not be idle, much less resist the agency and operation of the Spirit of God, but exercise themselves in all Christian virtues, in all piety, modesty, temperance, patience, and brotherly love, and use all diligence *to make their calling and election sure*, 2 Pet. 1, 10; so that they may doubt the less, the more they feel the power and energy of the Spirit in themselves. *For the Spirit of God bears witness to the elect that they are the children of God*, Rom. 8, 16. And if by chance they fall into temptations so deeply that they think they no more perceive any power of the indwelling Spirit of God, and say with David, Psalm 31, 22: "I said in my haste, I am cut off from before thine eyes;" yet they should say again with David, notwithstanding what they discover in themselves: "Nevertheless thou heardest the voice of my supplications, when I cried unto thee."

And since our election to eternal life is not based upon our piety or virtue, but upon the merits of Christ and the gracious will of his Father, who cannot deny himself, because he is immutable in his will and his nature: therefore, if his children fall from obedience and stumble, he causes them to be called unto repentance again through the word; and the Holy Spirit will be efficacious in them unto conversion through the word; and when they return unto him again in true repentance, through genuine faith, he will ever manifest his paternal regard towards all those who fear on account of his word, and return unto him with their hearts. For thus it is written: "If a

man put away his wife, and she go from him and become another man's, shall he return unto her again? shall not that land be greatly polluted: but thou hast played the harlot with many lovers; yet return again to me, saith the Lord," Jer. 3, 1.

But the declaration: "No man can come to Christ, except the Father draw him," John 6, 44,—is correct and true. The Father, however, will draw no one without means; but he has instituted his word and sacraments, the ordinary means and instruments, for this purpose. And it is neither the desire of the Father nor of the Son, that any person should neglect the preaching of his word, or contemn it and expect to be drawn by the Father, without the word and the sacraments. For the Father draws indeed by virtue of his Holy Spirit, yet according to his ordinary mode, through the hearing of his holy, divine word, as with a net, by which the elect are snatched out of the jaws of Satan. And to the preaching of this word each miserable sinner should accommodate himself, hear it diligently, and not doubt the drawing of the Father. For the Holy Spirit with his power will accompany the word, and operate through it: and this is the drawing of the Father.

But the reason that *every* one who hears the word of God, does not believe, and is therefore much more deeply condemned, is not that God refuses him salvation; but he himself is in fault, because he thus hears the word, not to learn, but only to scorn, to blaspheme, and to profane it, and because he resists the Holy Spirit, who desires to operate in him through the word; as was the case with the Pharisees and their adherents in the time of Christ. Hence the Apostle distinguishes with special diligence the work of God,—who makes vessels of honor alone,—from the work of the devil and of man, who by the impulse of the devil, and not of God, made himself a vessel of dishonor. For thus it is written: "God endured with much long-suffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction; that he might make known the riches of his glory on the vessels of mercy, which he had afore prepared unto glory," Rom. 9, 22, 23.

For here the Apostle clearly asserts, that God endured the vessels of wrath with much long-suffering, but he does not say, that God made them vessels of wrath. For if this had been the will of God, there would have been no need for long-suffering. But the devil and those individuals themselves—not God—are in fault of their being fitted to destruction.

For every preparation or fitting to destruction is by the devil and by men through sin, and by no means of God. For God desires not that any man should be damned: how then should he himself fit or pre-

pare any person for damnation? For as God is not a cause of sin, so he is also no cause of the punishment; but the only cause of punishment is sin. "For the wages of sin is death," Rom. 6, 23. And, as God neither desires the commission of sins nor has pleasure in them, so he likewise neither desires the death of the sinner nor has pleasure in his damnation. "For he is not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance," 2 Pet. 3, 9. For thus it is written: "For I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth," Ezek. 18, 23, 32. "As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live," ch. 33, 11. And St. Paul testifies in definite terms, that out of vessels of dishonor, vessels of honor may be made through the power and operation of God; where he writes thus: "If a man, therefore, purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honor, sanctified, and meet for the master's use," and prepared for all good works, 2 Tim. 2, 20, 21. For he that should purge himself, must previously have been impure, and consequently a vessel of dishonor. But concerning the vessels of mercy he asserts clearly, that the Lord himself has prepared them for glory,—a thing which he does not say in reference to the damned, who themselves, and not God, have made themselves vessels of damnation.

It must also be carefully observed, that it is the revealed will of God for even the hardened and impenitent to come to the knowledge of the truth, and be saved. When God punishes sin with sin,—when, on account of their impenitence, presumption, and crimes, he punishes with hardness of heart and blindness of mind, those who had been converted, it must not be considered contrary to his gracious will, for them to have come to the knowledge of truth and salvation. For this is the revealed will of God:

First, that God will receive all those in grace, who repent, and believe in Christ.

Second, that he will also punish those who wilfully turn themselves away from the holy commands, and *entangle themselves in the pollutions of the world again*, 2 Pet. 2, 10; *adorn their hearts unto Satan*, Luke 11, 25, 26; *do despite unto the Holy Spirit*, Heb. 10, 29; and if they persevere in these things, that they shall be hardened, blinded, and eternally damned.

And Pharaoh (concerning whom it is written: "Even for this same purpose have I raised thee up, that I might show my power in thee, and that my name might be declared throughout all the earth," Exod. 9, 16; Rom. 9, 17) was not destroyed because God would not grant him salvation, or because it was the pleasure and will of God

that he should be damned and lost. "For God is not willing that any should perish; nor has he any pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live," 2 Pet. 3, 9; Ezek. 33, 11.

But that God hardened the heart of Pharaoh, that Pharaoh persisted in the perpetration of sins still further and further, and the more he was admonished, the more obdurate he became, this was a punishment of his former sins, and of the atrocious tyranny which he had in numberless instances exercised over the children of Israel most inhumanly, and contrary to the dictates of his own conscience. And inasmuch as God caused his word to be preached and his will to be declared, and Pharaoh nevertheless wilfully set himself directly in opposition to all the admonitions and warnings, God withdrew his hand from him, and thus his heart was hardened, and God manifested his judgment in him; for he deserved nothing less than eternal punishment. And indeed the holy Apostle introduces the example of Pharaoh only to show the righteousness of God demonstrated in the impenitent and the despiser of his word. But it is by no means the meaning of Paul that God would not grant him, or any other man, salvation, nor that in his secret counsel he had ordained him to eternal damnation, so that he neither could nor might be saved.

By this doctrine and explication of the eternal and saving election of the elect children of God, the honor of God is wholly and fully attributed unto him, viz: that through pure mercy in Christ, without any of our merits or good works, he saves us according to the purpose of his will; as it is written: "He hath predestinated us unto the adoption of children, by Jesus Christ to himself, according to the good pleasure of his will, to the praise of the glory of his grace wherein he hath made us accepted in the Beloved," Eph. 1, 5, 6. Therefore, it is false and wrong, if it is taught, that not only the mercy of God, and the most holy merit of Christ are the cause, but that in us also there is a cause, of the election of God, on account of which God has elected us to everlasting life. For not only before we had done any good, but also before we were born, yea, before the foundation of the world was laid, he elected us in Christ, "That the purpose of God, according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth; it was said unto her, The elder shall serve the younger. As it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated," Rom. 9, 11, 12, 13; Gen. 25, 23; Mal. 1, 2, 3.

In like manner this doctrine gives no one occasion for despondency, or for a dissolute, impious life, when people are taught that they must seek the eternal election in Christ and his holy Gospel, as in the

book of life. For the Gospel excludes no penitent sinner, but calls and invites all poor, all troubled, and afflicted sinners to repentance, to a consciousness of their sins, and to faith in Christ; it promises the Holy Spirit for purification and renovation. And thus this article affords grieved and agitated minds the firmest consolation, to know that their salvation is not entrusted to their hands, else they might lose it much more easily than Adam and Eve lost it in Paradise,—yes every hour and moment it would be vanishing, were it not secured in the gracious election of God, which he has revealed unto us in Christ, out of whose hand no one shall pluck us, John 10, 28; 2 Tim. 2, 19.

Wherefore, if any one inculcates this doctrine concerning the gracious election of God, in such a manner that afflicted Christians cannot console themselves by it, but are rather led into despondency, or that the impenitent are encouraged in their licentiousness; it is undoubtedly certain and true, that this doctrine is supported, not according to the word and will of God, but according to human understanding and the suggestions of the devil.

"For whatsoever things were written aforetime," as the Apostle testifies, "were written for our learning, that we, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope," Rom. 15, 4. But where this comfort and hope are impaired, or taken away from us entirely by the Scripture, it is certain, that the Scripture is understood and explained contrary to the will and intention of the Holy Spirit.

In this simple, perspicuous, salutary explication, which has a good and a permanent foundation in the revealed will of God, we acquiesce, we shun and avoid all refined, curious, and useless speculations and controversies. And whatever is contrary to this simple and salutary definition we reject and condemn.

And thus let this suffice concerning the controverted articles, which were in dispute for a number of years among the theologians of the Augsburg Confession, in which some have erred, and concerning which grave controversies or religious contentions arose.

From this our Declaration, friends and foes, and consequently all, can clearly perceive, that it is not our purpose, for the sake of temporal peace, tranquillity, and union, to concede any thing that might prove detrimental to the eternal, the immutable truth of God, (a thing which does not lie within our power to do,) nor would that peace and union, which is adverse to the truth, and tends to a suppression of it, have any permanence: much less are we disposed to gloss over and conceal a corruption of the pure doctrine, and manifest, condemnable errors. But that union we love from our hearts and embrace with

all our affections, and cordially desire on our part, according to our utmost abilities, to promote, by which the honor of God is not violated, the divine truth of the holy Gospel not impaired, the least error not insinuated, poor sinners brought to true and genuine repentance, lifted up by faith, confirmed in new obedience, and thus justified and eternally saved through the merit of Christ alone.

XII. OF SEVERAL FACTIONS AND SECTS,

WHO HAVE NEVER EMBRACED THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

Other sects and factions also have insinuated themselves on every side, who never embraced or professed the Augsburg Confession, whose names were not expressly mentioned in this Declaration; as, for instance, the Anabaptists, the Schwenkfeldians, the New Arians, and the Antitrinitarians. The errors of these have been unanimously condemned by all the churches of the Augsburg Confession. But we did not wish to speak concerning these errors in this treatise, unless incidentally, because at this time we had set apart this Declaration for the purpose of refuting the calumnies of our pontiffical adversaries chiefly.

For with shameless lips they have defamed our churches and our teachers in all the world, exclaiming that no two preachers can be found who agree in all and each of the articles of the Augsburg Confession; but that they are so divided among each other that they themselves do not understand the Augsburg Confession and its proper sense. We have, therefore, desired to make a profession concerning our agreement, not merely in a few, empty words or names; but to lay down a pure, perspicuous, distinct explanation concerning all such articles as have been assailed and held in dispute by the theologians of the Augsburg Confession; so that all may see that we do not attempt to conceal or cover over any of these things in an artful manner, or conform with each other only in appearance; but that we wish to settle the matter in reality, and so to set forth our views concerning it, that even our adversaries themselves must confess that in all these things we adhere to the right, the simple, the natural, and proper sense of the Augsburg Confession; in which, through the grace of God, we desire to persevere constantly until the end of our days; and so far as it depends on our service, we shall neither connive at it, nor keep silent, if any thing contrary to this Confession be introduced into our churches and schools, in which the Almighty God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, has appointed us teachers and pastors.

Lest the errors of the aforenamed factions and sects should be tacitly attributed to us, we could not forbear to testify even publicly before the whole Christian community, that we have no part nor communion with these errors, whether they be few or many; but that we reject and condemn them altogether, as wrong and heretical, and contrary to the Prophetic and Apostolic Scriptures, and to our Christian Augsburg Confession, which is well founded in the word of God. And these errors, indeed, for the most part, have insinuated themselves secretly in those places and especially at those times, (as is the nature of fanatical spirits,) in which neither room nor place is given for the pure word of the holy Gospel, but all sincere teachers and professors are persecuted. For where the thick darkness of popery still reigns, there poor, simple men, who must perceive the manifest idolatry and false faith of the papacy, embrace in simplicity, alas, whatever disagrees with the papal doctrines, and is obtruded under the name of the Gospel!

ERRONEOUS ARTICLES OF THE ANABAPTISTS.

We reject the erroneous, heretical doctrine of the Anabaptists,—a doctrine which cannot be tolerated either in the church, or in civil, or in domestic economy,—where they teach:

1. That our righteousness before God consists, not in the obedience and merits of Christ alone, but in our renovation, and in our own piety by which we walk before God. But this righteousness of the Anabaptists is, for the most part, based on their own particular ordinances, and self-chosen sanctimoniousness, as on a new system of monastic life.

2. That infants, who are not baptized, are not sinners in the sight of God, but are righteous and innocent, and thus in their innocence (as the Anabaptists think) they are saved without baptism, of which they have no need. Thus they deny and reject the whole doctrine concerning original sin, and whatever is connected with it.

3. That infants are not to be baptized, until they attain the use of their reason, and are able to confess their faith themselves.

4. That the children of Christians, since they are born of Christian and believing parents, are holy and the children of God, even without and prior to baptism. For this reason they do not highly esteem infant baptism, nor promote it,—contrary to the expréss words of the promise of God, which extends to those alone who keep his covenant and do not despise it, Gen. 17, 9, 10.

5. That a church or a congregation in which sinners are yet found, is not a genuine Christian church.

6. That no one should frequent a temple, or hear a sermon in it, in which the papistical mass had previously been read.

7. That no one should have any intercourse with the ministers of the church, who preach the holy Gospel according to the Augsburg Confession, and censure the errors of the Anabaptists; neither should he serve them nor labor for them, but flee from them, and shun them as perverters of the word of God.

8. That the magistracy is not an office pleasing to God, under the New Testament dispensation.

9. That a Christian cannot bear the office of magistrate with good and inviolate conscience.

10. That a Christian may not, with inviolate conscience, exercise the office of magistrate where the case requires it, against the wicked; nor may subjects invoke that power with which the magistrates are invested.

11. That a Christian cannot, with good conscience, swear an oath before a tribunal, nor take the oath of fealty to his prince or sovereign.

12. That the magistracy cannot, with inviolate conscience, punish malefactors with capital punishment.

13. That a Christian can neither hold nor occupy any possessions as his own, with clear conscience, but is under obligation to give it unto the church.

14. That a Christian cannot, with good conscience, be a landlord, nor a merchant, nor a cutler.

15. That married people may, on account of a difference in their faith, separate from each other, and contract marriage with others of congenial faith.

16. That Christ did not derive his body and blood from the Virgin Mary, but brought them from heaven with him.

17. That he is not true, essential God, but has only more and higher gifts and glory, than other men have.

And other similar articles we reject also. For the Anabaptists are divided into many sects among themselves, some of which defend more errors, and some less; and thus their whole sect is nothing else in reality, but a new monastic system.

ERRONEOUS ARTICLES OF THE SCHWENKFELDIANS.

We also reject and condemn the errors of the Schwenkfeldians, in which they teach:

1. That all those, who regard Christ as a creature according to the flesh, or to his assumed humanity, have no right knowledge of Christ the reigning King of heaven. That the flesh of Christ, through his exaltation, has so assumed all the divine properties, that in might, power, majesty, and glory, it is equal with the Father and the eternal Word in degree and condition of essence; so that both natures in Christ are one and the same essence, property, will, and glory, and that the flesh of Christ belongs to the essence of the holy Trinity.

2. That the ministry of the word,—the preached and heard word,—is not a medium, through which God, the Holy Spirit, teaches men, and works in them the saving knowledge of Christ, conversion, repentance, faith, and new obedience.

3. That the water in baptism is not a medium through which God the Lord seals the adoption of children, and works regeneration.

4. That bread and wine in the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, are not the means through which Christ distributes his body and blood.

5. That a Christian who is truly regenerated through the Spirit of God, can keep and fulfil the law of God perfectly in this life.

6. That there is no genuine Christian church, where no public excommunication, or where no regular process of excommunication, is observed.

7. That the minister of the church, who is not truly renewed, regenerated, righteous, and pious, in his own person, cannot teach other persons profitably, nor administer true and genuine sacraments to them.

ERROR OF THE NEW ARIANS.

We likewise reject and condemn the impious and blasphemous dogma of the New Arians, in which they assert:—That Christ is not the original, true, essential God, of one eternal, divine essence with God the Father, but is only adorned with divine majesty, subordinate and next to God the Father.

ERRONEOUS ARTICLES OF THE NEW ANTITRINITARIANS.

1. Again, where some Antitrinitarians reject and condemn the ancient, approved Symbols, the Nicene and the Athanasian, both as to their meaning and their expressions, and teach, that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, are not one, eternal, divine essence; but as the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, are three distinct persons, so also each person

has its distinct and separate essence from the other persons. And yet all these three,—like three different men separated from each other in their essence,—are either equal in power, wisdom, majesty, and glory, or unequal in essence and properties to each other.

2. That the Father alone is true God.

These, and all similar articles, and whatever belongs to these or results from these, we condemn and reject altogether as wrong, false, and heretical, and as repugnant to the word of God, to the three Symbols, to the Augsburg Confession and Apology, to the Articles of Smalcald, and to the Catechisms of Luther: against which errors all pious Christians will and should guard themselves, as they hold dear the happiness and salvation of their souls.

In the presence of God, therefore, and before the whole Christian church, which now exists, and which will exist after us, we have desired to testify, that this Declaration now made, concerning all the controverted articles already mentioned and explained, and no other, is our faith, doctrine, and confession; in which, by the grace of God, we shall appear with humble confidence before the judgment-seat of Jesus Christ, and render an account for the same. With mature deliberation, in the fear of God and the invocation of his name, we have subscribed this Declaration with our own hands; contrary to which we shall neither write nor speak any thing, either secretly or publicly, but, supported by the grace of God, we shall firmly adhere to the doctrines inculcated in it.

APPENDIX.

A CATALOGUE OF TESTIMONIES

OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURE AND OF THE ANCIENT, PURE TEACHERS OF THE CHURCH; EXHIBITING WHAT THEY HELD AND TAUGHT IN REFERENCE TO THE PERSON AND THE DIVINE MAJESTY OF THE HUMAN NATURE OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, WHO IS SEATED AT THE RIGHT HAND OF THE ALMIGHTY POWER OF GOD.

TO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

Inasmuch as some have intimated without any grounds, that in the Book of Concord there is a deviation in phrases and forms of expression from the ancient, orthodox churches and Fathers, especially in the article concerning the person of Christ, and that on the contrary, new, strange, self-devised, unusual, and unheard-of expressions are introduced; and since the testimonies of the ancient churches and Fathers, to which this book has reference, would be somewhat too lengthy to be embodied in it, (which testimonies were afterwards presented to several princes and electors, accurately marked out,) a considerable number of these testimonies, arranged under different heads, were appended to this book, for the benefit of the Christian reader, in which he may perceive and readily discover, that nothing new, either in doctrine or in form and manner of expression, has been introduced into the said book, but that this mystery is taught and treated even in the same manner as first of all the holy Scripture and afterwards the ancient, orthodox church, have done.

For example, in the first place, the fact that in the Book of Concord, in treating of the unity of the person of Christ, and of the difference between his two natures, as well as of their essential attributes, no deviation has been made from the manner in which the ancient, orthodox church, the Fathers of the same, and the councils, have

spoken concerning these points; namely, that there are not two persons, but *one Christ*, and in this person two distinct natures, the *divine* and the *human*, which are neither separated nor commingled, nor changed the one into the other, but each nature has and retains its essential attributes, and does not lay them off in eternity; and that the essential attributes of the one nature, which are truly and rightly ascribed to the whole person, never become the attributes of the other nature. This the following testimonies of the ancient, pure councils prove:

In Ephesino Concilio, (tom. 1. concil. p. 606,) can. 4: Si quis voces scripturæ de Christo in duabus personis vel subsistentiis dividit, et aliquas quidem velut homini, qui præter *Dei Verbum* specialiter intelligatur, aptaverit, aliquas vero tamquam dignas *Deo* soli *Dei* Patris verbo deputaverit, anathema sit.

Canone 5: Si quis audeat dicere: Hominem *Christum* theophoron ac non potius *Deum* esse, tamquam Filium per naturam veraciter dixerit, secundum quod Verbum caro factum est, et communicarit similiter ut nos carni et sanguini, anathema sit.

Canone 6: Si quis non confitetur eundem *Christum Deum* simul et hominem, propterea quod *Verbum* caro factum est, secundum scripturas, anathema sit.

Canone 12: Si quis non confitetur *Dei* Verbum passum carne, et crucifixum carne, et mortem carne gustasse, factumque primogenitum ex mortuis, secundum quod vita et vivificator est *ut Deus*, anathema sit.

That is:—In the fourth canon of the council of Ephesus it is thus resolved: If any one should divide the declarations of Scripture concerning Christ into two persons or substances, and apply some of them to man, who should be understood independent of the Father's Word, or of the Son of God especially, but ascribe others to the Son of God alone, as pertaining only to God, let him be accursed.

In the fifth canon thus: If any one should dare to assert, that the man Christ bears God, and not much rather say that he is God, as the natural Son of God, accordingly as the Word was made flesh, and partook even as we do, of flesh and blood, let him be accursed.

In the sixth: If any one should not confess, that the one Christ is both God and man, and moreover, that the Word was made flesh, according to the Scripture, let him be accursed.

In the twelfth: If any one should not confess that the Word of God tasted suffering in the flesh, and crucifixion in the flesh, and death in the flesh, and that he became the first-born from the dead, according as he is life, and the vivificator as God, let him be accursed.

Et decretum Chalcedonensis Concilii citante Evagrio lib. 2. cap. 4. sic habet: Sequentes igitur sanctos patres, confitemur unum et eundem Filium, Dominum nostrum *Jesum Christum*, et una voce omnes deprædicamus, eundem perfectum in Divinitate et perfectum eundem in humanitate, vere Deum et vere hominem eundem, ex anima rationali et corpore, consubstantialem Patri secundum Divinitatem, et consubstantialem nobis secundum humanitatem, per omnia nobis similem absque peccato, ante sæcula quidem ex Patre genitum secundum Divinitatem, in extremis autem diebus ipsum eundem propter nos et propter nostram salutem ex Maria virgine, Dei genetrice secundum humanitatem genitum, unum et eundem *Jesum Christum*, Filium et Dominum unigenitum, in duabus naturis inconfuse, inconvertibiliter, indivise, insegregabiliter cognitum, nequaquam differentia naturarum sublata propter unionem, *sed* servata *potius* proprietate utriusque naturæ, et utraque in unam personam concurrente, non velut in duas personas dispertitum aut divisum, sed unum et eundem Filium unigenitum, Deum, Verbum et Dominum Jesum Christum; quemadmodum olim prophetæ et de se ipso Christus ipse nos docuit, et patrum nobis tradidit symbolum (tom. 1. concil. p. 154.)

That is:—And the decree of the council of Chalcedon says: We confess one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, who is perfect in his divinity, and perfect in his humanity, true God, and true man, who has a reasonable soul and a body, consubstantial with the Father according to his divinity, and consubstantial with us according to his humanity; similar to us in all things, sin excepted; begotten of the Father before the beginning of time, according to his divinity; but in the fulness of time even this same one was born for us and on account of our salvation of the Virgin Mary, the mother of God, according to his humanity, one and the same *Jesus Christ*, the only-begotten Son and Lord, recognized in two natures unconfused, unchangeable, undivided, inseparable; the difference of natures never destroyed on account of this union, *but rather* the properties of both natures preserved, and concurring in one person, not as separated or divided in two persons, but one and the same only-begotten Son, God, Word, and Lord Jesus Christ, &c.

Ita etiam decima epistola Leonis synodica (Ad Flavianum cap. 3. fol. 92.) loquitur: Salva proprietate utriusque naturæ et in unam coeunte personam, suscepta est a majestate humilitas, a virtute infirmitas, ab æternitate mortalitas,* et ad resolvendum conditionis nostræ debitum, natura inviolabilis naturæ est unita passibili, ut unus et idem mediator noster et mori posset ex uno, et mori non posset ex altero.

* Abstractum pro concreto.

Item (cap. 4. fol. 93.): Qui verus est Deus, idem verus est homo, dum invicem sunt et humilitas hominis et altitudo Deitatis. Sicut enim Deus non mutatur miseratione, ita homo non consumitur dignitate, agit enim utraque forma cum alterius communione, quod proprium est, Verbo scilicet operante, quod Verbi est, et carne exsequente, quod carnis est. Unum horum coruscat miraculis, alterum succumbit iniuriis. Deus est per id, quod in principio erat Verbum, et Deus erat Verbum, per quod omnia facta sunt. Homo per id, quod Verbum caro factum est, quodque factus est ex muliere. Item propter hanc unitatem personæ in utraque natura intelligendam, et filius hominis legitur descendisse de cœlo, quum Filius Dei ex Maria virgine carnem assumserit.

Et rursus (cap. 5. fol. 93.): Filius Dei crucifixus dicitur et sepultus, quum hæc non in ipsa Divinitate, qua consubstantialis est Patri, sed in naturæ humanæ sit infirmitate perpessus cet.

That is:—Thus also the tenth epistle of Leo in the Synod declares: The properties of each nature secured, and united in one person, humility was received by majesty, infirmity by power, mortality by immortality; and, for abolishing the debt of our condition, a nature impassive was united with a passive nature; so that this same being, our Mediator, might be able to die in the latter state, and not able to die in the former.

Again: He who is true God, the same is true man, because the humility of man and the exaltation of the Deity, are in union. For as the God is not changed by compassion, so the Man is not consumed by dignity; for each form in communion with the other, performs that which is peculiar to itself; the Word indeed working that which is of the Word, and the Flesh performing that which is of the flesh. One of these shines with miracles, the other sinks down under injuries. He is God because the Word was in the beginning, and God was the Word, by whom all things were made. He is man because the Word was made flesh, and because he was made of a woman. Again: For this union of person is to be understood in both natures, and we read that the Son of man descended from heaven, when the Son of God assumed flesh from the Virgin Mary; and again:

The Son of God, it is said, was crucified and buried, this however not in his divinity, which is consubstantial with the Father, but in his assumed human nature he suffered infirmity, &c.

These are the words of both councils, of Ephesus and Chalcedon; and with these all the holy Fathers accord.

And even this the learned have also hitherto in our schools desired to show and to explain by the words *abstractum* and *concretum*,

abstract and concrete. To which even the Book of Concord has reference in a few words, inserted here: "All this the learned well know."* And the words abstract and concrete must necessarily be preserved in the schools in their proper sense.

For *concrete words* are those words which show or indicate the whole person in Christ; as, *God, man.* But *abstract words* are those words by which the natures in the person of Christ are understood and expressed; as, *divinity, humanity.*

According to this difference it is correctly said, *in the concrete: God is man, man is God.* On the contrary, it is incorrectly asserted, if it should be said *in the abstract: Divinity is humanity, humanity is divinity.*

And the same is applicable to the essential attributes; so that the attributes of the one nature cannot be predicated of the other nature in the *abstract*, as if they were the attributes of the other nature too. Hence, to say, the human nature is omnipotence, or is from eternity, would be false and erroneous. Nor can the attributes themselves be predicated of another, as if it should be said: *Mortality is immortality, and immortality is mortality;* for by such expressions the difference between the natures and their attributes would be destroyed, and they would be commingled, and changed into each other, and thus equalized.

But it is necessary to know and firmly to believe, not only that the assumed human nature in the person of Christ, has and retains to all eternity its essence and natural, essential attributes, but especially as much depends on the fact, and as the highest consolation of a Christian is comprehended in it, to know also from the revelation of the holy Scripture, and to believe without any doubt, in what majesty his human nature was really and actually placed, in, and through the personal union, and thus became a personal partaker of the same; as it is amply explained in the Book of Concord.

Therefore, in order that all may see, that in the said book no new, strange, self-devised, unheard-of *paradoxa* and expressions have been introduced on this subject into the church of God, the following catalogue of testimonies, first of the holy Scripture and then of the ancient, orthodox teachers of the church, but especially of those Fathers who were the chief men and the directors of the four principal councils, is clearly demonstrated, from which it may be perceived how they discoursed on this matter.

* Book of Concord, page 605.

And in order that the Christian reader may the more easily comprehend this matter and judge of it, these testimonies are arranged in several different heads, which follow.

I.

In the first place, that the holy Scripture, as also the Fathers, when speaking of the majesty which the human nature of Christ has received through the personal union, employ the words, *Communicationis, communionis, participationis, traditionis, donationis, subjectionis, exaltationis, dari*, &c.; that is, communication, communion, participation, donation, to give, &c.

Dan. 7, 13, 14: Ecce in nubibus cœli quasi filius hominis veniebat cet., et *dedit* ei potestatem, honorem et regnum. Potestas ejus potestas æterna.

John 13, 3: Sciens, quia omnia *dedit* ei Pater in manus.

Matt. 11, 27: Omnia mihi *tradita* sunt a Patre meo.

Matt. 28, 18: *Data* est mihi omnis *potestas* in cœlo et in terra.

Phil. 2, 9: *Donavit* ei nomen super *omne* nomen cet.

Eph. 1, 22: Omnia *subjecit* sub pedibus ejus.

Psalm 8, 7; 1 Cor. 15, 27; Heb. 2, 7; Phil. 2, 9: Propter quod Deus *exaltavit* ipsum.

That is:—Daniel 7, 13, 14: I saw, and, behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.

John 13, 3: Jesus knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands.

Matt. 11, 27: All things are delivered unto me of my Father.

Matt. 28, 18: All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth.

Phil. 2, 9: God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name, &c.

Eph. 1, 22: And hath put all things under his feet; 1 Cor. 15, 27; Heb. 2, 7.

Eusebius (Demonstr. Evang. l. 4. c. 13. p. 169. ed. Paris. 1628.) Sed illa quidem a se ipso *communicans* (ὁ Λογος) homini, hæc vero a mortali ipse non recipiens. Item, mortali quidem potentiam divinam subministrans, a mortali vero ipse non contra in partem aut communitatem adductus.

Idem: Hunc ipsum interim ad illius vitæ æternæ, quam penes se habet, atque ad dignitatis in Divinitate ac beatitudine *communitatem* assumens.

That is:—The Word imparting the former qualities indeed from his own abundance to man, but not receiving the latter from mortality.—Communicating divine power to mortality, but not taken by mortality into a share or participation.

The Word made this assumed man worthy of communion in the Deity, of life eternal, and of happiness.

Athanasius in Epistola ad Epictetum (tom. 1. op. p. 589. ed. Colon.) referente etiam Epiphanio contra Dimeritas (Hæres. 77 contra Dimœritas t. 2. op. p. 1005. ed. Col.): Non enim Verbum caro factum est, ut Deitati aliqua accessio fieret, neque ut Verbum in meliorem statum reduceretur, magis vero ipsi humanæ naturæ accessio magna facta est ex communione et unione Verbi ad humanam naturam.

That is:—For the Word was not made flesh for the purpose of adding any thing to the Deity, nor for the purpose of restoring the Word to a better condition; but much rather was there a great accession made to the human nature itself, by communion and union of the Word to the human nature.

Epiphanius Hæresi 69, (contra Ariomanitas) p. 344 (p. 805 ed. Col.): Caro, quæ ex Maria et ex nostro genere erat, transformabatur in gloriam (in transfiguratione) insuper acquirens gloriam Deitatis, honorem, perfectionem et gloriam cœlestem, quam caro ab initio non habebat, sed ibi eam in *cognitione* scilicet Dei Verbi accepit.

That is:—The flesh, which was from Mary and our species, was transformed into glory (by transfiguration) and obtained, moreover, the glory of the Deity,—that honor, perfection, and heavenly glory, which the flesh did not have from the beginning, but it has received it in the communion with the Word of God.

Cyrillus lib. 5. Dialog. (t. 5. p. 562. ed. Par. 1638.): Quomodo ergo vivificat caro Christi? Et respondet, secundum unionem cum vivente Verbo, quod et suæ naturæ bona proprio corpori *communia* solet facere.

That is:—How, then, does the flesh of Christ vivify? Reply: By means of its union with the living Word, which Word is wont to make *common* his goodness or efficacy with his own body.

Theodoretus Eph. 1. (t. 3. p. 297. ed. Par. 1642.): Quod vero assumta ex nobis natura ejusdem honoris cum eo, qui assumsit, *sit particeps*, ut nulla videatur adorationis differentia, sed per naturam, quæ cernitur, adoretur, quæ non cernitur. Divinitas, hoc vero omne miraculum superat.

That is:—But that the nature assumed from us, became a partaker of his honor with him who assumed it, so that no difference of adoration is discerned, but through the nature which is perceived, the divinity is adored which is not perceived: but this surpasses all miracles.

DAMASCENUS lib. 3. cap. 7. et 15: Divina natura proprias suas excellentias seu glorificationes carni *communicat* seu *impertit*, ipsa vero in se passionum carnis manet expers.

Idem cap. 19: Caro operanti Deitati Verbi *communicat*, cum quod divinæ operationes per corpus tamquam per organum perficiantur, tum quod unus et idem sit, qui divina et humana operetur. Nosse enim oportet, quod sicuti sancta ejus mens etiam naturales suas operationes operatur cet. Et simul *communicat* etiam Deitati Verbi operanti et gubernanti, ipsa etiam intelligens, cognoscens et disponens totum universum, non ut nuda hominis mens, sed ut Deo secundum hypostasin *counita*, et Dei mens constituta.

That is:—The divine nature has communicated or imparted its own excellence or glorification to the flesh, but that nature in itself remains free from the suffering of the flesh.

The flesh contributes to the operation of the Divine Word, because divine operations are performed through the body as through an organ, and also because he who performs divine and human operations, is one and the same being. For it ought to be observed, that even as his holy mind performs its own natural operations, &c. And at the same time this holy mind contributes to the operation and government of the divine Word, knowing, observing, and arranging the whole universe, not as the limited mind of man, but as a mind personally united with God,—a mind constituted out of God.

II.

That Christ has received this majesty in time, not, however, according to his divinity or divine nature, but according to his assumed human nature, or to his flesh, as man, or as the Son of man, *humanitus, ratione corporis seu humanitatis, propter carnem quia homo, aut Filius hominis.*

Heb. 1, 3: Facta purgatione peccatorum *per se ipsum*, sedet ad dexteram majestatis in excelsis.

Heb. 2, 8, 9: Videmus *Jesum* propter *passionem* mortis gloria et honore coronatum, et constitutum super omnia opera manuum Dei, et omnia ei subjecta sub pedibus ejus.

Luke 22, 69: Ex hoc erit *filius hominis* sedens a dextris virtutis *Dei.*

Luc. 1, 32, 33: Et dabit *ei* Dominus Deus sedem David patris, et regnabit in æternum, et regni ejus non erit finis.

Joh. 5, 26, 27: Dedit Filio habere vitam in se ipso, et potestatem dedit ei etiam judicium facere, quia *filius hominis est.*

That is:—Heb. 1, 3: Who, when he had by himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high.

Heb. 2, 8, 9: But now we see not yet all things put under him: but we see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels, for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honor.

Luke 22, 69: Hereafter shall the Son of man sit on the right hand of the power of God.

Luke 1, 32, 33: And the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David. And he shall reign over the house of Jacob forever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end.

John 5, 26, 27: For as the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself: and hath given him authority to execute judgment also, because he is the Son of man.

ATHANASIUS apud Theodoretum Dialog. 2. p. 330: Quæcumque scriptura dicit Christum in tempore accepisse, propter *humanitatem* dicit, non propter Divinitatem.

That is:—Whatever the Scripture says that Christ has received in time, is said *concerning his humanity*, and not concerning his divinity.

ATHANASIUS Oratione contra Arianos 2. et 4. (f. 347 et 490 sq. 492. ed. Colon. 1686.): Scriptura non intelligit substantiam Verbi exaltatam, sed ad *humanitatem* ejus hoc spectat, et propter *carnem* exaltari dicitur. Quum enim ipsius sit corpus, merito ipse ut *homo*, *ratione corporis*, *humanitus* exaltari et accipere memoratur, eo quod *corpus* illa recipiat, quæ Verbum semper possidebat, secundum suam ex Patre Deitatem et perfectionem. Dicit igitur se potestatem *accepisse ut hominem*, quam semper habet ut Deus. Dicitque (glorifica me) qui alios glorificat, ut ostendat carnem se habere istarum rerum indigam. Ac proinde *carne suæ humanitatis* hanc glorificationem accipiente, ita loquitur, quasi ipse eam accepisset.

Illud enim ubique animadvertendum, nihil eorum, quæ dicit se accepisse, in tempore scilicet, ita se accepisse, quasi non habuisset; habebat enim illa utpote semper ut Deus et Verbum. Nunc autem dicit *humanitus* se accepisse, ut *carne ejus in ipso accipiente* in posterum ea ex carne illius in nos firmiter possidenda traderentur.

Idem: De suscepta Humanitate contra Apollinarium (p. 603 et 611. ed. Colon. 1686.): Quum Petrus dicit Jesum factum Dominum et Christum a Deo, non de Divinitate ejus loquitur, sed de *humani-*

tate. Verbum ejus semper erat Dominus, neque post crucem primum factus est Dominus, sed *humanitatem* ejus Divinitas *fecit Dominum et Christum.*

Item: Quæcunque scriptura dicit Filium *accepisse, ratione corporis* accepta intelligit, corpusque illud esse primitias ecclesiæ. Primum igitur Dominus *suum corpus* excitavit et exaltavit, posthac autem membra sui corporis. Quibus verbis Athanasius explicavit, quod paulo post ad universam ecclesiam etiam suo modo accommodavit.

That is:—The Scripture does not understand the substance of the Word to be exalted, but this exaltation relates to his *humanity*, and according to the *flesh* he is said to be exalted. For since it has become his body, he himself *as man*, is properly said to be exalted and to receive exalted endowments, in regard to his *humanity by reason of his body*, because this *body* received those endowments which the Word always possessed, according to his divinity and perfection which he has of the Father. Therefore, he says himself that *as man* he has *received* that power which he always had as God. And he, who glorifies others, says "glorify me," in order to show that he himself has *flesh* in need of these endowments. And therefore, *his flesh having received* this glorification according to *his humanity*, he speaks as if he himself had received it.

This must be universally observed, that none of those endowments which he says he received in time indeed, he received as if he did not possess them already; for as God and the Word, he always had them. But now he says that he has *received* these endowments *after the manner of men*, as *his flesh has received them*, and henceforth they are given unto us from this flesh to possess perpetually.

Again: When Peter says, Jesus was made Lord and Christ, of God, he speaks, not concerning his divinity, but concerning his *humanity*. His Word was always Lord; nor was he first made Lord after his crucifixion, but his divinity has *constituted* his *humanity Lord and Christ.*

And again: Whatever the Scripture says the Son has received, it understands to be received *according to his body*, and that this body is the first fruits of the church. The Lord, therefore, raised and exalted *his body* first; but afterwards the members of his body. By these words Athanasius explains what he, a little afterwards in his way, accommodates even to the whole church.

Basilius Magnus contra Eunomium lib. 4 (p. 769. ed. Paris.): Quod Dominus celebratur et accepit nomen super omne nomen; item: Data est mihi omnis potestas in cœlo et in terra, ego vivo

propter Patrem, glorifica me ea gloria, quam ante mundum habui apud te cet., hoc est: illa intelligere oportet de *incarnatione* et non de Deitate.

That is:—These declarations: The Lord was exalted and received a name which is above every name; again: All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth; I live by the Father; glorify me with that glory which I had with thee before the world was, &c.—must be understood concerning the *Incarnation*, and not concerning the divinity.

Ambrosius lib. 5. de Fide cap. 6. (tom. 2. p. 109.): Didicisti, quod omnia sibi ipsi subjicere possit secundum operationem utique Deitatis: disce nunc, quod *secundum carnem* omnia subjecta accipiat, sicut scriptum est Eph. 1: *Secundum carnem igitur omnia ipsi subjecta traduntur.*

Idem lib. 5. cap. 2. (p. 99.): Non enim Deus suæ sedis apostolis dat consortium, Christo vero *secundum humanitatem* datur consortium divinæ sedis.

Et cap. 6. (p. 108.): In Christo communis *secundum carnem* natura prærogativam sedis cœlestis meruit.

That is:—You have learnt that he can subject all things unto himself according to his operation, and to that of the Deity: learn now, that all things are received in subjection to him according to *his flesh*, as it is written, Eph. 1: According to the flesh, therefore, all things are given in subjection to him.

For God gave not to the Apostles the fellowship of his seat, but to *Christ according to his humanity*, he gave the fellowship of his divine seat.

According to the flesh the common nature in Christ merited the prerogative of this heavenly seat.

Chrysostomus Ebr. 1. serm. 3, p. 117. (tom. 4. homilia 3. p. 1493.): *Secundum carnem discens:* Et adorent ipsum omnes angeli Dei.

That is:—The Father commanded that *according to the flesh*, Christ should be adored by all the angels.

Theophylactus in Joh. 3. (p. 235. [ed. Paris. 1631. f. 605.]): Pater omnia dedit in manum Filii *juxta humanitatem.*

That is:—The Father gave all things into the hands of the Son *according to his humanity.*

Œcumenius ex Chrysost. Ebr. 1. (tom. 2. op. p. 324. ed. 1631.): Quatenus Deus est Filius, æternum habet thronum. Thronus tuus, inquit Deus, in sæculum sæculi. Non enim post crucem et passionem hoc honore ut Deus dignus habitus fuit, sed accepit *ut homo*, quod

habebat ut Deus. Et paulo post: *Ut homo* igitur audit: Sede a dextris meis. Ut enim Deus æternum habet imperium.

That is:—Inasmuch as he is God, he has an everlasting throne. Thy throne, says God, is from everlasting to everlasting. For after his crucifixion and passion he as God had no need of this honor, but *as man* he received that which he had as God. And a little afterwards: *As man*, therefore, he hears: "Sit thou on my right hand." For as God he has eternal dominion.

CYRILLUS lib. 9. Thesauri cap 3. (tom. 2. p. 110,): In potestatem dominandi *ut homo* ascendit.

Idem lib. 11. cap. 17: Gloriam suam, quam semper habuit ut Deus, *ut homo* petiit; nec quia gloriæ propriæ unquam expers fuit, hæc ab eo dicuntur, sed quia in gloriam, quæ sibi semper adest ut Deo, *proprium templum* subducere volebat.

Idem lib. 2. ad Reginas: Accepisse gloriam, potestatem et regnum super omnia, referendum est ad conditiones *humanitatis*.

That is:—Into the power of dominion he ascended *as man*.

His glory, which he always possessed as God, he sought as *man*; this was done by him, not that he was ever destitute of his own glory, but because he wished to bring his *own peculiar temple* into the glory which is always present with him as God,

The fact that he received glory, power, and dominion over all things, must be refered to the conditions of his *humanity*.

THEODORETUS in Ps. 2. (tom. 1. p. 242.): Christus quum natura Dominus sit ut Deus, etiam ut *homo* universum imperium accipit.

In Ps. 110. (tom. 1. p. 242.): Sede a dextris meis: *humanitus* hoc dictum est. Ut enim Deus sempiternum habet imperium, sic *ut homo* accepit, quod ut Deus habebat. Ut *homo* igitur audit: Sede a dextris meis; nam ut Deus sempiternum habet imperium.

Idem Ebr. 1. (tom. 2. p. 154.): Christus semper accepit ab angelis cultum et adorationem, erat enim semper Deus, jam autem adorant ipsum etiam ut *hominem*.

That is:—Since Christ as God is Lord by nature, he also *as man* has received universal power.

Sit on my right hand; this is said in reference to his *humanity*. For, since he, as God, has everlasting dominion; so, as man, he has received that which he had as God: therefore, as *man* he hears the declaration: Sit thou on my right hand; for as God he had everlasting dominion.

Christ always received honor and adoration from the angels; for he was always God. But now they adore him also as *man*.

Leo Epist 23. (fol. 99. Ep. [23 et 83.] 46 et 97. f. 261 et 317. ed. Lugd. 1700.) tractans locum Eph. 1. inquit: Dicant adversarii veritatis, quando omnipotens Pater, vel secundum quam *naturam Filium* suum super omnia evexerit, vel cui substantiæ cuncta subjecerit? Deitati enim, ut creatori, semper subjecta fuerunt. Huic si addita potestas, si exaltata sublimitas, minor erat provehente, nec habebat divitias ejus naturæ, cujus indiguit largitate; sed talia sentientem in societatem suam Arius rapit.

Idem Epist. 83. (fol. 134.): Licet Deitatis et humanitatis in Christo una prorsus eademque persona: exaltationem tamen et nomen super omne nomen ad eam intelligimus pertinere formam, quæ ditanda erat tantæ glorificationis augmento. Non enim per incarnationem aliquid decesserat Verbo, quod ei Patris munere redderetur, *Forma* autem *servi* humana est humilitas, quæ in gloriam divinæ potestatis *erecta* est, ut nec sine homine divina nec sine Deo agerentur humana.

Ibidem: Quidquid in tempore accepit Christus, *secundum hominem accepit*, cui, quæ non habuit, conferuntur. Nam secundum potentiam Verbi, indifferenter omnia, quæ habet Pater, etiam Filius habet,

That is:—The adversaries of the truth may ask, when, or according to what *nature*, did the omnipotent Father elevate his *Son* above all things, or according to which substance did he subject all things to him? For, to the divinity as Creator they were always subject. If power was added to him, if sublimity was exalted, he must previously have been less; nor had he the riches of his nature, in the fulness of which he was deficient; but any one entertaining such views Arius claims for his sect.

Although the divinity and the humanity in Christ are entirely one and the same person, yet we understand that the exaltation and the name above every name, pertains to that form which was to be enriched with the increase of so much glory. For through the incarnation the Word did not decrease any thing, which should be given unto him again as a gift of the Father. But the *form* of *servant* is the humility of man, which was elevated into the glory of divine power; so that without the humanity nothing divine, and without the divinity nothing human, should be transacted.

Whatever Christ has received in time, he has received *as man*, upon whom, that which he had not, was conferred. For according to the power of the Word, the Son also has without any discrimination that which the Father has.

Vigilius lib. 5. contra Eutychen (ep. 66 sq. ed. Divion. 1664. 4.): Divina natura non indiget honoribus sublimari, dignitatis pro-

fectibus augeri, potestatem cœli et terræ obedientiæ merito accipere. Secundum *carnis naturam* igitur illa *adeptus est*, qui secundum naturam Verbi horum nihil eguit aliquando. Num quid enim potestatem et dominium creaturæ suæ conditor non habebat, ut novissimis temporibus muneris gratia his potiretur?

That is:—The divine nature needed not to be exalted with honors, to be enlarged with accumulations of dignity, to receive the power of heaven and earth by the merit of obedience. *According to the nature of the flesh*, therefore, he acquired these endowments, who, according to the nature of the Word, was never destitute of them. For, had not the Creator power and dominion over his creature, that in those latter times he should obtain these gifts through grace?

Nicephorus lib. 1. cap. 36. (fol. 86.): Christus a discipulis in Galileæ monte conspicitur, et ibi a Patre summam potestatem cœli et terræ sibi, *juxta humanitatem* scilicet, traditam esse confirmat.

That is:—Christ was seen on the mount in Galilee by his disciples, and there he proved that the highest power in heaven and in earth was given him by the Father, namely, according to his humanity.

III.

That the holy Scripture first of all, and then the holy Fathers of the pure and primitive church, in treating this mystery, employ abstract terms, or such words as have express reference to the human nature in Christ; for instance, that the human nature has received and exercises this majesty in deed and in truth.

Joh. 6, 55: *Caro mea* est cibus et *sanguis meus* vere est potus. Qui manducat *meam carnem* et bibit *meum sanguinem*, habet vitam æternam.

1 Joh. 1, 7: *Sanguis* Jesu Christi, Filii Dei, emundat nos ab omni peccato.

Ebr. 9, 14: *Sanguis* Christi, qui per Spiritum Sanctum se ipsum obtulit immaculatum Deo, emundat conscientiam nostram ab operibus mortuis, ad serviendum Deo viventi.

Matt. 26, 26, 27, 28: Accipite, manducate, hoc est *corpus meum*. Bibite ex hoc omnes, hic est *sanguis meus* novi testamenti.

That is:—John 6, 55: My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath everlasting life.

1 John 1, 7: The blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin.

Heb. 9, 14: The blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, shall purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God.

Matt. 26, 26, 27, 28: Take, eat; this is my body. Drink ye all of it; this is my blood of the new testament.

Eustachius apud Theodoretum dialogo 2. (p. 40.): Huic igitur prædixit fore, ut sederet (Christus *homo*) in throno sancto, significans sessurum eum in eodem throno cum divinissimo Spiritu, propter Deum inhabitantem in ipso inseparabiliter.

Idem apud Gelasium: *Homo* Christus, qui profecit sapientia, ætate et gratia, rerum universarum imperium accepit.

Idem ibidem: Christus ipso corpore ad proprios venit apostolos dicens: Data est mihi omnis potestas in cœlo et in terra; quam potestatem accepit *extrinsecus templum* et non Deus, qui templum illud præcipua pulcritudine ædificavit.

That is:—The human nature of Christ is seated upon the same throne with the divine Spirit, because God dwells inseparably in it.

The man Christ, who increased in wisdom, age, and benevolence, has received dominion over all things.

Christ in his own body came to his own Apostles, saying: All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth; which power the *external Temple*, and not God who erected that temple with special beauty, has received.

Athanasius de Ariana et Catholica Confessione (tom. 2. op. p. 579. ed. Colon.): Deus non est mutatus in humanam carnem vel substantiam, sed in se ipso, quam assumsit, glorificabat naturam, ut humana, infirma et mortalis caro atque natura *divinam* profecerit in *gloriam*, ita ut omnem potestatem in cœlo et in terra habeat, quam, antequam a Verbo assumeretur, non habebat.

Idem (l. c. p. 597 et 603.): De suscepta Humanitate contra Apollinarium (p. 530.): Paulus Phil. 2. de *templo* loquitur, quod est corpus suum. Non enim qui altissimus est, sed *caro* exaltatur, et *carni* suæ dedit nomen, quod est super omne nomen, ut scilicet in nomine Jesu flectatur omne genu, et omnis lingua confiteatur, quod Jesus Christus sit Dominus in gloria Patris. Et addit regulam generalem: Quando scriptura loquitur de glorificatione Christi, de *carne* loquitur, quæ percepit gloriam. Et quæcunque scriptura dicit accepisse Filium, *ratione humanitatis* illius, non Divinitatis loquitur; ut quum dicit apostolus, quod in Christo habitet omnis plenitudo Deitatis corporaliter, plenitudinem illam *in carne* Christi habitare intelligendum est.

Idem apud Theodoretum Dialog. 2. (tom. 3. p. 286.): Corpus est, cui dicit Dominus: Sede a dextris meis.

That is:—God is not changed into human flesh or substance, but he glorified that nature in himself, which he assumed, in order that the human, the infirm, and mortal flesh and nature might be brought into divine *glory;* so that it has all power in heaven and in earth, which, before it was assumed by the Word, it had not.

Paul, Phil. 2, speaks concerning the *Temple* which is *his body;* for not he who is Most High, but the flesh was exalted, and to *his flesh* he gave a name which is above every name, so that at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, and every tongue shall confess that *Jesus Christ is Lord in the glory of the Father.* And he adds this general rule: Whenever the Scripture speaks concerning the glorification of Christ, it speaks concerning the *flesh*, which received this glory. And whatever the Scripture says the Son has received, it says *by reason of his humanity*, and not of his divinity; as, for instance, when the Apostle says that in Christ dwells all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, we must understand that this plenitude dwells *in the flesh* of Christ.

It is the body, to which the Lord said: Sit thou on my right hand.

ATHANASIUS de Incarnatione, sicut citatur apud Cyrillum in defensione anathematismi 8, et in libro de recta fide ad Reginas: Si quis dicat inadorabilem Domini nostri carnem, ut hominis, et non adorandam ut *Domini et Dei carnem*, hunc anathematisat sancta et catholica ecclesia.

Idem (de susc. Human. p. 603. ed. Colon.): Quæcunque scriptura dicit Filium accepisse, *ratione corporis* accepta intelligit, corpusque illud esse primitias ecclesiæ. Primum igitur Dominus *suum corpus* excitavit et exaltavit, posthac autem et membra sui corporis.

That is:—If any one should say that the flesh of our Lord is not adorable, as that of man, and that it must not be adored, *as the flesh of the Lord and of God*, let him be accursed by the holy and Catholic church.

Whatever the Scripture says the Son has received, it implies,—received by *reason of his body*,—and this body is the first fruits of the church. The Lord, therefore, raised up and exalted his body first, but afterwards also the members of his body.

HILARIUS lib. 9. (p. 136.): Ut ita homo Jesus maneret in gloria Dei Patris, si in Verbi gloriam *caro esset unita*, et gloriam Verbi caro assumta teneret.*

*Conretum pro abstracto.

That is:—That thus the man Christ should remain in the glory of God the Father, if the flesh might be united in the glory of the Word, and the assumed flesh retain the glory of the Word.

Eusebius Emissenus, in homilia feria sexta post pascha (Feria 6. paschatos in homiliis 5. patrum. p. 297.): Qui secundum Divinitatem semper, simul cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto, omnium rerum potestatem habuit, nunc etiam secundum humanitatem omnium rerum *potestatem* accepit, ut *homo* ille, qui nuper passus est, cœlo et terræ dominetur, quin hic et ibi facit, quidquid vult.

That is:—He who according to his divinity always possessed simultaneously with the Father and the Holy Spirit, power over all things, has now also *according to his humanity* received power over all things, so that he as man, who lately suffered, rules over heaven and earth, and here and there performs whatever he pleases.

Gregorius Nyssenus apud Gelasium et Theodoretum Dial. 2.: (Apud Theodoretum tom. 2. p. 333.): Dextera igitur Dei exaltatus (Act. 2, 33.): Quis igitur exaltatus est, humilisne an altissimus? Quid autem est humile, nisi humanum? Quid vero aliud præter Divinitatem appellatione altissimi significatur? At Deus exaltatione non indiget, quum sit altissimus. Humanam igitur naturam exaltatam esse dicit apostolus, exaltatam vero, quia Dominus et Christus factus est (homo). Non igitur æternam essentiam Domini verbo, *fecit*, exprimit apostolus, sed humilis naturæ evectionem ad summam celsitudinem, videlicet ad dexteram Dei. Et paulo post: Quia dextera Dei, fabricatrix omnium rerum, quæ est ille Dominus, per quem omnia facta sunt, et sine quo nihil eorum, quæ facta sunt, subsistit, hæc ipsa unitum sibi hominem ad propriam extulit celsitudinem per unionem.

That is:—He was exalted to the right hand of God, Acts 2, 33. Who then was exalted, an humble one or an exalted one? But what is humble, except human? And what else should be signified by the term Most High, except the Deity? But God needs no exaltation, since he is the highest. The human nature, therefore, says the Apostle, was exalted,—exalted indeed, because it was made Lord and Christ. Therefore the Apostle does not express the eternal essence of the Lord by the words *he made*, but he implies an exaltation of humble nature to the chief highness, namely, to the right hand of God. And a little afterwards: Because the right hand of God, the framer of all things, which right hand is the Lord, by whom all things were made, and without whom none of those things which were made, exist, this right hand exalts the man united to itself to its own highness through the union.

Basilius Magnus contra Eunomium lib. 2. p. 661.: Petrus Act. 2. inquit: Dominum et Christum fecit Deus hunc Jesum, quem vos crucifixistis, demonstrativa voce *humanæ* et omnibus visibili ipsius naturæ palam propemodum incumbens seu innitens. Et paulo post: Quamobrem inquiens, quod Deus Dominum et Christum ipsum fecerit, principatum et dominium super omnia a Patre ipsi commissum dicit.

That is:—Peter, Acts 2, says: God made this Jesus, Lord and Christ, whom ye crucified, by a demonstrative declaration, secretly hovering over or leaning upon human nature, and upon his own nature visible to all. And a little after: Wherefore, saying, God made him Lord and Christ, he says power and dominion over all things were committed unto him by the Father.

Epiphanius contra Ariomanitas (p. 327. [t. 1. f. 728, ed. Paris. 1638.]): Hunc igitur Jesum, quem crucifixistis, ut ne relinqueretur sancta in *carne* dispensatio a passionis experte et increato Verbo, sed couniretur superne increato Verbo. Quapropter et Dominum et Christum Deus fecit, id quod ex Maria conceptum et Deitati unitum est.

That is:—This Jesus therefore, whom ye crucified, in order that the holy dispensation in the *flesh* might not be relinquished from the ordeal of suffering and the increate Word, but be united with the increate Word on high. For this reason God made that Lord and Christ, which was conceived by Mary and united with the Deity.

Ambrosius libro 3. cap. 12. de Spiritu Sancto (tom. 2. p. 157. [f. 765. ed. Colon.]): Angeli adorant non solum Divinitatem Christi, sed et *scabellum pedum* ejus. Et postea: Illam terram propheta dicit adorandam, quam Dominus Jesus in carnis assumtione suscepit. Itaque per scabellum terra intelligitur, per *terram* autem *caro* Christi, quam hodie quoque in mysteriis adoramus, et quam apostoli in Domino Jesu, ut supra diximus, adorarunt.

That is:—The angels adore not only the divinity of Christ, but also his footstool. And afterward: That earth, says the Prophet, must be adored which the Lord Jesus has received in assuming the flesh. For by footstool the earth is understood, but by earth, the flesh of Christ, which we still at the present day adore in mystery, and which the Apostles adored in the Lord Jesus, as we stated above.

Augustinus de verbis Domini, sermone 38. (tom. 10. p. 217.): Si Christus non est natura Deus, sed creatura, nec colendus est nec ut Deus adorandus. Sed illi ad hæc replicabunt ac dicent: Quid igitur est, quod *carnem* ejus, quam creaturam esse non negas, simul cum Divinitate adoras, et ei non minus quam Deitati deservis?

Idem in Psal. 99, 5. (tom. 8. p. 1103.): Adorate scabellum pedum ejus. Scabellum est terra, et Christus suscepit terram de terra, quia caro de terra est et de carne Mariæ carnem accepit. Et quia in ipsa carne hic ambulavit, et ipsam carnem manducandam nobis ad salutem dedit, nemo autem *carnem* illam manducat, nisi prius *adoraverit*. Inventum ergo est, quomodo adoretur tale scabellum pedum Domini, ut non solum non peccemus adorando, sed peccemus non adorando.

That is:—If by nature Christ is not God, but a creature, he must neither be worshipped nor adored as God: but in opposition to this, these will reply and say: Why is it then, that you adore, at the same time with his divinity, his *flesh*, which you deny not to be a creature, and serve him no less than the Deity?

The footstool is the earth, and Christ received earth from the earth, because the flesh is from the earth, and from the flesh of Mary he received flesh. And because he moved about here in this flesh, he gave us that flesh to eat, and for our salvation. But no one eats that flesh, unless he has first *adored* it. It is discovered, therefore, in what manner this footstool of the Lord is adored, and not only do we not sin by adoring it, but we sin by not adoring it.

Chrysostomus ad Ebr. 2. (p. 125.): Magnum, admirabile et stupore plenum est, carnem nostram sursum sedere et adorari ab angelis et archangelis. Hoc sæpe mente versans ecstasin patior cet. Idem 1. Cor. 10. (p. 174. [t. 6. f. 740. et t. 5. f. 261. ed. Francof.]): Hoc corpus Christi in præsepi jacens magi venerati sunt cet., et a longe venientes cum timore et tremore multo adoraverunt. Idem apud Leonem epist. 65. Cognoscamus, quæ natura sit, cui Pater dixit: Esto meæ particeps sedis. Illa natura est, cui dictum est: Terra es et in terram ibis.

That is:—Wonderfully great and full of astonishment is it, that our flesh is seated above, and adored by angels and by archangels. Often revolving this in my mind, I feel a transport, 1 Cor. 10. This body of Christ lying in a manger, the wise men venerated, and coming from afar they adored it with great fear and trembling. And again, we understand what nature it is, to which the Father says: Be thou a partaker of my seat. It is that nature to which it is said: Dust thou art, and to dust thou shalt return.

Theophylactus ex Chrysostomo in caput Matth. 28. (p. 311. [ed. Lutet. 8. 1631. f. 184 et 605.]): Quia *humana natura* prius condemnata, nunc vero juncta Deo Verbo personaliter sedet in cœlo et ab angelis adoratur, merito dicit: Data est mihi omnis potestas

in cœlo et in terra. Etenim humana natura prius serviebat, nunc in Christo omnibus imperat.

Idem in 3. cap. Joh.: Pater omnia dedit in manum Filii juxta *humanitatem*.

That is:—The human nature, which was previously condemned, but is now personally united with God the Word, and sits in heaven, and is adored by the angels, justly says: Unto me is given all power in heaven and in earth. For the human nature, which previously served, rules now in Christ over all things.

The Father gave all into the hands of the Son *according to his humanity*.

Cyrillus de incarnatione cap. 11. (t. 4. p. 241. [t. 5. f. 695.]): Verbum in id, quod non erat, se immisit, ut et *hominis natura* id, quod non erat, fieret, divinæ majestatis dignitatibus per adunitionem fulgens, quæ sublevata magis est ultra naturam, quam dejecit infra naturam invertibilem Deum.

Ephesinum concilium (Cyrill. tom. 4. p. 140. [Apologet. adv. Orient. t. 6. f. 196.]) canone 11: Si quis non confitetur *carnem* Domini esse vivificam, propterea quod propria facta est Verbi, quod omnia vivificat, anathema sit.

Et Cyrillus (ibidem p. 140. [t. 4. f. 85.]) in explicatione illius anathematismi dicit Nestorium noluisse vivificationem tribuere *carni* Christi, sed sententias Joh. 6. exposuisse de sola Divinitate.

That is:—The Word embodied himself in that which he was not, so that the nature of man might become that which it was not, shining through the union with the glories of divine Majesty, which is elevated far higher above the nature, than that it should have brought down the unchangeable God below this nature.

If any one should not confess, that the *flesh* of the Lord is vivifying, inasmuch as it was made a property of the Word, who vivifies all things, let him be accursed.

Nestor would not *attribute to the flesh* of Christ vivification, but explained those declarations in the sixth chapter of John, as having reference to the divinity alone.

Theodoretus dialogo 2.: *Illud corpus* et sessione ad dexteram Dei dignum habitum est et ab omni creatura adoratur, quia corpus appellatur naturæ Domini.

Idem Psal. 8: Hujusmodi honorem a Deo, universitatis scilicet imperium, *humana* in Christo natura accepit.

That is:—This body by its seat at the right hand of God has obtained dignity, and it is adored by all creatures, because it is called the *body* of the natural Lord.

In this manner the human nature in Christ has received this honor from God, namely, universal power.

Leo (fol. 94. [ep. 25. f. 246.]) epistola 11: Assumti, non assumentis provectio est, quod Deus illum exaltavit, et donavit illi nomen, quod est super omne nomen, ut in nomine Jesu omne genu flectatur, et omnis lingua confiteatur, quod Dominus sit Jesus Christus in gloria Dei Patris.

That is:—The assumed, not the assumer, was advanced, that God exalted him, and gave him a name, which is above every name; so that at the name Jesus every knee shall bow, and every tongue shall confess, that Jesus Christ is Lord in the glory of God the Father.

Damascenus lib. 3. cap. 18. p. 251.: Divina Christi voluntas erat æterna et omnipotens cet., *humana* vero ejus voluntas a tempore cœpit et naturales ac innoxias affectiones sustinuit, et naturaliter quidem non erat omnipotens, ut autem vere et secundum naturam Dei Verbi voluntas est facta, et omnipotens est, hoc est, sicut commentator explicat: divina voluntas suapte natura habet potentiam omnia efficiendi, quæ velit, humana vero Christi voluntas non sua natura habet omniefficacem virtutem, sed ut Deo Verbo unita.

Idem cap. 19.: *Caro operanti Deitati Verbi communicat,* ideo quod divinæ operationes per organum corporis perficiebantur. Ita *sancta ejus mens* etiam naturales suas operationes operatur. Communicat autem et Deitati Verbi operanti ac gubernanti, *ipsa etiam intelligens, cognoscens et disponens totum universum,* non ut nuda hominis mens, sed ut Deo secundum hypostasin counita et Dei mens constituta.

Idem libro eodem cap. 12.: Humana natura in Christo essentialiter non possidet seu obtinet futurorum cognitionem, sed ut *Domini anima,* propter unionem ad ipsum Deum Verbum, locupletata est cum reliquis divinis prædictionibus etiam futurorum cognitione. Et in fine capitis: Nos ergo dicimus, *unum Christum* eundemque *simul Deum* et *hominem* omnia scire, in ipso enim omnes thesauri sapientiæ absconditi sunt.

That is:—The divine will of Christ is eternal and omnipotent. But his human will began in time, and sustained natural but innocent emotions. And naturally indeed it was not omnipotent, but as it was really and according to its nature made the will of God the Word, it is also omnipotent; that is, as the commentator explains it: The divine will has power in its own nature to perform all things, whatsoever it will: *but the human will of Christ has not omnific virtue in its own nature, but as united with God the Word, it has.*

The flesh contributes to the operation of the Divine Word, because divine operations are performed through the body as through an organ, and also because he who performs divine and human operations, is one and the same being. For it ought to be observed, that even as his holy mind performs its own natural operations, &c. And at the same time this holy mind contributes to the operation and government of the Divine Word, knowing, observing, and arranging the whole universe, not as the limited mind of man, but as a mind personally united with God,—a mind constituted out of God.

The *human nature* in Christ does not essentially possess or sustain a knowledge of futurity, but as the *soul* or mind of the *Lord*, on account of its union with God the Word, it is enriched with other divine powers of prediction, even by a knowledge of futurity. We say, therefore, that *one* and the same *Christ at the same time God and Man*, knows all things; for in him all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge are hidden.

Nicephorus lib. 18. cap. 36.: Christus a discipulis in Galileæ monte conspicitur, et ibi a Patre summam potestatem cœli et terræ, *juxta humanam naturam* scilicet, traditam esse confirmat.

That is:—Christ on the mount in Galilee was seen by his disciples, and there he proved that the highest power in heaven and in earth was given to him by the Father, namely, *according to his human nature*.

IV.

That the holy Scripture and Fathers have understood that majesty which Christ has received in time, not only concerning created gifts, *de finitis qualitatibus*, but concerning that glory and majesty of the divinity, which is God's own, to which his human nature in the person of the Son of God was exalted, and thus received that power and operation of the divine nature, which belong to God.

Joh. 17, 5: Et nunc glorifica me, tu Pater, apud temet ipsum ea gloria, quam habui apud te, priusquam mundus fieret.

Coloss. 2, 9: In ipso habitat omnis plenitudo Deitatis corporaliter.

That is:—John 17, 5: And now, O Father, glorify me with thine own self, with the glory which I had with thee before the world was.

Col. 2, 9: In him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily.

Hilarius de Trinitate lib. 3. (p. 28.): Verbum caro factum ornbat, ut *id, quod de tempore erat*, gloriam ejus claritatis, quæ sine tempore est, acciperet.

That is:—The Word made flesh entreated, that *that, which began in time*, might receive the glory of that excellence, which is independent of time.

Gregorius Nyssenus apud Gelasium et Theodoretum dialogo 2. de dicto illo Petri Act. 2. Dextera Dei exaltatus cet. (tom. 2. p. 333. [al. 330.]): Ipsa dextera *unitum sibi hominem* in propriam suam evexit celsitudinem seu sublimitatem per unionem.

Idem de anima: *Deus Verbum* a communione illa, quæ sibi est ad *corpus* et *animam*, nunquam alteratur, neque particeps est imperfectionis illarum, sed *tradens eis suæ Divinitatis virtutem* manet idem, quod erat et ante unionem.

That is:—This right hand elevated the *man united with itself* to its own peculiar highness, or sublimity through the union.

By that communion, which he has with the body and soul, God the Word is never changed, neither is he a partaker of their imperfections, but *giving them the power of his divinity*, he remains indeed what he was even before this union.

Basilius Magnus in nativitatem Christi: *Humana Dei caro* particeps *facta est Deitatis*, sicut ignis communicat seu impertit ferro ignito propriam suam facultatem, vim seu potentiam, nec communicatione illa minor sit, sed se ipso totum ferrum replet, quod (illa scilicet unione) particeps est ignis.

That is:—The human flesh of the Lord was made a partaker of the Godhead, in the same manner as fire communicates, or imparts, its own peculiar property, virtue, or power to heated iron; nor does it become less by this communication, but with itself it fills the whole mass of iron, which by that union becomes a partaker of the fire.

Epiphanius in Ancorato (fol. 504. [f. 86. ed. Colon.]): (Idem Deus, idem homo) *corpus terrenum* una cum Deitate potens efficiens, *in unam potentiam univit*, in unitatem reduxit unus existens Dominus, unus Christus, non duo cet.

That is:—The same God who is man, rendering an *earthly body* powerful with one divinity, *unites it in one power*,—the one living Lord, one Christ, not two Christs, brings it into unity with himself.

Cyrillus in Johannem lib. 4. cap. 23.: Non imperite omnino vivificam carnem esse negatis. Nam si sola intelligatur, nihil prorsus vivificare potest, quippe quæ vivificante indigeat. Quum vero incarnationis mysterium laudabili cura scrutati fueritis, et vitam habitantem in carne cognoveritis, quamvis *nihil penitus caro per se ipsam possit, vivificam tamen factam esse credetis*. Nam quoniam cum vivificante Verbo conjuncta est, toto effecta est vivifica. Non enim ad corruptibilem suam naturam junctum Dei Verbum detraxit,

sed ipsa ad melioris virtutem elevata est. Quamvis ergo natura carnis, ut caro est, vivificare nequeat, facit tamen hoc, quia *totam verbi operationem suscepit.* Non enim Pauli aut Petri aut ceterorum, sed ipsius vitæ corpus, in quo Deitatis plenitudo corporaliter habitat, facere hoc potest. Quas ob res caro ceterorum omnium nihil potest, *Christi* autem *caro,* quia in ipsa unigenitus Dei Filius habitat, sola vivificare potest.

That is:—Not entirely without art do you deny the flesh to be vivifying or quickening. For if it alone be understood, it cannot vivify any thing at all; yea, it needs that which vivifies it. But when you shall have examined the mystery of the incarnation with commendable diligence, and perceive life dwelling in the flesh, although the *flesh can do nothing at all of itself, you will, nevertheless, believe the flesh to be vivifying.* For since it is united with the vivifying or quickening Word, the whole effect is vivifying. For the flesh did not draw down to its corruptable nature the *Word* of God, with which Word it is united, but the flesh was elevated to greater power. Although, therefore, the nature of the flesh, as it is flesh, is unable to vivify or to make alive, yet it can do this, because it *has received the whole operation of the Word.* For neither the body of Paul, nor of Peter, nor of any other, but this body of life, in which dwells all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, can do this. For this reason the flesh of all others avails nothing. But the *flesh* of Christ alone, because in it dwells the only-begotten Son of God, can vivify or make alive.

Augustinus contra Felicianum Arianum cap. 11.: Injuria sui corporis affectam non fateor Deitatem, sicut majestate Deitatis glorificatam novimus carnem.

That is:—I do not confess that the divinity was affected by the injury of his body, as we know that the flesh was glorified by the majesty of the divinity.

Theodoretus cap. de Antichristo (tom. 2. p. 411.): Verbum homo factum non particularem gratiam contulit assumtæ naturæ, sed totam plenitudinem Deitatis complacuit in ipsa habitare.

Idem in Psalmum 21. tom. 1. p. 110.: Si natura assumta cum Divinitate assumente est copulata, etiam ejusdem gloriæ et honoris particeps et consors facta est.

Idem Ebr. 1.: Ipsa *humanitas* post resurrectionem divinam gloriam est consecuta.

That is:—The Word made man did not confer a particular grace upon the assumed nature, but he was pleased, that the whole fulness of the Godhead should dwell in this nature.

If the assumed nature was connected with the divinity which assumed it, it was also made a partaker of the glory and honor of the divinity.

After the resurrection the humanity itself obtained divine glory.

DAMASCENUS lib. 3. cap. 7. et 15.: Divina natura proprias suas excellentias seu glorificationes *carni* communicat seu impertit, ipsa vero in se passionum carnis manet expers.

That is:—The divine nature communicated or imparted its own peculiar excellency or glory to the flesh, but in itself it remained free from the suffering of the flesh.

V.

That Christ, as God, possesses this divine majesty in one manner, namely, essentially, and as his own essential attribute, in, and of himself: but as man he possesses it in another manner, namely, not essentially, in, and of himself, but in consequence, and according to the nature, of the personal union.

Joh. 14, 6.: Ego sum vita.

Joh. 5, 26, 27.: Dedit ei vitam habere in se ipso, *quia filius hominis est.*

That is:—John 14, 6: I am the life.

John 5, 26, 27: The Father hath given to the Son to have life in himself, because he is the Son of man.

CYRILLUS lib. 12. Thesauri cap. 15. (tom. 2. p. 167. [tom. 5. ed. Paris. 1638.]): Conditio et proprietas alia creaturæ, alia creatori inest, sed *natura nostra* a Filio Dei assumta mensuram suam excessit et in conditionem assumentis eam per gratiam translata est.

Idem in Johannem lib. 2. cap. 144. (tom. 1. p. 134. [tom. 4. ed. Paris. 1638.]): Christus causam subjecit, quare vitam et potestatem judicii sibi a Patre data dixerit, dicens: *quia filius hominis est*, ut intelligamus omnia sibi data esse ut *homini*. Unigenitus vero Filius non vitæ particeps, sed vita naturaliter est.

Idem lib. 3. cap. 37. (tom. 1. p. 181.): Vivificat *corpus Christi*, quia ipsius vitæ corpus est, virtutem Verbi incarnati retinens, et plenum potestate illius, quo universa sunt et vivunt.

Idem lib. 4. cap. 14. (p. 201.): Quoniam Salvatoris *caro* conjuncta est Verbo Dei, quod naturaliter vita est, effecta est vivifica.

Et cap. 18. (p. 204.): *Corpus meum* vita replevi, mortalem carnem assumpsi, sed quia naturaliter vita existens habito in ipsa, *totam ad vitam meam reformavi.*

Cap. 24. (p. 210.): *Natura carnis* ipsa per se vivificare non po-

test, nec sola esse in Christo intelligitur, sed habet Filium Dei sibi conjunctum, qui substantialiter vita est. Quando igitur vivificam Christus carnem suam appellat, non ita illi, ut sibi sive proprio Spiritui, vim vivificandi attribuit. Nam per se ipsum Spiritus vivificat, ad cujus virtutem caro per conjunctionem conscendit. Quomodo autem id fiat, nec mente intelligere nec lingua dicere possumus, sed silentio ac firma fide id suscipimus.

Idem lib. 10. cap. 13. (p. 501.): Caro vitæ, facta unigeniti caro, *ad virtutem vitæ reducta est.*

Idem lib. 11. cap. 21. (p. 552.): Ipsa *caro Christi* non a se sancta fuit, sed conjunctione Verbi ad Verbi virtutem quodammodo reformata, salutis atque sanctificationis causa est participantibus; non ergo carni, ut caro est, operationis divinæ virtutem, sed naturæ Verbi attribuimus.

Lib. 6. Dialog. (tom. 5. op. ed. cit.): Glorificatur a Patre, non quia Deus, sed quoniam erat *homo*, quasi propriæ naturæ fructum non habens potentiam operandi efficaciter divine, accepit quodammodo illam per unionem et ineffabilem concursum, qui intelligitur Dei esse Verbi cum humanitate.

Idem de recta Fide ad Theodosium (p. 278.): Immisit assumto corpori suam vitam ipsa per unionem dispensatione.

Ibidem (p. 279.): Vivificat Verbum propter ineffabilem nativitatem ex vivente Patre. Attamen est videre, ubi tribuatur etiam *propriæ carni divinæ efficacia gloriæ.* Item: Otiosam confitebimur terrenam carnem ad hoc, ut possit vivificare, quatenus pertinet ad propriam ejus naturam.

That is:—There is one condition and attribute of the creature, and another of the Creator; *but our nature* being assumed by the Son of God, exceeds its usual limits, and through grace, it is transferred into the condition of that nature which assumed it.

Christ assigns a reason why he has said, that life and the power to exercise judgment are given him by the Father, viz.: *Because he is the Son of man;* in order that we may understand, that all is given unto him *as man.* For the only-begotten Son is not a partaker of life, but he is life itself.

The body of Christ vivifies, because he is the body of life, retaining the virtue of the incarnate Word, and filled with the power of him, by whom all things are, and by whom they exist.

Since the flesh of the Savior is connected with the Word of God, which Word is naturally life, its effects are vivifying.

My body I have filled with life, I have assumed mortal flesh; but

since I am naturally life, I dwell in it, (the body,) having conformed it wholly to my life.

The nature of the flesh in itself cannot vivify, nor is that alone understood to be in Christ, but it finds itself connected with the Son of God, who is life substantially. When, therefore, Christ calls his flesh vivifying, he does not thus attribute unto it, as unto himself, or unto his own Spirit, the power to make alive. For of himself the Spirit vivifies, to the power of whom the flesh through union has arisen. "But in what manner this came to pass, we cannot understand with our minds, nor express with our tongues, but in silence and with firm faith we receive it."

The flesh of life being made the flesh of the Only-begotten, was restored to the power of life.

This flesh of Christ was not holy in itself, but conformed to the power of the Word by connection with the Word, it is the cause of salvation and sanctification to the participants. Therefore, we do not attribute unto the flesh, as being flesh, but to the nature of the Word, the power of divine operation.

He was glorified by the Father, not as God, *but as man*, since, although void of the power of producing the fruit of his own nature with divine efficacy, he received that power to operate effectually in a divine manner, through that union and ineffable conjunction which are understood of the Word of God with the humanity.

He has transfused into his assumed body his own life, through a union by dispensation.

The Word vivifies on account of the ineffable nativity from the living Father. Yet we should observe where the *efficacy of divine glory* is attributed *to his own flesh* also. Again, in vain we would confess an earthly flesh, besides this, that it is able to vivify so far as pertains to his own nature.

Epiphanius contra Ariomanitas p. 337. (Hæres. 69. f. 789. ed. Colon.): Humanitas enim illius non seorsim per se subsistit, non enim separata Deitate et seorsim existente natura humana dicebat, velut alius et alius, sed counita humanitate cum Deitate, una existente sanctificatione, et jam in ipsa, quæ perfectissima sunt, sciente, nimirum in Deo et in unam Deitatem coaptata.

That is:—The humanity of Christ does not exist separately of itself, but united with the divinity, and now in that divinity knowing those things which are most perfect, as united with God.

Augustinus de verbis Domini sermone 58. (tom. 10. p. 217. et 218.): Ego vero *dominicam carnem*, imo perfectam in Christo humanitatem ideo adoro, quod a Divinitate suscepta et Deitati unita

est, et non alium et alium, sed unum eundemque Deum et hominem Filium Dei esse confiteor. Denique si hominem separaveris a Deo, illi nunquam credo nec servio.

Item: Humanitatem *non nudam* vel *solam*, sed Divinitati unitam, scilicet unum Dei Filium, Deum verum et hominem verum, si quis adorare contemserit, æternaliter morietur.

Augustinus de Civitate lib. 10. cap. 24.: Non ergo caro Christi *per se ipsam* mundat credentes, sed per Verbum, a quo suscepta est.

That is:—I adore the Lordly flesh, yes, the perfect humanity in Christ, because it is received by the divinity and united with the Deity, and I do not confess that the one is God and the other man, but that the Son of God is at the same time God and man. But if you separate the man from God, I will neither believe him nor serve him.

Again: If any one shall disdain to adore the humanity, *not barely or alone*, but united with the divinity, namely, the one Son of God, true God and true man, he will die eternally.

Therefore, the flesh of Christ purifies the believing, not through *itself*, but through the Word, by whom it was received.

Ephesinum Concilium canone 11. (ap. Cyrillum t. 6. f. 196.): Si quis non confitetur carnem Domini esse vivificam propter ea, quod propria facta est Verbi, quod omnia vivificat, anathema sit.

That is:—If any one should not confess that the flesh of the Lord has power to give life, inasmuch as it was *made the property of the Word*, that animates all things, let him be accursed.

Theophylactus in Joh. cap. 3. (f. 605 et 184, ed. cit.): Omnia dedit in manum Filii *juxta humanitatem*; si autem et secundum Divinitatem intelligatur, dedit Pater omnia Filio ratione naturæ, non gratiæ.

Idem Matth. 28.: Si de Divinitate, Deo Verbo, intelligas, (*data est mihi omnis potestas*,) sensus erit, et nolentes et volentes nunc me Deum agnoscunt, qui prius mihi serviebant involuntariæ obedientiæ modo. Si autem de *humana* natura dicitur, sic intellige: *Ego prius condemnata* natura, existens autem *Deus, secundum unionem ad Filium Dei*, absque naturarum confusione accepi potestatem omnem.

That is:—He gave all into the hands of the Son *according to his humanity:* but if this should be understood according to the divinity also, the Father gave all unto the Son, *by reason of his nature, not by reason of grace.*

If concerning the divinity you understand (All power is given unto me,) the sense is: Since formerly all things have served me involun-

tarily, I now have them in obedience voluntarily. But if this is said concerning the humanity, understand it thus: Existing *at first* as *condemned* nature, but now as God, I have received *according to the union with the Son of God*, without any confusion of natures, all power.

Damascenus lib. 3. cap. 17.: Non secundum propriam operationem, sed propter unitum sibi Verbum divina operabatur (caro Domini), Verbo per eam propriam suam operationem manifestante. Nam et ferrum ignitum urit non naturali ratione possidens ustricem operationem, sed obtinens eam ex unione ignis et ferri. Ipsa igitur *caro Domini* mortalis erat propter se ipsam, *et vivifica* propter hypostaticam ad Verbum unionem.

Idem cap. 18.: Divina Christi voluntas erat æterna et omnipotens, *humana* vero ejus voluntas a tempore cœpit, et naturales ac innoxias affectiones sustinuit. Et naturaliter quidem non erat omnipotens, *ut autem vere et secundum naturam Dei Verbi voluntas est facta, et omnipotens est.* Hoc est, sicut commentator explicat: divina voluntas suapte natura habet potentiam omnia efficiendi, quæ velit, humana vero Christi voluntas non sua natura habet omnieffícacem virtutem, sed ut Deo Verbo unita.

Idem libro eodem cap. 21.: Humana natura in Christo essentialiter non possidet seu obtinet futurorum cognitionem, sed ut Domini anima, propter unionem ad ipsum Deum Verbum, locupletata est cum reliquis divinis prædictionibus etiam futurorum cognitione. Et in fine capitis: Nos ergo dicimus unum Christum, eundemque simul Deum et hominem, omnia scire. In ipso enim omnes thesauri sapientiæ et scientiæ absconditi sunt.

Idem lib. 2. cap. 22.: *Domini anima* etsi secundum se erat naturæ futura ignorantis, attamen secundum hypostasin unita Deo Verbo *omnium cognitionem habebat*, non ex gratia seu participative, sed propter hypostaticam unionem. Et paulo post: Et quia in Domino nostro Jesu Christo naturæ differunt, etiam naturales scientiæ et voluntates Divinitatis et humanitatis cet.

That is:—Not *according to its own operation*, but on account of the Word united to it, the *flesh of the Lord* performs divine operations, the Word manifesting his own operation through the flesh. For the heated iron also does not possess by reason of its own nature a burning operation, but has acquired it from the union of the fire and the iron. The *flesh of the Lord* is, therefore, mortal in itself, but it possesses power to give life on account of the personal union with the Word.

The divine will of Christ is eternal and omnipotent; but his *human*

will *began in time*, and sustained natural but innocent emotions. And *naturally* indeed it *was not* omnipotent, but as it was really and according to its nature made the will of God the Word, it is also omnipotent; that is, as the commentator explains it: The divine will has power within its *own nature* to perform all things, whatsoever it will: but the human will of Christ has not omnific power *within its own nature*, but as united with God the Word.

The *human nature in Christ* does not essentially possess or sustain a knowledge of futurity, but *as the soul or mind* of the *Lord*, on account of its union with God the Word, it is enriched with other divine powers of prediction, even by a knowledge of futurity. We say, therefore, that one and the same Christ who is simultaneously *God and man, knows all things*. For in him are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.

The *soul of the Lord*, although in itself it was of a nature unwise, *has universal knowledge*, nevertheless, according to the personal union with God the Word, not from grace or participation, but on account of the hypostatical union. And nevertheless since the natures differ, there is also a difference between the knowledge and the will of the divinity and of the humanity.

VI.

That now the divinity powerfully shows and effectively exhibits its majesty, power, and operation, (which remain the property of the divine nature,) in, with, and through this personally united humanity, which thus possesses majesty from the circumstance, that the whole fulness of the divinity dwells personally in the assumed flesh and blood of Christ.

Rom. 3, 25.: Proposuit Christum propitiatorium per fidem in *sanguine* ejus.

Rom. 5, 9.: Justificamur in sanguine ejus.

Col. 1, 20.: In ipso pacificantur omnia per sanguinem crucis ejus cet.

That is:—Rom. 3, 25: God hath set forth Christ to be a propitiation, through faith in his *blood*.

Rom. 5, 9: Being now justified by his blood.

Col. 1, 20: Having made peace through the blood of his cross, by him to reconcile all things unto himself.

Athanasius oratione 4. contra Arianos (Epist. ad Adelph. c. Arian. t. 1. f. 161. ed. Colon.): Quomodo *corpus Domini* non esset adorabile? Quum Verbum manum suam corporalem extendens sanarit febricitantem, vocem humanam edens suscitaverit Lazarum, manibus suis in cruce protensis principem æris prostraverit.

Idem Dialogo 5. de Trinitate (tom. 2. op. f. 257.): Deus Λογος, unitus homini, edit miracula et operatur non seorsim aut separatim a natura humana assumta, sed pro sua bonitate placuit ipsi per assumtam humanitatem, in ea et cum ea propriam divinam suam potentiam operando exercere. Et paulo post: Et humanitatem illam suam ultra et supra propriam ipsius naturam pro suo beneplacito perfectam reddidit, non tamen prohibet, quo minus sit animal rationale seu vera humana natura.

That is:—In what manner is the *body* of the *Lord* not adorable? Since the Word, extending his own material hand, healed the sick, uttering a *human voice*, called Lazarus from the dead; *with his hands stretched out upon the cross*, prostrated the prince of the air. God the Word united with man calls forth and performs miracles, not apart or separate from the assumed human nature, but according to his goodness it pleased him, *to exercise his own divine power in his operation, through his assumed humanity, in and with the nature.* And according to his good pleasure, he has rendered his humanity perfect over and above its own nature, yet he does not prevent it from being any the less a rational creature, or a true human nature.

Cyrillus de recta Fide ad Theodosium (tom. 5. op.): Anima, unionem sortita ad Verbum descendit in infernum, divina autem virtute et efficacia utens, dixit compeditis: Egredimini.

Idem lib. 1. ad Reginas: Christus ut Deus vivificat per propriam carnem.

That is:—The soul which chose union with the Word, descended into hell; *but using divine virtue and efficacy*, it said unto the fettered: Go forth.

Christ as God vivifies through his own flesh.

VII.

And that this impartation of divine majesty takes place without any confusion, extermination, or exclusion of the human nature, even in glory.

Matth. 16, 27.: Filius hominis venturus est in gloria Patris sui.

Et Act. 1, 11: Sic veniet, quemadmodum vidistis euntem in cœlum.

That is:—Matt. 16, 27: The Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father.

Acts 1, 11: He shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven.

Athanasius Dialog. 5. de Trinitate (tom. 2. f. 257. ed. Colon.): Humanitatem illam suam supra et ultra propriam ipsius naturam pro

suo beneplacito perfectam reddidit, non tamen prohibet, quo minus sit animal rationale seu vera humana natura.

That is:—*This humanity* he has, according to his own good pleasure, rendered perfect *over and above its own nature*, yet he does not prevent it from being any the less a rational creature, or a true human nature.

THEOPHYLACTUS ex Chrysostomo in caput Matth. 28. (f. 184.): Ego prius damnata natura, nunc Deus existens secundum unionem ad Filium Dei absque naturarum confusione, accepi potestatem omnium.

That is:—I, at first a condemned nature, have now received, *without any confusion of the natures*, the power over all things.

CYRILLUS lib. 4. cap. 24. (t. 4. f. 377. et 3. f. 783.): Totum corpus suum vivifica Spiritus virtute plenum esse ostendit, *non quod naturam carnis amiserit et in Spiritum mutata sit*, sed quia cum Spiritu conjuncta totam vivificandi vim hausit.

Idem de Incarnatione cap. 8.: In carbone tamquam in imagine licet conspicere adunitum quidem humanitati Deum Verbum, transformasse assumtam naturam in suam gloriam et operationem. Sicut ignis ligno affixus, ita adunitus est inæstimabiliter humanitati Deus, conferens ei etiam naturæ suæ operationem.

That is:—He has shown that his whole body is filled with the life-giving virtue of the Spirit, *not that he has laid aside the nature of his flesh, and that it is changed into Spirit;* but because, united with the Spirit, it has received the whole power to impart life.

In a burning coal, by way of illustration, it may be perceived how God the Word is united with the humanity, *transforming the assumed nature into his own glory and operation.* As the fire cleaves to the wood: so God is inestimably united with the humanity, conferring upon it even the operation of his own nature.

THEODORETUS Dialog. 2. (t. 4. f. 82 et 112.): Corpus dominicum surrexit quidem a mortuis incorruptibile, impassibile, immortale, divina glorificatum gloria, et a cœlestibus adoratur potestatibus, corpus tamen est et habet, quam prius habuit, circumscriptionem.

Idem Dialogo 3. probat hanc Apollinarii sententiam: Si mixtio ignis cum ferro, quæ ferrum ostendit ignem, ita ut etiam ea faciat, quæ sunt ignis, non mutat naturam ferri: neque igitur Dei cum corpore unio est mutatio corporis, licet corpori divinas operationes præbeat.

That is:—The body of the Lord arose from the dead indeed, incorruptible, impassive, immortal, *glorified with divine glory*, and is adored by celestial powers, *yet it is a body*, and has what it had at first, circumscription.

If a mixture of fire with iron, which shows the iron to be fire, so that it also effects those things which are the properties of fire, *does not change the nature of the iron;* the union of God, therefore, with the body, is not a mutation of the body, although it imparts divine operations to the body.

Damascenus lib. 3. cap. 17.: Caro Domini locupletata est divinis operationibus propter hypostaticam ejus ad Verbum unionem, non passa excidentiam eorum, quæ secundum naturam ipsi propria sunt.

Idem lib. 2. cap. 22.: Domini anima etsi secundum se erat naturæ ignorantis, futura attamen secundum hypostasin unita Deo Verbo omnium cognitionem habuit, non ex gratia seu participative, sed propter hypostaticam unionem. Et paulo post: In Domino nostro Jesu Christo, quia naturæ differunt, differunt etiam naturales scientiæ et voluntates Dominitatis et humanitatis.

That is:—The *flesh of the Lord* is enriched with divine operations, on account of its personal union with the Word, *not suffering*, however, any diminution of those properties which are peculiar to it according to its own nature.

The *soul of the Lord*, although it is in itself of a nature ignorant, *has* nevertheless according to the personal union with God the Word, *universal knowledge*, not from grace, or participation, but on account of the personal union; and yet as the natures are different in Christ, the natural knowledge and will of the divinity and humanity are also different.

VIII.

Again, that the human nature is a partaker and capable of the divine majesty, which is the property of God, according to the nature and in consequence of the personal union.

Coloss. 2, 9, 3.: In ipso inhabitat omnis plenitudo Deitatis corporaliter. In ipso absconditi sunt omnes thesauri sapientiæ et cognitionis.

That is:—In him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily: in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.

Justinus in Expositione Fidei p. 182. (f. 389. ed. Colon. 1686.): Nec ita ipsum in Patre, ut in reliquis, esse dicimus, non eo quidem, quod substantia in aliis existens contrahatur, sed propter eorum, qui illam capiunt, modulum, per imbecillitatem suam divinam præsentiam non admittentium. Item: Nam corpus pollutum radios Divinitatis non capit. Et paulo post: Eodem modo mihi considera, justitiæ solem, universis quidem ex æquo substantia, ut qui Deus sit, præsen-

tem esse, nos vero omnes utpote infirmos et peccatorum sordibus lippientes, oculis nostris, propter languorem, lucis præsentiam sustinere non posse, proprium vero illius templum oculum purissimum et splendoris universæ lucis capacem esse, utpote a Spiritu Sancto formatum et a peccato ex parte segregatum.

That is:—Nor do we say that he is in the Father, as in others, not indeed because his substance existing in others, contracts its dimension, but on account of those who receive it, not admitting his divine presence, in consequence of their incapacity. For a polluted body does not comprehend the rays of the divinity. And a little afterwards: In this manner permit me to say, that the Son of righteousness, a universal substance indeed and in reality, is present like him who is God; but we all, since we are infirm and blinded with the darkness of sins, are unable to endure with our eyes the presence of his light, but that the peculiar temple of Christ is the purest eye, and capable of comprehending the splendor of universal light, because it is formed by the Holy Spirit and freed from sin in every part.

Origenes de Principiis lib. 2. cap. 6. (t. 1. op. f. 698 et 749. ed. Basil.): Anima Christi tota totum Λογον recipit atque in ejus lucem splendoremque cedit.

Et lib. 4.: Anima Christi cum Verbo Dei conjuncta, Filii Dei plene capax fuit.

That is:—The whole soul of Christ has received the whole Word, and is taken up in his light and splendor.

The soul of Christ united with the Word of God, has full capacity for the Son of God.

Augustinus epist. 57.: Deus licet omnibus creaturis totus sit præsens, ac præcipue in credentibus habitet, non tamen ex toto illum capiunt, sed pro suæ capacitatis diversitate, alii minus ipsum habent et capiunt. De capite vero nostro Christo apostolus ait: In ipso inhabitat tota plenitudo Deitatis corporaliter.

That is:—Although God is wholly present in all creatures,—and especially does he dwell in the believers,—yet they do not entirely comprehend him. But according to the diversity of their capacities, some possess and comprehend him more, and some less. But concerning Christ our head, the Apostle says: In him dwelleth *all the fulness of the Godhead* bodily.

IX.

Although it is known and undeniable, that the divinity with its divine majesty is not locally circumscribed by the flesh, as if it were contained in a vessel, as Athanasius, Origen, Nyssenus, and others,

have correctly written; and in the Book of Concord it is likewise expressly rejected as an error, if it should be taught that the humanity of Christ is locally expanded in all places, or, that the human nature in Christ is changed by the personal union into an endless essence: yet since the divine and human natures are personally and inseparably united in Christ, the holy Scripture and the holy Fathers testify, that Christ,—where he is, there is not his person half, or only the half, or merely a part of his person, as the divinity alone, separately and barely, without and independent of his assumed and personally united humanity, or separated from it, and apart from the personal union with the humanity, but his whole person, namely, God and man, according to the manner of the personal union with the humanity, which is an inscrutable mystery,—is everywhere present in a manner and a mode known to God.

Ephes. 4, 10.: Ascendit super omnes cœlos, ut impleret omnia. Quod Œcumenius ita interpretatur: Etenim nuda quoque Divinitate olim omnia implebat. Et incarnatus, ut omnia cum carne impleret, descendit et ascendit.

That is:—He ascended up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things. This Œcumenius explains thus: For with his pure divinity he has long since filled all things. But now incarnated, in order that he might fill all things with his flesh, he descended and ascended.

Et Theophylactus ibidem (Comment. in Eph. f. 535. ed. Lond. 1636.): Ut omnia impleat dominatione operationeque, idque in carne, quandoquidem Divinitate jam antea cuncta compleret. Hæc autem adversus Paulum Samosatenum et Nestorium sunt.

That is:—In order that he might fill all things with his dominion and operation, and this in the flesh, since before now he filled all things with his divinity. But these are adverse to Paulus Samosatenus and Nestor.

Leo epistol. 10. (Ep. 24. cap. 5. f. 245. et in Serm. f. 121. ed. cit.): Catholica ecclesia hac fide vivit ac proficit, ut in Christo Jesu, nec sine vera Divinitate humanitas, nec sine vere credatur humanitate Divinitas.

Idem Sermone 3. de Passione: Hoc catholica fides tradit, hoc exigit, ut in Redemptore nostro duas noverimus convenisse naturas, et manentibus proprietatibus suis tantam factam unitatem utriusque substantiæ, ut ab illo tempore, quo in beatæ virginis utero Verbum caro factum est, nec Deum illum sine hoc, quod est homo, nec hominem sine hoc liceat cogitare, quod est *Deus*.

Ibidem: Exprimit quidem sub distinctis operationibus veritatem suam utraque natura, sed neutra se ab alterius connexione disjungit, nihil ibi ab invicem vacat sed suscepit totum hominem Deus et ita se illi atque illum sibi conseruit, ut utraque alteri naturæ inesset et neutra in alteram a sua proprietate transiret.

That is:—In this faith the Catholic church lives and professes, that in Christ Jesus neither without the true divinity is the humanity, nor without the true humanity is the divinity believed.

This the Catholic faith teaches, this it requires, that in our Redeemer we know two natures have come together, and their attributes remaining, a union of both substances is so effected, that from the time in which the Word was made flesh in the womb of the blessed Virgin Mary, we dare not consider this God without the additional fact that he is man, nor this man without the fact of his being God.

Each nature indeed under distinct operations portrays its truth, but neither disjoins itself from connection with the other; neither nature is separated from the other, but God has received the whole man, and thus joined himself to that nature, and that nature to himself, so that each nature enters into the other, and neither is transferred from its own property into the other.

X.

But since in this article this doctrine is chiefly designed to point out unto us where we ought to seek the whole person of the Mediator, God and man, and where we may perceive it; the Book of Concord, as also all the orthodox Fathers, directs us, not to wood or stone, or any similar thing, but to that, unto which Christ points and directs us in and with his word.

Cyrillus lib. 12. in Johannem cap. 32. (t. 3. f. 1063. ed. cit.): In quatuor partes vestimenta Christi divisa sunt, et tunica sola indivisa mansit, quod mysticæ cujusdam rei signum esse dixerim. Nam quatuor orbis partes ad salutem reductæ, indumentum Verbi, id est, carnem ejus impartibiliter inter se partitæ sunt. In singulis enim partibiliter transiens Unigenitus, et animam et corpus eorum per carnem suam sanctificans, impartibiliter atque integre in omnibus est, quum unus ubique sit nullo modo divisus.

That is:—Into four parts the garments of Christ were divided, and his vesture alone remained undivided; this I may say is a sign of some mysterious thing. For the four quarters of the world re-

stored to salvation, have shared among themselves the vesture of the Word, that is, his flesh, indivisibly. For into each one divisibly the Only-begotten passing, and sanctifying through his flesh their soul and body, is in all wholly and indivisibly, since everywhere he is one and in no manner divided.

THEOPHYLACTUS in caput 19. Johannis (f. 825. ed. cit.): Igitur sanctum Christi corpus *indivisibile est*, et dividitur et communicatur in quatuor partes orbis; distributus enim singulis, et uniuscujusque animam sanctificans cum corpore *per carnem suam*, Unigenitus et integer et indivisus in omnibus est, *existens ubique*, nunquam enim divisus est, sicut et Paulus clamat.

That is:—Therefore the holy body of Christ is indivisible, though divided and communicated unto the four quarters of the world; for distributed to each one, and sanctifying with his body *through his flesh* the soul of each, the Only-begotten is entire and indivisible in all, *existing everywhere;* for he is never divided, as Paul also asserts.

CHRYSOSTOMUS (t. 4. f. 1773. ed. Basil. et t. 6. f. 846. ed. Francof.) Homil. 17. ad Ebr. p. 16. (et Ambrosius cap. 10. ad Hebræos.): Numquid, quia in multis locis offertur, ideo multi Christi sunt? Nequaquam; sed unus ubique est Christus, et hic plenus existens et illic plenus, unum corpus. Quemadmodum enim, qui in multis locis offertur, unum corpus est et non multa corpora, ita etiam et unum sacrificium. Pontifex autem noster ille est, qui hostiam mundantem nos obtulit, ipsam offerimus et nunc, quæ tunc oblata quidem consumi non potest. Hoc in memoriam ejus fit, quod tunc factum est. Hoc enim facite, inquit, in mei recordationem. Non igitur aliud sacrificium, quemadmodum summus sacerdos, sed idem semper facimus. Magis autem recordationem sacrificii operamur.

Nota, contra pontificium sacrificium propitiatorium missæ.

That is:—Do you suppose, because he is offered up in many places, that therefore there are many Christs? By no means; but there is one Christ everywhere, existing here entire and there entire, and one body. For as he who is offered up in many places, is one body and not many bodies; so there is also but one sacrifice. But he is our Pontiff, who made a cleansing sacrifice for us, offering that up now, which being then offered up, cannot be destroyed. This is done in remembrance of him, which was then done. For this do, he says, in remembrance of me. Therefore we do not make another sacrifice, like the high priests, but always the same. But we are rather engaged in the remembrance of this sacrifice.

CONCLUSION.

These testimonies of the ancient teachers of the church, pious reader, have not been laid down here under the impression that our Christian faith is based upon the authority of men. For the true and saving faith should not be founded upon the authority of any ancient or modern teachers of the church, but solely and alone upon the word of God, which is comprehended in the writings of the holy Prophets and Apostles, as infallible evidences of the heavenly truth. But since, by the special and speedy artifices of Satan, the fanatical spirits would readily lead the people again from the holy Scripture,—which, God be praised, can now be profitably read by a common layman,—into the writings of the Fathers and ancient teachers of the church, as into the wide sea; so that he who has not read these writings, is consequently unable to know with certainty whether he holds with them and their writings in that sense in which these new teachers employ their terms, and is thus left in a perilous state of doubt. It was, therefore, necessary for us to show by this *Catalogue*, and exhibit it as an evidence to all, that this new false doctrine is founded as little in the writings of the ancient, pure teachers of the church, as in the holy Scripture, but is directly in opposition to them. These testimonies they allege in a false sense, contrary to the intention of the Fathers, just as they wilfully and maliciously pervert the pure testimonies of the holy Scripture, and the plain, the clear, and lucid words of the testament of Christ, the Lord's Supper. For this reason, then, the Book of Concord refers each and every one to the holy Scripture and to the simple Catechism. For he who embraces the simplicity of these with true and simple faith, best secures his soul and conscience, since they are founded on a firm and an immovable rock, Matt. 7, and 17; Gal. 1; Psalm 119.

NOTE.—Here, after the introduction of a table of contents, follows, in the Dresden edition of 1580, a catalogue of the names of the theologians and of the officers of the churches and schools, who subscribed the Book of Concord. No doubt it would be gratifying to many of our readers, if this catalogue of names were inserted in this edition; but since it does not occur in the Leipsic edition of 1790, and in some others, and since it would consume upwards of a hundred pages, we prefer to omit it.—[TRANS.

CHRISTIAN

ARTICLES OF VISITATION.

A. D. 1592.

ARTICLE I.—OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

The pure and true doctrine of our churches concerning the Lord's Supper.

1. That the words of Christ: "Take and eat, this is my body; drink, this is my blood," are to be understood simply and according to the letters, as they read.

2. That in this sacrament two things are given and received together: One earthly, that is bread and wine, and one heavenly, that is the body and blood of Christ.

3. That this occurs here upon earth, not up in heaven.

4. That it is the right, natural body of Christ, which hung upon the Cross, and the right, natural blood, which flowed out of the sides of Christ.

5. That the body and blood of Christ are received, not only by faith spiritually,—a thing which can occur also apart from the sacrament of the Lord's Supper,—but here with bread and wine orally, yet in an inscrutable and supernatural manner, as a pledge and an assurance of the resurrection of our bodies from the dead.

6. That the oral participation of the body and blood of Christ, is enjoyed not only by the worthy, but also by the unworthy who approach without repentance and true faith, yet to dissimilar ends; by the worthy to salvation, but by the unworthy to judgment.

ARTICLE II.—OF THE PERSON OF CHRIST.

The pure and true doctrine of our churches of the article concerning the Person of Christ.

1. In Christ there are two distinct natures, the divine and the human; these remain to eternity unconfused and unseparated.

2. These two natures are so personally united, that there is only one Christ, one person.

3. On account of this personal union, it is rightly said, and so it is indeed and in truth, that God is man, and man is God; that Mary bore the Son of God, and that God has redeemed us by his own blood.

4. Through this personal union, and the exaltation consequent upon it, Christ according to the flesh was seated at the right hand of God, and has received all power in heaven and in earth, and become a partaker of all divine majesty, honor, power, and glory.

ARTICLE III.—OF HOLY BAPTISM.

The pure and true doctrine of our churches, concerning the article relative to Holy Baptism.

1. That there is only one baptism and one ablution, not that which is accustomed to take away the impurity of the body, but that which washes us from sins.

2. Through baptism, as the laver of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost, God saves us, and works in us such righteousness and purification from sins, that he who perseveres in this covenant and confidence unto the end, shall not be lost, but has eternal life.

3. All who are baptized in Christ Jesus, are baptized in his death, and through baptism are buried with him in his death, and have put on Christ.

4. Baptism is the laver of regeneration, because in it we are born anew, and are sealed and favored with the spirit of adoption.

5. Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God: yet by this is not meant a case of necessity.

6. That which is born of flesh, is flesh, and by nature we are all children of God's wrath; for out of sinful seed we are engendered, and in sin we are all conceived.

ARTICLE IV.—OF GOD'S FOREKNOWLEDGE AND ELECTION.

The pure and true doctrine of our churches concerning this article.

1. That Christ died for all men, and as the Lamb of God bore the sins of the whole world.

2. That God created no one for condemnation, but desires all men

to be assisted, and to come to a knowledge of the truth. He commands all to hear Christ his Son in the Gospel, and thereby promises power and the operation of the Holy Spirit unto conversion and salvation.

3. That in consequence of their own faults many persons will be condemned, who either will not hear the Gospel concerning Christ, or fall from grace again by error against the fundamental doctrines, or by sins against their own conscience.

4. That all sinners who repent, shall be received into grace, and none will be excluded, even if his sins were as red as blood: since the mercy of God is much greater than the sins of the whole world, and God is merciful over all his works.

OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

False and erroneous doctrine of the Calvinists.

1. That the aforenamed words of Christ are to be understood in a figurative sense, and not as they read.

2. That in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper there are only empty signs, but that the body of Christ is as far from the bread as the highest heaven is from the earth.

3. That Christ is present here only with his power and operation, and not with his body, even as the sun is present and powerful here on earth with his rays and operation, but the sun himself is up in heaven.

4. That it is a *typicum corpus*, a figurative body only, which is signified and prefigured.

5. That it is received by faith alone, which soars up into heaven, and not orally.

6. That only the worthy receive it, but the unworthy, who have not such a faith as can ascend up into heaven, receive nothing but bread and wine.

OF THE PERSON OF CHRIST.

False and erroneous doctrine of the Calvinists, which militates chiefly against the third and fourth articles of the pure doctrine.

1. That God is man and man is God, is a figurative expression.

2. That the humanity has communion with the divinity, not in deed and in truth, but only according to the name and the words.

3. That it is impossible for God with all his omnipotence to provide, that the natural body of Christ may be at more than one place at a time.

4. That according to his humanity, through his exaltation, Christ has received only created gifts and limited power, for he does not know all things, and he is unable to do all things.

5. That according to his humanity Christ rules in an absent manner, like the king in Spain rules over the new islands.

6. That it is a condemnable idolatry, if any one should place the confidence and faith of his heart upon Christ, not according to his divinity alone, but also according to his humanity, and thus confer upon him the honor of invocation.

OF HOLY BAPTISM.

False and erroneous doctrine of the Calvinists.

1. Baptism is an outward water-bath, by which is signified an inward ablution from sins.

2. Baptism does not give or effect regeneration, faith, the grace of God, and salvation, but it only denotes and seals them.

3. Not all who are baptized with water, obtain by it the grace of Christ, or the gift of faith, but only the elect.

4. Regeneration takes place not in and with baptism, but first afterwards in mature years, and in some even in very old age.

5. Salvation does not depend on baptism; hence private baptism shall not be allowed in the church, but if the church service cannot be had, the infant should always be permitted to die without baptism.

6. The children of Christians are holy before baptism, and are in the covenant of eternal life from their mother's womb, yes, even in their mother's womb, else holy baptism could not be imparted unto them.

OF GOD'S FOREKNOWLEDGE AND ELECTION.

False and erroneous doctrine of the Calvinists.

1. That Christ did not die for all persons, but only for the elect.
2. That God created the greater portion of mankind for eternal damnation, and is unwilling that they should be converted and saved.
3. That the elect and regenerate cannot lose the faith and the Holy Spirit and be condemned, even if they perpetrate all manner of gross sins and vices.
4. Those who are not elected, must be damned, and they cannot come to salvation, even if they were to be baptized a thousand times, if they were to approach the sacrament of the Lord's Supper daily, and would live as holy and blameless as possible.

THE END.

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